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Johnson

An introduction to the history
of the western tradition

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*An Introduction
to the History
of the Western Tradition*

volume II

*An Introduction
to the History
of the Western Tradition*

by
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volume II

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THE RENAISSANCE: HUMANISM AND THE ARTS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Introduction

The title of this book refers to the western tradition, the history of which the book itself proposes to treat from about 1500 to the present.¹ This is a matter of the utmost seriousness, for the inhabitants of this West are now expected by their governments to give their substance and lives, if necessary, to the defense of this tradition, which, it is hoped, will come to guide all the peoples of this earth. It is therefore something at once personal and global.

WESTERN TRADITIONS

Traditions are ways of doing and thinking that come to us from the past. The western traditions are therefore the ways of doing and thinking that western peoples have inherited from their past. Originally the western peoples were the inhabitants of the Latin half of the Roman Empire when it was being taken over by barbarian German tribes (*ca.* 476). The traditions of these once-primitive peoples were determined in part by those of the Romans, and those of the Romans by the Greeks. They were also determined by Christianity, which arose in a Jewish (Hebrew) society

¹It is the second volume of a work whose first traced the development of the western tradition during the ancient and medieval periods, among the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and western European peoples, down to about 1500.

that had itself been influenced by the neighboring civilizations of the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates river valleys. The western traditions are thus the result of a heritage from the Romans, Greeks, Hebrews, and other peoples of the Ancient Near East to the peoples of early western Europe.

THE SPREAD OF WESTERN TRADITIONS

These traditions in turn spread to other primitive peoples on the peripheries of the western European world, to the Celts of the British Isles, the Scandinavians in northern, and some of the Slavic and Ural-Altaic peoples in eastern, Europe. The peoples who adopted the western traditions may themselves be properly called western. At the end of the fifteenth century the western European peoples expanded overseas, to South Africa, the Americas, the South Seas, and isolated trading posts in India and elsewhere, thus expanding enormously the area holding to western European traditions. The western area has continued to expand since that date. For the moment it has lost (at least politically if not culturally) some nations of eastern Europe to Russia, and its spread in Asia has been checked and challenged by the spread of communism there.

THE WESTERN TRADITION

It is more usual to speak of the western tradition than of western traditions. What is meant by the singular is ordinarily more than the sum or synthesis of all the traditions. The western tradition refers to the democratic way of life, whose chief characteristic it takes to be the greatest possible realization of the good and creative potentialities of the individual in organized society. This characteristic may be called democratic individualism. In this sense the history of the western tradition has to do with the development of the democratic way of life, or democratic individualism, in the West.

THE WESTERN CONFLICT BETWEEN HUMANISM AND ASCETICISM

In describing this development from about 1500 to date this volume follows the argument that the western tradition has grown from a conflict between humanism and asceticism. Humanism it identifies with the general outlook of the ancient Greeks and with the adaptation of this outlook by the Romans. Asceticism it identifies with the general outlook of Christianity and other oriental religions and with those aspects of the societies of the Ancient Near East that supported this religious outlook.² The Greek attitude, however moral, was not religious in the sense that it interpreted life only in supernatural terms. Greek religion was elaborated by poets and artists, not by theologians, and accordingly it never became authoritative or dogmatic.³ The Greeks had an unbounded faith in the ability

²These matters are treated in the early chapters of Vol. I.

³Here and in what follows the writer is using some of the language of the first volume to describe the humanistic and ascetic outlooks.

of man himself to work out an accurate account of the nature of the world and man. It was enough for him to put his mind to this end, to use his reason. Such an approach produced an interpretation of the world in terms of science and mathematics, and of man in terms of philosophy. As a rational animal, man's chief task was to discover the art of living in this world, and this art had chiefly to do with adapting the individual to life in a political society. As a responsible citizen of a state, the individual was to seek to realize his full human stature. This stature, at its best, avoided extremes or excesses in any direction. It was composed of a harmonious balance between reason and emotion, thought and action. It cultivated beauty in whatever form as a necessary enrichment of human character. To the ordinary Greek there was no reward for the achievement of a good life except the satisfaction of having lived well. Ultimately he came to conceive of mankind as a universal brotherhood.

THE ASCETIC, OR CHRISTIAN, VIEW

The ascetic, or Christian, emphasis was, to begin with, otherworldly rather than this-worldly. The chief good was to realize not the good life on earth but eternal life in heaven. The individual could not achieve this end without the aid of God, whose will and power gave meaning to man's existence. Christianity's early instruction to man was to ignore the world and to follow the Savior, Jesus, the Christ. If its attitude toward the contemporary world was hostile and toward the future of this world pessimistic, its opinion of man himself was not flattering. Man, its theologians said, because of his sin had fallen away from the perfection with which God had originally endowed him in Eden. This original sin was physically inherited by all the children of Adam, and it explained the miserable state of affairs to which men had brought this world. Indeed, because of this sin man lost the ability he possessed in the Garden of Eden of directing his own future, of making his own choices, of exercising his free will. It was only with divine intervention and with constant divine aid that this free will could be restored, and then not for the purpose of reforming the world but of meeting the conditions set up by God for the attainment of eternal life. Thus the men who began the Christian civilization of which we are still a part were taught by their religion to loathe their ordinary selves and the world in which they dwelt and to devote their efforts to meriting a divine aid that would help them to become sinless and reward them with eternal contemplation of their God.⁴

CHRISTIAN HUMANISM

Before asceticism in this Christian form became official and universal in the western world it had come to terms with classical humanism. Only to the extent that classical art, literature, and philosophy could be used

⁴For a further analysis of this ascetic point of view see Vol. I, Chap. viii.

CHRONOLOGY — The Renaissance: Humanism and the Arts in the 16th and 17th Centuries

	Artists	Musicians	Literary Figures
1300	Giotto (1276?–1337?) Brunelleschi (1377–1446) Donatello (1386–1466)		Petrarch (1304–1374) Boccaccio (1313–1375)
1400	Masaccio (1401–1428) Alberti (1404–1472) Botticelli (1447?–1510) Ghirlandaio (1449–1494) da Vinci (1452–1519) Holbein (1460–1524) Dürer (1471–1528)		Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) Erasmus (ca. 1469–1536) Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533)
1500	Michelangelo (1475–1564) Titian (1477–1576) Raphael (1483–1520) Cellini (1500–1571) Veronese (1528–1588) El Greco (1548?–1614?) Carlo Maderna (1556–1629)	Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594)	Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) Rabelais (1494–1553) Vasari (1511–1574) Luiz de Camoens (1524–1580) Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585) Montaigne (1533–1592) Tasso (1544–1595) Cervantes (1547–1616) Spenser (1552?–1599) Shakespeare (1564–1616) Jonson (1573?–1637)
1600	Rubens (1577–1640) Bernini (1598–1680) Velazquez (1599–1660) Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669)	Monteverdi (1567–1643) Purcell (1658?–1695) Corelli (1653–1713)	Corneille (1606–1684) John Milton (1608–1674) La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680) La Fontaine (1621–1695) Molière (1622–1673) Bishop Bossuet (1627–1704) Charles Perrault (1628–1703) Dryden (1631–1700) Boileau (1636–1711) Racine (1639–1699) La Bruyère (1645–1696) Fontenelle (1657–1757)
1700		Vivaldi (1678–1741) Domenico Scarlatti (1683–1757) Händel (1685–1759)	Alexander Pope (1688–1744)

to enhance the effectiveness of the Christian outlook was it permissible to use this humanism. Man, the possessor of a divine soul, was given some part in its salvation. Certain features of Christianity, moreover, were potentially democratic. It taught the equality of souls in the sight of God, and it taught the love of neighbors as an obligation to God.⁵ Altogether these attitudes may be called Christian humanism, but they were by no means dominant when German barbarians took over the western world. Rather, with the disintegration of the Roman Empire, a rather limited, ignorant, and superstitious Christian asceticism, reflecting the character of late Roman culture, was left to guide the barbarian peoples of western Europe.

THE CHRISTIAN HUMANISM OF ERASMUS

In the course of the Middle Ages (*ca.* 500–1500) the culture of the ancient world was recovered and together with it its regnant humanistic spirit. The recovery was accompanied by an economic and political revival which restored a measure of stability, prosperity, and hope to a world that had long been prostrate. It thus became possible once again to temper the otherworldly, ascetic mood with its humanistic opposite and to bring forth a new species of Christian humanism. This was the work of the late medieval centuries. It culminated in the writings of the great Dutch humanist Erasmus.⁶ The attitude of Erasmus, however, went beyond a gentle and civilized attempt to compromise a Christian and a pagan point of view. Erasmus was a serious reformer. He proposed to the Christian Church of his day a radical adaptation to the new humanism in both belief and practice. This adaptation the Church was not able to make. The conflict between a revived humanism and an older asceticism was prolonged and indeed intensified when the Christian Church split into Catholic and Protestant halves.

SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM

The Protestant and Catholic reformations, it will be pointed out, revived and intensified the spirit of Christian asceticism and thus tended to thwart the growth of humanism that had taken place in the earlier centuries. This growth, known as the Renaissance, continued, nevertheless, into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and permeated art and literature as well as thought. It was accompanied by a brilliant spurt in the history of western science, marking the real beginnings of controlled experimentation in the laboratory. At the same time man caught a glimpse of what an applied science might do to relieve and improve his earthly state. This enthusiasm for science as man's tool, a means to discover new truth, and a method of raising his status and enlarging his opportunity is ordinarily called scientific humanism.

⁵For a further development of this theme, see Vol. I, pp. 365 ff.

⁶For a more detailed treatment of Erasmus, see Vol. I, Chap. xvi.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the western world took to the high seas and began its colonization of new worlds. This expansion speeded the development of capitalism and increased the middle class of merchants, industrialists, and bankers. In the same centuries the western tradition was strengthened by early political triumphs in the revolt of the Dutch from Spain and in the victory of the English parliament over the Stuart kings. The above movements came to a climax with the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, when men, under the influence of the humanistic and democratic tradition of the West, thought they must make morality natural and Christianity scientific, and extend the method of science to the study of politics, society, and economics. They believed that governments would welcome the chance to put into effect the results of such study. There was no limit to the progress which man might make. The eager promise was now first raised of creating an earthly kingdom of man to make less urgent, if not to supplant, the heavenly kingdom of God. The American Revolution seemed a vindication of this promise.

The French Revolution appeared at first to be another vindication of this humanistic dream. But before it was over it felt obliged to resort to tyranny and the slaughter of French citizens by the guillotine. It also unleashed French armies in what turned out under Napoleon to be an imperialistic aggression upon Europe. Were these the results of natural morality, scientific religion, humanism, and democracy?

In their confusion after the fall of Napoleon large parts of the western world wished to return to medieval Christianity and the absolute state for security; others tried to implement further the revolutionary tradition. In this way the centuries-old struggle between asceticism and humanism was renewed and intensified. The Napoleonic empire inspired European nationalisms, a new constructive-destructive force in the world. The results of science when applied to industry produced the factory, the factory town, the factory worker, and a new form of industrial capitalism. Charles Darwin published the *Origin of Species* in 1859, suggesting the theory of evolution and the notion that the first men were close relatives of the apes. Driven on by the new industrialism and nationalism, the western world appropriated Africa and large parts of Asia. Industrialism and nationalism, essentially unchristian, in their early manifestations strengthened the opposition to otherworldly and dogmatic Christianity that was being continued by science, philosophy, and literature. This opposition was encouraged by the support which Christian churches still gave to conservative and reactionary forces in Europe; when popes, for example, who claimed to be infallible, damned science, liberalism, and progress.

The western democratic tradition took the form of liberalism in the nineteenth century, a liberalism that was almost wholly absorbed in England and on the Continent by democratic socialism. This occurred after

the Industrial Revolution had produced in Karl Marx, by way of protest against its inhumanity, a distorted theory of history and an undemocratic political program that became, when added to a program of anticapitalistic, economic, and social reform, a kind of religion for the radical wing of the European working classes. The communism of Karl Marx was a further challenge to the Christian tradition. Together with industrialism and other programs of political and economic change it forced Christianity for the first time to concern itself seriously with social reform (Christian Socialism, the Social Gospel). Thus a new Christian humanism arose to strengthen the old in a movement that sought to meet the continuing and expanding challenges of science, industrialism, and other secular programs for building the kingdom of man. There was now need for a new synthesis with a humanistic tradition that, in becoming more scientific than classical, had lost some of its power to combat pessimistic, amoral determinisms inimical to any earthly hope for man. The awful results of two world wars in the twentieth century have postponed this accommodation and deepened the pessimism of the western world. At the same time they have taught many that the humanistic faith must be ardent to survive, must ally itself with the humanistic spirit in Christianity, and learn from its ascetic spirit at least how to sacrifice the immediate for the larger good.

The Renaissance

THE MEANING OF RENAISSANCE

The gradual recapture by the West of its ancient Greek, Roman, and early Christian inheritance is often given the French name of Renaissance, or rebirth. By this is meant that the culture of the classical world, having died with the fall of the Roman Empire, was now resuscitated, resurrected, or simply reborn into a Christian world. The Renaissance (Renaissance) can be given a somewhat larger meaning. What we call western civilization was born when, after the death of classical civilization, German barbarians took over a world that had but recently become Christian. It is possible to say, as the Christian humanists said, that by the end of the fifteenth century this Christianity had become somewhat moribund. The rebirth of classical civilization in its midst amounted to a kind of rebirth of this western civilization itself, or at least to a kind of regeneration. In this sense the meaning of the term Renaissance is not limited to the recovery by the West of its classical heritage. It means also the influence of the first real appropriation of, or thinking about, this heritage upon the developing vernacular culture of the West. Thus the Renaissance means not only a rebirth of the knowledge of what the ancient world thought but how the western thinker changed his mind after he had thought about what the ancient thinkers thought. The Renaissance then means not

only a rebirth of acquaintance with, and appreciation of, what the ancient world had done in the fields of art but how the western artist modified his work after he had made this acquaintance. The Renaissance means not only a rebirth in the reading of, and enthusiasm for, classical literature but what happened to the vernacular languages and literatures of the West after their authors had read and learned to love the literature of the Greeks and Romans. The Renaissance therefore has to do with the western world under the influence of the recovery of the classical tradition. In this sense it is not yet over, nor will it ever be over for as long as westerners become acquainted with, and are influenced by, the classical authors. This influence was greatest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Renaissance of these as well as of the earlier centuries is therefore a chapter in the widening and deepening of the western mind and spirit. As a creative period it is one of the West's most glorious. Until its humanism became pedantic and dogmatic it constituted a liberation.

RENAISSANCE EMPHASIS UPON FREE WILL AND REASON

It has been pointed out⁷ that the Italian humanist and Neoplatonist Pico della Mirandola thought that man's essential dignity consisted in his free will to choose whether to ascend to the ranks of the angels or to descend to the ranks of the brutes. This intermediary position of man between the angels and the brutes was characteristic of the ordinary view of the period of the Renaissance. It is reflected in a description of man from an Italian work of the sixteenth century, Romei's *Courtiers' Academy*. Here God is made to say to Adam: "Live, O Adam, in what life pleaseth thee best and take unto thyself those gifts which thou esteemest most dear." The author then observes, "From this so liberal a grant had our free will its origin, so that it is in our power to live like a plant, a living creature, like a man, and lastly like an angel; for if a man addict himself only to feeding and nourishment, he becometh a plant, if to things sensual he is a brute beast, if to things reasonable and civil he groweth a celestial creature; but if he exalt the beautiful gift of his mind to things invisible and divine he transformeth himself into an angel and, to conclude, herewith the Son of God."⁸ The supreme human faculty, the reason, separated man from the beasts. Through its employ he approached the angels and God.

THE RENAISSANCE GENTLEMAN

To the society of the Renaissance the ideal gentleman was not simply a creature of reason. He was a person of greatly varied attainments. As portrayed in Baldassare Castiglione's (1478-1529) *The Book of the Courtier* he is assumed to be "a perfect courtier," preferably "nobly born

⁷See Vol. I, pp. 768 ff.

⁸E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture*, p. 62.

and of gentle race . . . endowed by nature not only with talent and beauty of person and feature, but with a certain grace and . . . air that shall make him at first sight pleasing and agreeable to all who see him." His "principal and true profession . . . ought to be that of arms." He should be "modest, reserved, [and] above all things [avoid] ostentation and . . . impudent self-praise." If he is deserving, however, he need not hesitate to praise himself, for "among the ancient authors, whoever carries weight seldom fails to praise himself." The courtier must know "how to wrestle" and be "a perfect horseman." He ought to be a good hunter, for among other reasons "'tis seen to have been much cultivated among the ancients. . . . It is fitting also to know how to swim, to leap, to run, to throw stones," and to play tennis. The gentleman must also be a man of letters as well as a warrior, hunter, and sportsman, for letters are "useful and necessary to any life and dignity. . . . I would have him more than passably accomplished in those studies that are called the humanities, and conversant not only with the Latin language but with the Greek. . . . Let him be well versed in the poets . . . the orators and historians, and also proficient in writing verse and prose, especially in this vulgar tongue of ours." He should also be a musician "able to read" music and "play upon diverse instruments." He should know "how to draw and to have acquaintance with the very art of painting. . . . The ancients . . . greatly prized both the art and the artist. . . . And if he should never derive from it other use or pleasure than the help it affords in judging the merit of statues ancient and modern, of vases, buildings, medals, cameos, intaglios, and the like,—it also enables him to appreciate the beauty of living bodies, not only as to delicacy of face but as to symmetry of all the other parts, both in men and in every other creature. Thus you see how a knowledge of painting is a source of very great pleasure. And let those think of this who so delight in contemplating a woman's beauty that they seem to be in paradise, and yet cannot paint: which if they could do, they would have much greater pleasure, because they would more perfectly appreciate the beauty which engenders such satisfaction in their hearts."⁹ From this it would follow that the Renaissance, like the medieval, gentleman must be a true lover.

RENAISSANCE INDIVIDUALISM

Castiglione's view of the perfect gentleman, dependent to such an extent upon the view and example of antiquity, represents the humanistic view. Here the estimate of man is high and his potentialities considered great. The gentleman must not only be a warrior and a sportsman but a scholar, humanist, and connoisseur and practitioner of the arts. Greek humanism was first to recognize this versatile capacity of man and to demand of human life upon this earth, and particularly of the state, that it

⁹Trans. L. E. Opdycke.

make possible the realization of these wonderfully varied human gifts. This demand, now taken up again by the writers of the Renaissance, was none other than the demand to develop the whole man, the full personality, the complete individual. It was a demand made not only on behalf of the servants of the numerous Italian princely courts—the courtiers—it was made also on behalf of the artist. The artist was no longer to be regarded as a mere craftsman and member of an artisan's guild. His creative gifts, gifts of intellect and imagination as well as of execution, raised him to the rank of genius, where temperament and eccentricity were the expected accompaniments of talent. It was now the individual's right to exploit the many facets of his personality and gifts. As in the days of antiquity it was good to be alive. Fame and glory were to be achieved in this as well as in another life. Personal originality was not a trait to be suppressed. An artist's name was worth putting on his picture when anonymity was no longer a virtue. The Middle Ages could not, of course, subdue the strong personality, but pride and self-confidence were not the encouraged virtues. Nor was life meant to be an opportunity to develop one's talents in those days. With the Renaissance, however, the strong individual in all walks of life, the despot, the general (condottiere), the churchman, the artist, the scholar, and the courtier began to strut about the historical landscape in great profusion.

BENVENUTO CELLINI

One of these was the Florentine goldsmith and sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, whose *Autobiography* is an unequalled introduction to the turbulent artistic world of early sixteenth-century Italy. For him it was the duty of all unusual men to leave posterity with a record of their achievements. "All men of whatsoever quality they be," he begins his *Autobiography*, "who have done any thing of excellence, or which may properly resemble excellence, ought, if they are persons of truth and honesty to describe their life with their own hand."¹⁰ Benvenuto was not a modest man, nor was he calm or orderly. He was quick to use his sword or dagger when he thought honor had to be defended or revenge taken, and he was ready to seduce almost any wench who took his fancy. He found it difficult to subordinate his personality to the commands and desires of his patrons, the Medici of Florence, the popes of Rome, and King Francis I of France, and however much he may wish us to believe the contrary he was scarcely amenable to conventional religious motivation. He was driven by a great talent to explore all the resources of his art and to spare no effort to perfect and expand it. Finding his capacities not limited to the work of a goldsmith he turned with success to sculpture. Each commission was for him a challenge to his talent, an opportunity to achieve mastery. Each day was an occasion for exciting adventure and enjoyment.

¹⁰Trans. J. A. Symonds.

Like Castiglione's ideal courtier he was musically gifted and trained to play upon the flute and sing by note. He even became for a time a trumpet player in the pope's band. As an apprentice in the goldsmithing art he came under the influence of ancient art. When at Pisa, he writes, "I went to see the Campo Santo [the cemetery] and there I found many beautiful fragments of antiquity, that is to say, marble sarcophagi. In other parts of Pisa also I saw many antique objects, which I diligently studied whenever I had days or hours free from the labour of the workshop." Inspired as a young man with the work of the great Florentines, he "studied the noble manner of Michelangelo and from this I have never desisted." As boys they had gone "into the Church of the Carmine to learn drawing from the Chapel of Masaccio." He copied later a design Michelangelo had made in competition with Leonardo. At Rome, "I went to draw, sometimes in Michelangelo's Chapel [The Sistine] and sometimes in the house of Agostino Chigi of Siena, which contained many incomparable paintings by that great master Raffaello [Raphael]. . . . I formed a habit of going on feast days to the ancient buildings and copying parts of them in wax or with the pencil."

HIS VERSATILITY

At Rome he set about to learn "the exquisite art of enamelling. . . . In spite of its great difficulties, it gave me so much pleasure that I looked upon them as a recreation; and this came from the special gift which the God of Nature bestowed on me, that is to say, a temperament so happy and of such excellent parts that I was freely able to accomplish whatever it pleased me to take in hand." He is proud to report that the pope exclaimed when he saw the medals he had prepared for him, "The ancients never had such medals made for them as these." When once asked by his jailor "whether I had ever had a fancy to fly, I answered that it had always been my ambition to do those things which offer the greatest difficulties to men, and that I had done them; as to flying, the God of Nature had gifted me with a body well suited for running and leaping far beyond the common average, and that with the talents I possessed for manual art I felt sure I had the courage to try flying."

BENVENUTO IN PARIS

Benvenuto left the service of a Medici pope (Clement VII), who "was accustomed to drink freely once a week, and went indeed to vomit after his indulgence," to work for Francis I. In Paris he was put up in a palace and workshop of his own and guaranteed an income the equivalent of Leonardo's when that master was in France. His first royal commission was to make "twelve silver statues, which were to stand as candelabra round his table. He wanted them to represent six gods and six goddesses and to have exactly the same height as his Majesty, which was a trifle under six cubits." In Paris he undertook also to learn how to cast in

bronze. He went to certain old men experienced in that art, but "I soon saw that they were going the wrong way about it, and began on my own account a head of Julius Caesar, bust and armour, much larger than the life, which I modelled from a reduced copy of a splendid antique portrait I had brought with me from Rome. I also undertook another head of the same size, studied from a very handsome girl, whom I kept for my own pleasures." When this maid Jeanne gave birth to his child Benvenuto remarks callously that "This was the first child I ever had, so far as I remember. I settled money enough upon the girl for dowry to satisfy an aunt of hers, under whose tutelage I placed her, and from that time forward I had nothing more to do with her."

It was, in fact, Francis I's opinion, according to Benvenuto, that he had "brought from Italy the greatest man who ever lived, endowed with all the talents." When Benvenuto showed Francis I the completed saltcellar now at Vienna, the king "uttered a loud outcry of astonishment and could not satiate his eyes with gazing at it."

Upon his return to Florence to work for Duke Cosimo, he was set to work upon a Perseus and Medusa which was to share with Donatello's Judith and Michelangelo's David the main public square of the city. He was willing, he said, "to enter into competition with the ancients" and felt "able to surpass them." The casting of the Medusa turned out superbly because, he told the duke, "I constructed that furnace anew on principles quite different from those of other founders." In the course of casting the Perseus the workshop took fire, and "from the garden such a storm of wind and rain kept blowing, that it perceptibly cooled the furnace." Cellini was seized with a fever while trying to meet all the difficulties, had to take to his bed and abandon the completion of the casting to his assistants. In his delirium he imagined a figure come to his room with the message that "your statue is spoiled, and there is no hope whatever of saving it." The impetuous artist arose to direct the work and soon had to deal with an explosion, "attended by a tremendous flash as though a thunderbolt had formed and been discharged among us. . . . The cap of the furnace had blown up, and the bronze was bubbling over from its source beneath." With this and other obstacles overcome, the mould was filled; "and seeing my work finished, I fell upon my knees, and with all my heart gave thanks to God. After all was over, I turned to a plate of salad on a bench there, and ate with a hearty appetite and drank together with the whole crew. Afterwards, I retired to bed, healthy and happy, for it was now two hours before morning, and slept as sweetly as though I had never felt a touch of illness." When the statue was displayed to the public, "on the instant of its exposure to view a shout of boundless enthusiasm went up in commendation of my work."

The Art of the Renaissance

MEDIEVAL ART

Before Renaissance art reached its glorious peak in the early sixteenth century it needed some two centuries of preparation and practice. It needed this long time to free itself from some of the ascetic art of the Middle Ages and to perfect a naturalistic technique suitable for a new style. Medieval art was by and large under the dominance of architecture and was concerned with building and decorating a suitable Christian sanctuary. The style it perfected was Gothic, and to Gothic architecture the other arts were subordinated. Since good Gothic architecture left little wall space for frescoes, cathedral painting had to confine itself largely to stained-glass windows and altarpieces. Otherwise, medieval painting took the form of manuscript or book illumination and illustration. In any case window and altarpiece in a good church were not permitted to interfere with the total internal architectural effect, the creation of a mood receptive to the dignified performance of the Christian mysteries. The exterior of the Gothic Cathedral was an elaborate sculptural decoration to the glory of God. Sculpture, too, was subordinated to the vertical lines of the cathedral.

The subject matter of cathedral art was for the most part religious, illustrating the lives of heroes and saints or the articles of faith. Its technique was often inadequate for any realistic style. But realism was not its interest. The symbol and allegory were more important, and it conformed to a long tradition of Christian iconography. The patrons of this art were the clergy, whose liturgical needs it served, and while much that was not liturgical crept into it, it is false to see in it other than an expression of deeply felt medieval Christianity.

During the Renaissance painting and sculpture superseded architecture and became dominant, exciting arts.

RENAISSANCE PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

In freeing themselves from architecture they began independent careers for themselves. Under the inspiration of classical art they became secular and humanistic as well as religious. The circle of patrons was also enlarged as the generous churchman was now joined by king, prince, despot, noble, and the new, but by-no-means unimportant, capitalistic merchant, banker, and industrialist. The king and prince needed art to enhance their power and dignity: royal palaces, splendid town houses, spacious rural villas and the means to decorate them, pictures and portraits for the walls, plate for the table, jewelry for the person, tapestries, and carpets. The merchant, banker, and industrialist, seeking to spend and invest the profits of his enterprise,aped the noble and aristocratic families with his patronage and sought to supply them with his sons and daughters as well. Because of its new freedom and its new opportunity art broke out

with wonderful and amazing profusion to enrich the life of the western upper and middle classes with a new beauty.

BYZANTIUM AND RENAISSANCE PAINTING

Gothic art had not achieved in Italy the dominance it held elsewhere. The plenteous remains of Roman and Greek art, augmented almost daily by the material finds of amateur archaeologists, kept the Italian artistic tradition close to antiquity. In any case not much classical painting had survived. Pompeii was still buried under the ashes of Vesuvius. The chief tradition in Italian painting was Byzantine rather than Gothic. This influence went back to the early centuries when Italy was a part of the Byzantine Empire,¹¹ and it was sustained by Venice's continuous trade with Constantinople.

GIOTTO AND BYZANTINE PAINTING

Byzantine painting expressed itself in mosaic and fresco adapted to the needs of an iconoclastic and mystic Christianity. The successful attack of Byzantine art upon rendering the objects of worship and adoration in human terms destroyed a religious sculpture in the round. Painting, whether mosaic or fresco, was left to express liturgical needs in a flat, symbolical, unrepresentational image, a formal decorative pattern calculated to awaken awe. Medieval Italian painting followed this tradition, as the early Florentine and Siennese schools demonstrate. The man who freed Italian painting from its limitations was the Florentine Giotto (1276?-1337?), whose frescoes are to be seen in considerable quantity in the cathedral church at Assisi and in the Arena Chapel at Padua. The tendency of this art is naturalistic, or, if the word is preferred, realistic, that is, it aims to reproduce the image as we see and know it. The painting comes to life; figures take on human form, and they are related to each other and to their environment in easily identifiable ways.

THE EXPERIMENTAL QUALITY OF WESTERN PAINTING

When the art of painting, loath to reject nature, set out to imitate it in the service of a secular as well as a religious art it undertook to solve many new technical, emotional, and intellectual problems. It became, as we are fond of saying, experimental. It is partly this quality that makes the history of western painting so exciting, for it retained its experimental character. This does not mean that while solving its problems it did not achieve moments of classic perfection. Still, it never rested with these. Joined as this art is with a recognition of the rights of individuality, expecting as it does that genius will be original, it forces the creative artist always to look beyond the achievement of the moment for new answers to old problems, answers that employ new methods and materials as well

¹¹See Vol. I, pp. 464 f.

as new subject matter and points of view. Painting that rests on its laurels it comes to regard as academic. Thus the history of western painting from the days of the early Renaissance describes the restless and unceasing search for a perfect beauty or artistic truth.

EARLY RENAISSANCE ART

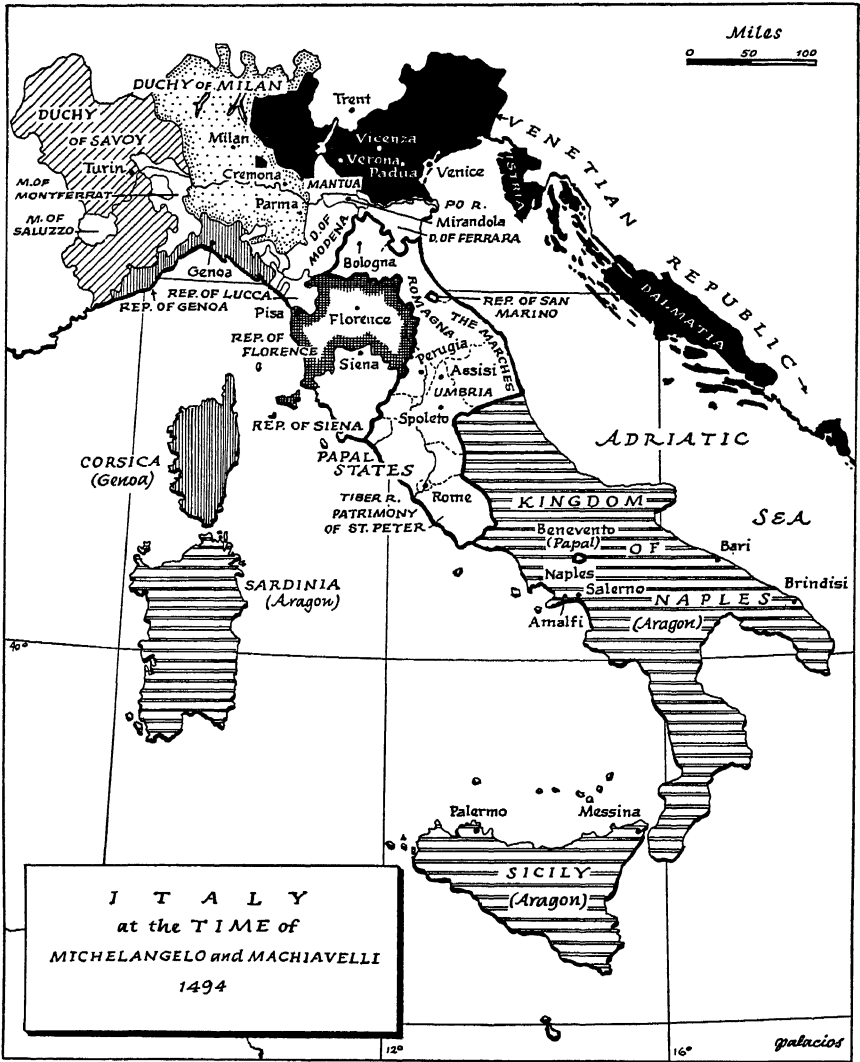
In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the major discoveries were made by Florentine and Flemish artists; in the sixteenth by Roman, Venetian, German, and Spanish; in the seventeenth by Flemish, Dutch, and French. Florentine artists of the earlier period between Giotto and Cellini were engaged in working out the implications of Giotto's art. These were chiefly two: (1) the natural representation of the human figure and (2) the relationship of persons and objects in three-dimensional space. The solution of these problems rested in part upon science and mathematics; the former upon anatomy, and the latter upon geometry. Artists like Uccello and Polaiuolo were interested in the accurate portrayal of human musculature; men like Ghirlandaio in realistic portraiture and the accurate rendering of social pageantry. The paintings of Masaccio which Benvenuto went to see in the chapel of the Church of the Carmine are concerned with a proper naturalistic treatment of human emotions, for example, despair. For some reason the Florentines were not primarily aroused by the problems of color; these they left to the Venetians. They were content to draw with the delicate line of a Botticelli. Classical art had grown accustomed to portraying the human figure in the nude. Renaissance painting and sculpture took up this tradition again, and, clothes off or clothes on, they let it be known that their human figures had normal human bodies.

ARTISTS OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The artists mentioned above in Benvenuto's *Autobiography* were, like him and like Castiglione's perfect courtier, all-round or universal men. Michelangelo was first of all a magnificent sculptor, almost as fine a painter, a very serious Neoplatonist poet, an engineer of sufficient stature to be entrusted with the fortifications of his native city of Florence, and an architect of St. Peter's in Rome. Leonardo da Vinci was a great painter, a military engineer, an important early modern scientist, and an extraordinary inventor.¹² Raphael was a papal supervisor for classical antiquities, an architect, and a painter of the utmost distinction. Michelangelo, Raphael, and others worked together at Rome supported by papal and clerical patronage at a moment when the Church was being challenged successfully by Protestantism and needed the support of art as propaganda. This need helped to develop a new artistic style, the baroque, that in the later sixteenth century supplanted the style of the high Renaissance and,

¹²See pp. 147 f.

as the artistic expression of the Counter Reformation and the absolute state, swept Europe in a new international movement comparable to the earlier Gothic. Before the Renaissance became popular and European, the papacy under men such as Julius II, Leo X, and Clement VII had long taken the leadership from Florence. In the Vatican and St. Peter's are crowded the artistic results of this leadership.



MICHELANGELO

The peak of Renaissance artistic development came with Michelangelo (1475-1564), one of the most gifted and profound artists ever to have graced and dignified humanity or to have revealed its superb potentiality.

The recognition of his supreme talent was not reserved for later centuries. Vasari, one of his friends and contemporaries, who wrote extensively of the lives of Italian artists, says in his biography of Michelangelo that "It is evident and well known that all these three arts [sculpture, painting, and architecture] were so perfected in him that it is not found that among persons ancient or modern, in all the many years that the sun has been whirling round, God has granted this to any other but Michelangelo."¹³ He was the kind of artist who absorbs completely the tradition of his craft and re-expresses it in a contemporary, powerful, and original style and form. He is likewise the kind of artist who achieves early technical mastery and can thus concentrate on the meaning of his art. At thirteen he was put to work in Domenico Ghirlandaio's studio. He was then taken up by the Medici, becoming a member of a household frequented by such distinguished members of the Florentine Academy¹⁴ as Pico della Mirandola and Marsilio Ficino. When the Medici lost power in Florence (1492) he was called to Rome to work for the popes, including later the Medici ones, for most of the remainder of his long life. He came to Rome at a time when its artistic life was being stimulated through the excavation of masterpieces of ancient sculpture and became thoroughly devoted to the classical tradition. In studying any of his works the historian must first seek to find whatever source there may be in it from the classical period: a piece of antique sculpture, a sarcophagus, a tomb, or a classical building.

MICHELANGELO AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION

Michelangelo was no more a mere copier of the antique than a reproducer in stone or pigment of the human features and the activity of the life about him. He paid, of course, close attention to the facts of the human body. Vasari says of him that "in order to be entirely perfect, innumerable times he made anatomical studies, dissecting men's bodies in order to see the principles of their construction and the concatenation of the bones, muscles, veins, and nerves, the various movements of all the postures of the human body." He gloried in the beauties of the human nude, male and female. He had no patience with the prudery of those who protested against the nude figures of his Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel. "It was a very disgraceful thing," said one of them, "to have made in so honorable a place all those nude figures showing their nakedness so shamelessly . . . it was a work not for the chapel of a pope but for . . . a tavern." Vasari explains also how he transformed the ruined Baths of Diocletian into a church for Carthusian friars, forming from "the skeleton of those baths . . . a most beautiful temple, with an entrance surprising the expectations of all the architects." He could not, however, be contained within the framework of classical art. His talent was too large to submit to the rules and regulations of academics insisting upon conform-

¹³*Lives of the Italian Painters*, trans. G. D. De Vere, IX, 104.

¹⁴See Vol. I, pp. 767 f., for a discussion of this Academy.

ity to what they considered to be the only true art, that of antiquity. Vasari emphasizes this in more than one place. "He departed," he says, "not a little from the work regulated by measure, order, and rule, which other men did according to a common use, and after Vitruvius [the Roman authority on architecture] and the antiquities, to which he would not conform. . . . He never consented to be bound by any law, whether ancient or modern, in matters of architecture, as one who had a brain always able to discover things new and well-reasoned, and in no way less beautiful."

MICHELANGELO AND HIS ART

If Michelangelo was no prude he was a kind of ascetic. Although his fees made him a comparatively rich man he lived the unostentatious life of one wholly absorbed in the practice of his art. A priest once said to him that he ought to have had a wife and children. Vasari quotes his reply: "I have only too much of a wife in this art of mine, who has always kept me in tribulation, and my children shall be the works that I may leave, which, even if they are naught, will live a while." He never had a large circle of friends, preferring, it seems, the companionship of his art. Vasari says that "Michelangelo delighted in solitude, he having been one who was enamoured of his art, which claims a man with all his thoughts" as a slave for herself. Michelangelo himself said: "Rich though I have become, yet I have always lived as a poor man, . . . eating more from necessity than for pleasure." As a young man in the fever of creation he did not bother to remove his clothes at night. He tortured himself with the grandiose character of the projects he was willing to undertake, and for the sake of his work tolerated the eccentricities of a pope (Julius II) who threatened to throw him off the scaffold he was working on because he was not getting along fast enough (Julius is even said to have caned him). This was the scaffold erected so that Michelangelo could paint the frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. To do this he had often to lie down on his back to paint. Vasari reports that "the work [on the Sistine Chapel] was executed with very great discomfort to himself from his having to labour with his face upwards, which so impaired his sight that for a time, which was not less than several months, he was not able to read letters or look at drawings even with his head backwards."¹⁵ Michelangelo in a sense had to abandon the world in order to be able to respond to the demonic urge of his talent. Other monks had to fight their demons. Michelangelo utilized his.

MICHELANGELO AS A CHRISTIAN HUMANIST

It has been said that "Michelangelo's powerful inhibited figures reflect the disparity between Christian emotion and the antique ideal, free human

¹⁵It is not to be assumed, however, that he painted the whole ceiling on his back. C. De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, II, 103: "For the most part he worked while standing instead of lying on a mattress."

will and the will of God. The rational forms of classical sculpture were not made for the ecstasy of a Christian mystic. They writhe in the possession of an unfamiliar spirit and betray by brutal distortion, incongruous proportions, and discordant composition, the force of the collision of medieval Christianity with the Renaissance."¹⁶ The reference here is to what we have constantly called the conflict between humanism and asceticism as the foundation of our tradition. This conflict may be seen again in certain of the works of Michelangelo trying to express in classical form Christian thought and feeling. But not all his works are powerful inhibited figures. Some possess a calm, serene beauty which lifts them into the realm of perfection. It has been noticed in this book that the conflict between humanism and asceticism has often produced something called a Christian humanism. Most recently¹⁷ the outlook of the Platonic Academy at Florence has been used to illustrate a kind of Christian humanism¹⁸ whose sources were Plato and Plotinus. The Christian humanism of Erasmus has also been mentioned, and its sources were (1) what he saw to be the fundamental identity between classical and Christian morality and (2) a reforming temperament anxious to correct contemporary Christianity in the light of the best in classical and Christian antiquity.

PLATONISM AND NEOPLATONISM

Plato saw in the world about us but an evanescent appearance of reality.¹⁹ It was actually real or true only in so far as it reflected ideas or ideals considered to be eternal, and therefore divine, objects of thought. There was something called beauty, and things were beautiful in so far as they reflected this perfect and eternal idea of beauty. One had to search for the beauty in things. Plato, and following him the Neoplatonists, interpreted the world as a conflict between these ideas or ideals considered as spiritual and the world of matter. They spoke of the spiritual soul imprisoned in matter. The Neoplatonists, echoing Plato himself, spoke of the struggle of the soul to get free of the prison of the material body and to return to the divine source (God) from which it came. They sought to cultivate that ecstatic union of the individual with the divine that is called mysticism, an approach introduced into Christianity by Augustine and others. Thus for these men prayer, learning, and humanism could be sublimated into the search for the ideal and the approach to God.

MICHELANGELO AND NEOPLATONISM

There can be little doubt that Michelangelo was a disciple of the Florentine Academy and thus an artist representing a Christian humanist out-

¹⁶C. R. Morey, *Christian Art*, p. 62. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 177, n. 13.

¹⁷See Vol. I, pp. 767 f.

¹⁸See Vol. I, pp. 790 f.

¹⁹See Vol. I, pp. 135 f.

look. In fact it has been said that to Ficino and Pico, the leading lights of the Academy, he owed "his concept of aesthetics which is based on the adoration of earthly beauty as the reflection of the divine idea; his ethics which rests upon the recognition of the dignity of mankind as the crown of creation, and his religious concept which considers paganism and Christianity as merely externally different manifestations of the universal truth. Here he laid the foundation for his struggle away from the deceptive world of appearance toward the realm of absolute truth."²⁰ This view has been also put as follows: "While the Neoplatonic belief in the presence of the spiritual in the material lent a philosophical background to his aesthetic and amorous enthusiasm for beauty, the opposite aspect of Neoplatonism, the interpretation of human life as an unreal, derivative and tormenting form of existence comparable to a life in Hades, was in harmony with that unfathomable dissatisfaction with himself and the universe which is the very signature of Michelangelo's genius."²¹

Michelangelo said that he conceived sculpture "to be that which is made by taking away." For Vasari this meant "taking off that which is superfluous from the material," so that it is reduced "to that form of body which is designed in the idea of the artist."²² Painting to him was only "painted sculpture." We may illustrate what we have said about his art by reference to three works from various periods of his life: (1) the Pietà in St. Peter's, (2) the frescoes of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and (3) the Medici tombs in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo at Florence.

THE PIETÀ

The Pietà was commissioned when Michelangelo was twenty-three. The contract for it states that "it will be the most beautiful work in marble that Rome has ever seen." Vasari did not think anyone could find anywhere "greater beauty of members or more mastery of art in any body, or a nude with more detail in the muscles, veins, and nerves over the framework of the bones, nor yet a corpse more similar than this to a real corpse." The superb mastery of youthful genius revealed in this work needs no philosophical interpretation to be appreciated. The agonizing tragedy of a typical medieval treatment of this theme is absent. The serious and very beautiful young Virgin—too young, some contemporaries thought—exhibits no grief-torn soul. She has all the tender grace and serenity of a woman whose supreme sacrifice has ennobled the human race. The figure of Christ is no tortured corpse. Suffused with elegant beauty, the body of the Savior rests in his lovely Mother's lap, released from the life struggle, a gentle, relaxed, and aristocratic atonement for the sins of humanity. The Christian humanism of these figures is lofty, refined, and sophisticated, yet universal in its appeal (see Pl. 1).

²⁰C. De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, I, 18-19.

²¹E. Panofsky, p. 180.

²²De Tolnay, I, 115.

THE MOSES AND THE CAPTIVES

Not long after Michelangelo's arrival in Rome, Pope Julius II entrusted him with the preparation of his tomb, to be one of the most grandiose ever prepared. It was conceived on such a huge scale (over forty large figures were to adorn it) that it had constantly to be reduced to more manageable proportions. The pope interrupted Michelangelo's early planning of it to commission him to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the private chapel of the popes. This extraordinary project entailed the painting of over three hundred figures and occupied Michelangelo from 1508 well on into 1513. When it was done and before he began work on the Medici tombs he finished the *Moses* (Pl. 2) and the *Captives* (see the *Dying Slave*, Pl. 3). The magnificent and heroic *Moses* is often considered an ideal portrait of the bellicose pontiff, an expression of his fiery resolution to play a leading role in Italian and European affairs. The *Captives* are a good example of Michelangelo's Neoplatonism, his representation of the struggle of a soul for release from the prison of the body, a struggle resulting in exhaustion and death for the body and release for the soul.

THE SISTINE FRESCOES

The intense struggle to capture in painting the ideal of perfect beauty in the human form can easily be felt in the Sistine frescoes. Organized with reference to the altar of the chapel they are concerned with the theme of human salvation and have been interpreted to represent in a Neoplatonic sense the return of the purged and divine soul to God. The ceiling is dominated by scenes from the Old Testament centering on the creation of Adam and Eve. These are surrounded by extraordinary figures of prophets and sibyls and adolescent male nudes taken to represent man's craving to be absorbed into the divine. The *Creation of Man* (Pl. 4) is an exciting painting of rare beauty. A God of Olympian and philosophic character has his arm about a future Eve, who casts a somewhat startled look upon her future mate. The forefinger of God's left hand rests upon the shoulder of an accompanying cherub. With the forefinger of his right hand he transmits life to Adam, a Greek athlete of large build. To Vasari the Adam was a "figure of such a kind in its beauty, in the attitude, and in the outlines, that it appears as if newly fashioned by the first and supreme creator rather than by the brush and design of a mortal man." Next to the *Creation of Adam*, in the *Creation of Eve* (Pl. 5) a God of Platonic mien incorporates his "idea of woman."²³ One of the prophets is Jeremiah lost in profound meditation (Pl. 6). The figure of the Cumaean Sibyl (Pl. 7) is that of a powerful male with breasts attached. The nude youths are evocations of remarkable beauty and liveliness. "Their supple bodies, freed from all individual traits and showing only the essential and typical in human forms in perfect development, appear as a reflection of

²³De Tolnay, II, 33: "The emanation of an idea which is in the mind of God."

the idea of beauty in the Platonic sense. . . . They have the aspect and pose of ancient statues because [Michelangelo] believed that the idea of beauty was thereby manifested in the purest form." The Sistine frescoes are one of the supreme creations of man. They demand detailed study from every student who would come to terms with man's possible stature. To one who has studied Michelangelo with great devotion the ceiling is "the greatest *Summa* of the life-ideals of humanism, the perfect compendium of the artistic, philosophic and poetic tendencies of the time, a veritable *Divina Commedia* of the Renaissance, as unique and as representative as Dante's poetry was for its age." To this scholar "the fine arts should be considered the primary language of thought in the sixteenth century."²⁴

THE MEDICI TOMBS

The Medici tombs (Pls. 8-11) are the chief work in sculpture of Michelangelo's later years. It is difficult for an ordinary mortal to cope with their profound artistry. The two Medici dukes Giuliano and Lorenzo, clad in the garb of Roman emperors, are represented not by portraits but by ideal figures sunk in serene and deep reflection. They are the immortal souls released from their tombs by the figures of Aurora (Dawn) and Crepuscolo (Evening), Giorno (Day) and Notte (Night), set upon the lids of the sarcophagi in unconventional positions. "The figures of Dawn, Day, Evening and Night are primarily intended to designate the destructive power of time." Michelangelo himself said that "Day and Night speak; and they say: with our fast course we have led to the death of Duke Giuliano." He planned to add a mouse, "because this little animal continually gnaws and consumes like all-devouring time." These figures convey the "impression of intense and incurable pain. Not unlike the Slaves [Captives] for the tomb of Julius II they seem to 'dream, to sleep, to die and to rage.' . . . The Aurora . . . awakening with deep disgust at life in general, the Giorno . . . convulsed with causeless and ineffective wrath, the Crepuscolo . . . exhausted with ineffable fatigue, and even the Notte . . . with her eyes not fully closed, not finding real rest."²⁵ In the words of another interpreter, the Aurora is the "tossing of the body in psychic torment; it is the awakening of someone who is aware of the futility of existence and of the trials which await him at the new day." The Evening hopelessly "looks on his vainly lived life . . . his movement is purposeless and aimless. The pose and the forms of the body indicate directly a psychic condition. . . . The inertia and grief of these outstretched figures . . . express mourning for the transitoriness of life. Aurora mourns in pain, the Crepuscolo in hopeless resignation, the Giorno in rebellion and the Notte in unfulfilled desire."²⁶

²⁴De Tolnay, II, 64, 117, 195.

²⁵Panofsky, pp. 205-206.

²⁶De Tolnay, III, 66-67.



The Pietà of Michelangelo in St. Peter's at Rome (finished between 1498 and 1501). In this early work of Michelangelo's Christian sculpture reaches a perfection comparable to the best work of the Greeks. To appreciate its idealistic Renaissance mood and mastery it should be compared with earlier realistic (Rhineland) treatments of this theme. For a discussion of Michelangelo and Plates 1-11 see pp. 18 ff.

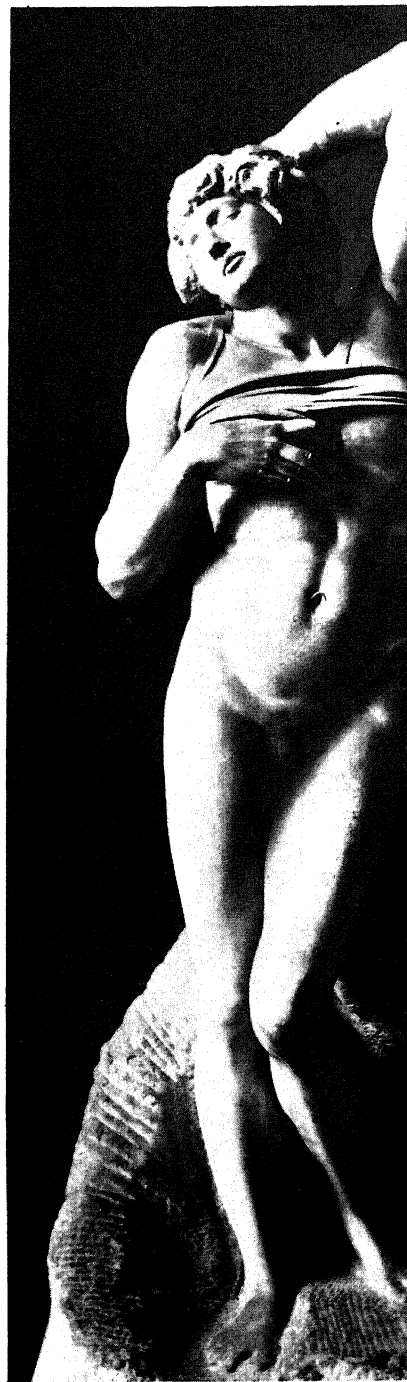


The Moses of Michelangelo on the tomb of Pope Julius II in St. Peter's in Vincoli at Rome (completed in 1515-1516). The vitality and power of this figure are related to similar qualities of the prophets painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

Plate 2

Alinari

The Dying Slave of Michelangelo (finished about 1513), now in the Louvre at Paris, was originally planned for the tomb of Julius II. Technical mastery in rendering the human form is here used to express an idea as well as to create a mood and, it may be, to re-create the Neoplatonic struggle between body (matter) and soul (spirit).





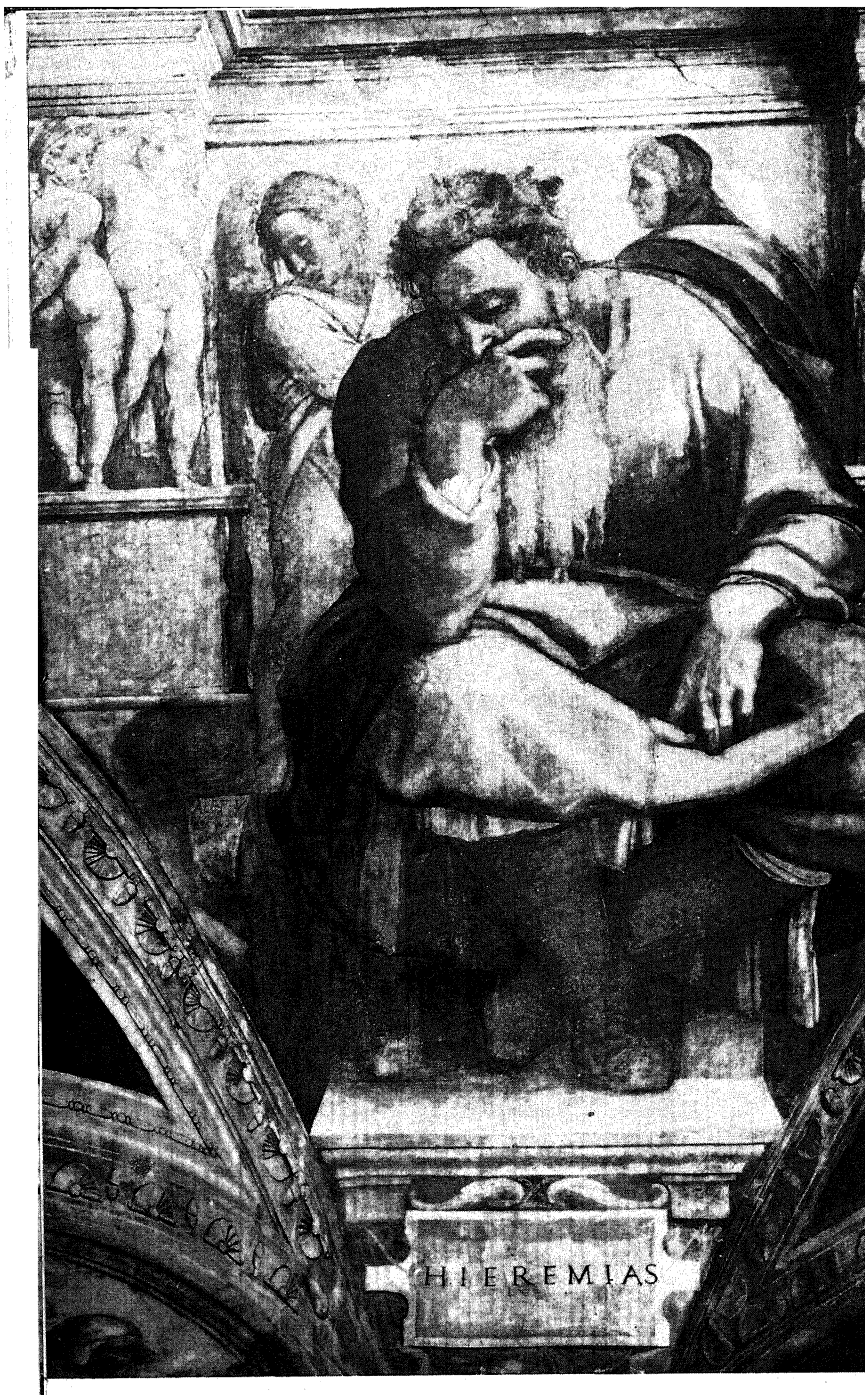
The Creation of Man (Adam), a part of the fresco Michelangelo painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, is a Renaissance climax in the treatment of this ancient theme. The decorative nude figures at the corners should also be noticed.

Plate 4

Alinari

The Creation of Woman (Eve), another panel on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. The treatment of God and Adam is different from that in the Creation of Man. A Platonic God evokes human reality from the idea of woman. The faces at the corners should again be studied.

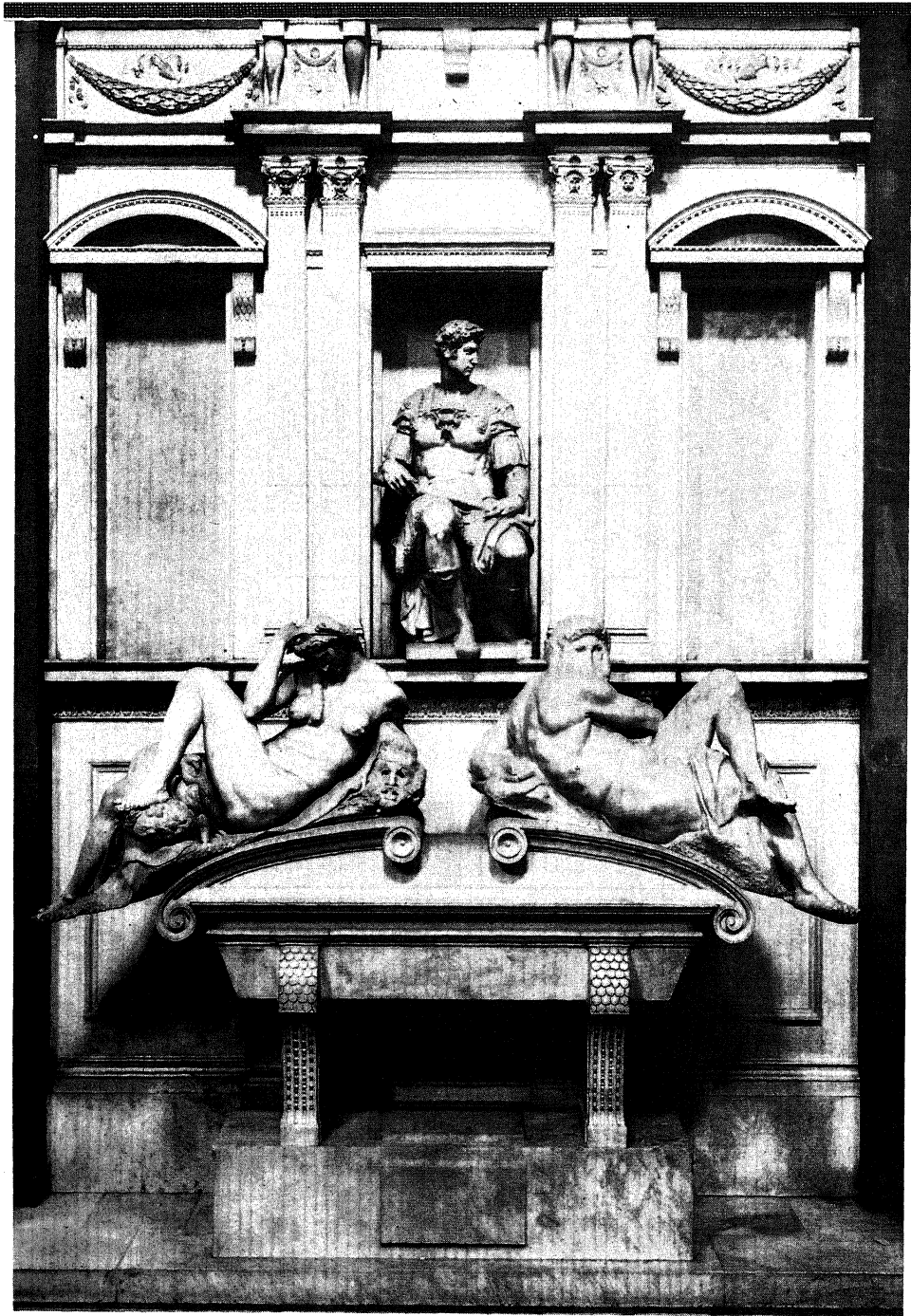




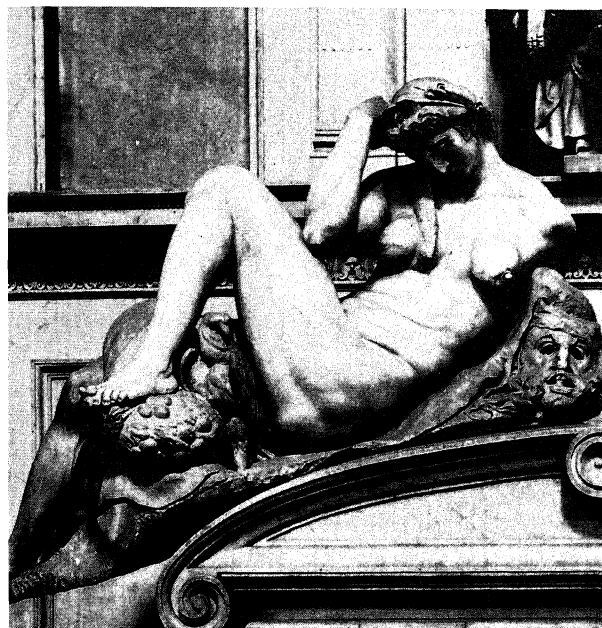
The prophet Jeremiah from the Sistine frescoes. A powerful type in a sculptor's smock (Michelangelo?) broods in deep melancholy existence and the fate of mankind.



The Cumaean Sibyl from the Sistine frescoes. The strong, haglike visage of the sibyl, emerging from a huge body (like Jeremiah's), scans the future in her books at places opened by gigantic hands.

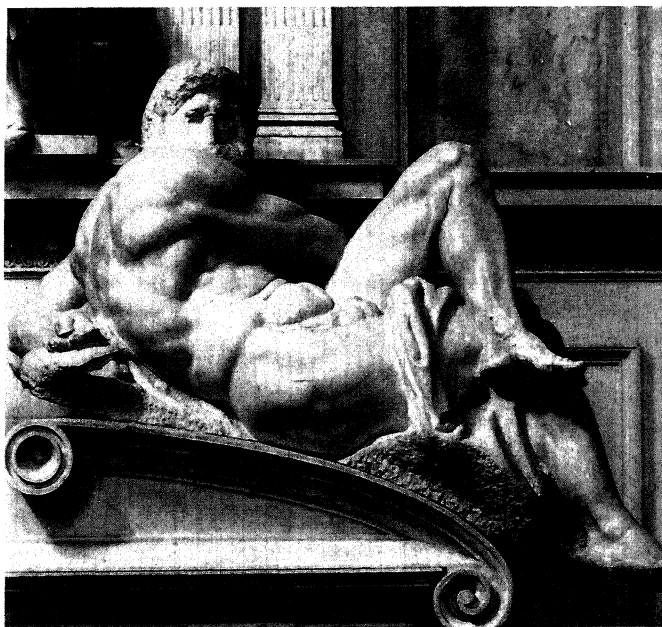


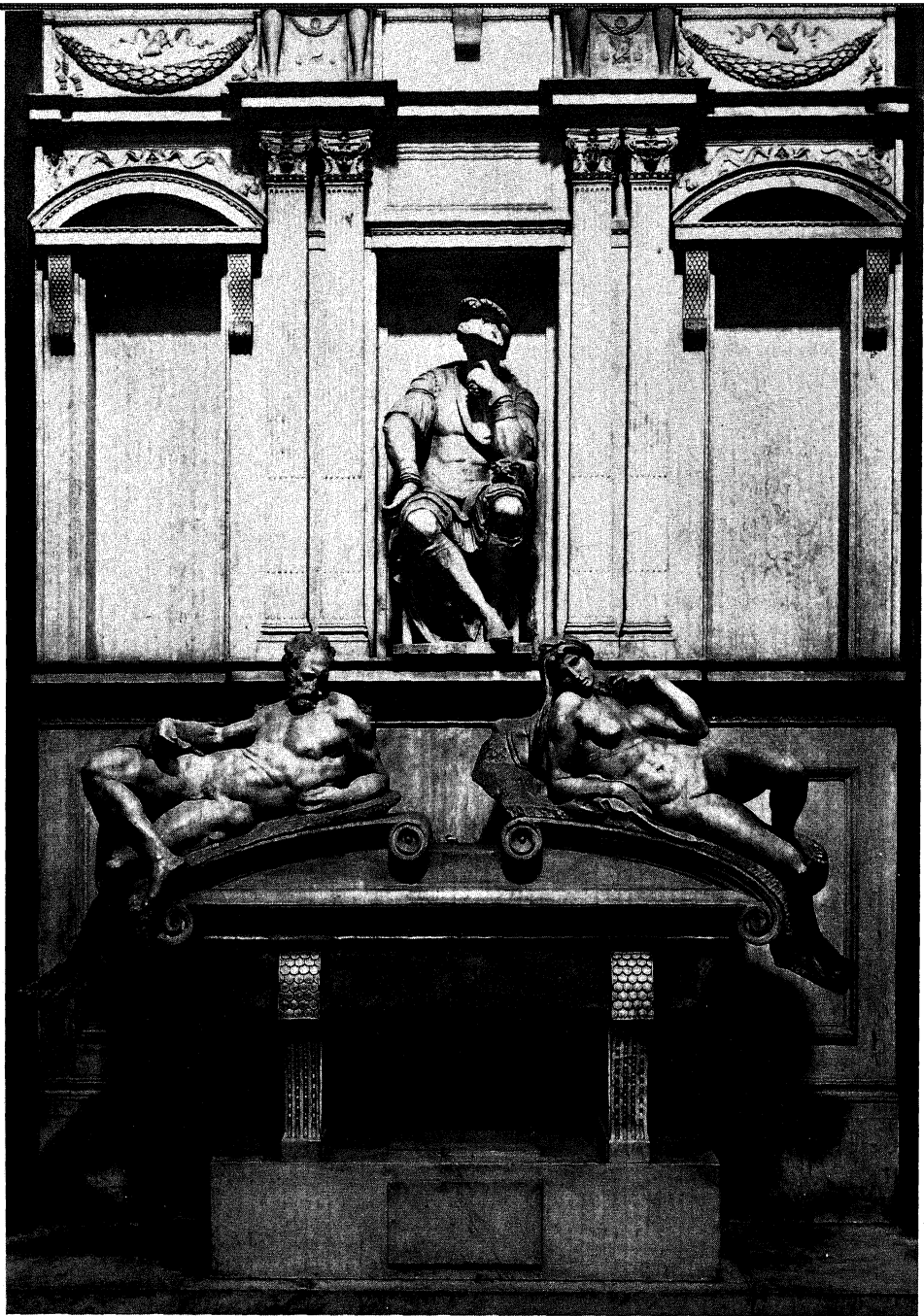
Michelangelo's Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici in the Medici Chapel of San Lorenzo at Florence. Giuliano's armored figure is flanked by the unconventionally placed figures of Night at his right and Day at his left.



The figure called Night, from the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici. Michelangelo is not to be confined by the style of an idealistic classical sculpture however perfect. Sculpture here suggests a strong feeling of debilitating melancholy that only deep sleep can assuage and a twisted body help to express.

The figure called Day, from the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici. An unfinished, fearful, and somewhat primitive face looks across the massive shoulders and arms of a Herculean body as if to protest at being aroused to contend with baffling uncertainty.

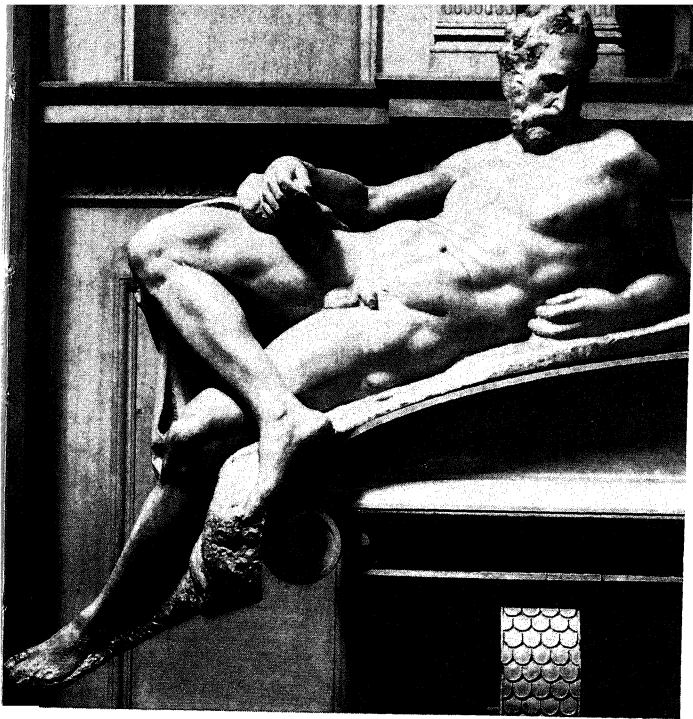




The Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici in San Lorenzo at Florence. All is not clear to this reflective Medici prince, who is flanked, like Giuliano, with the baroquely placed figures of Evening at his right and Dawn at his left. A tomb of classically balanced proportions is again upset by violent emotion.

Plate 10

Alinari



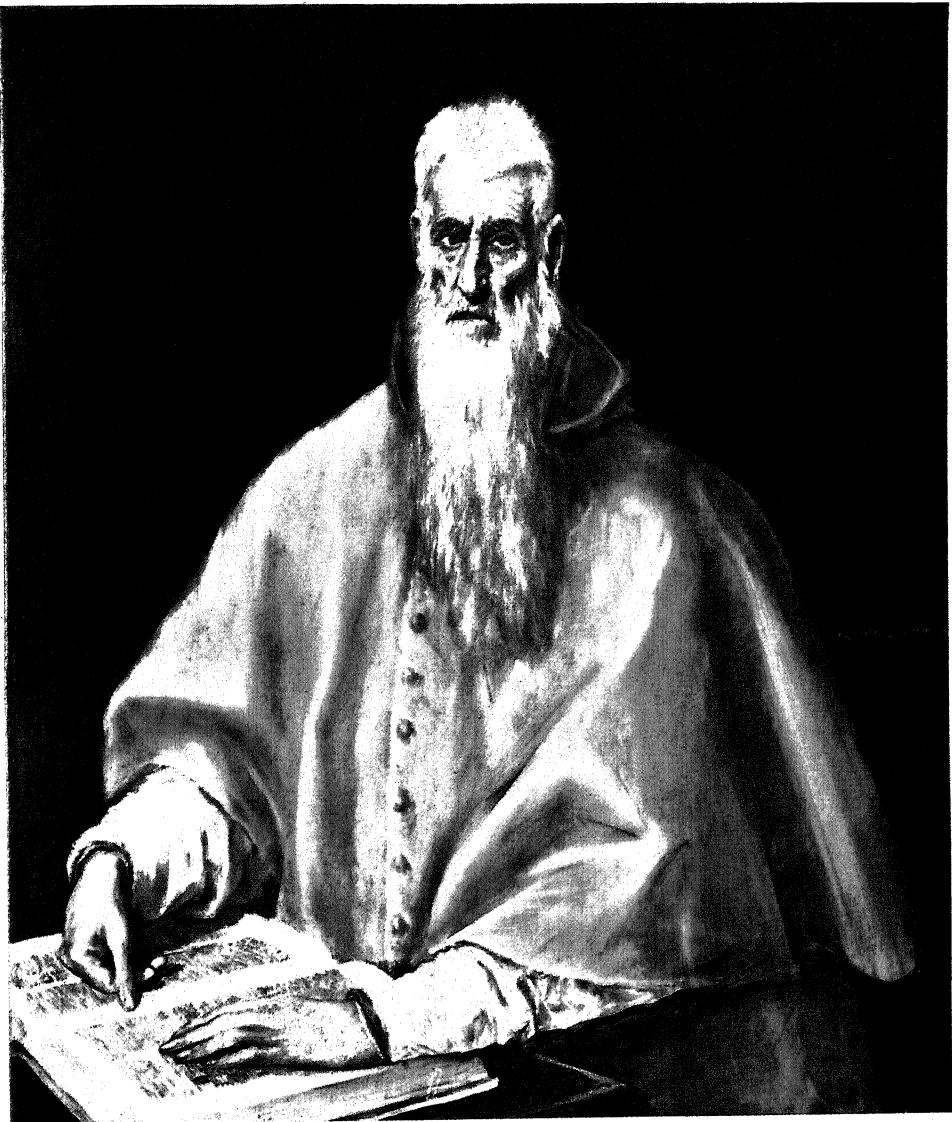
Evening, from the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici. The somber and troubled face of the kindly, elderly man looks out from a body of heroic proportions, and is sunk in shadowy reverie.

Dawn, from the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici. A face with some of the empty features of a Greek mask turns away in disgust from a languid body of great strength and beauty. To be awake is no pleasure for this suffering creature.



The baroque interior of the monastery church of Melk. Melk, a large Austrian Benedictine house of medieval origin, is located dramatically on a cliff rising above the right bank of the Danube. It was rebuilt in a gorgeous baroque style by the Austrian architect Jakob Prandtauer in the early eighteenth century (1707–1736) and has been called “one of the wonders of the eighteenth century.” See pp. 26 ff.

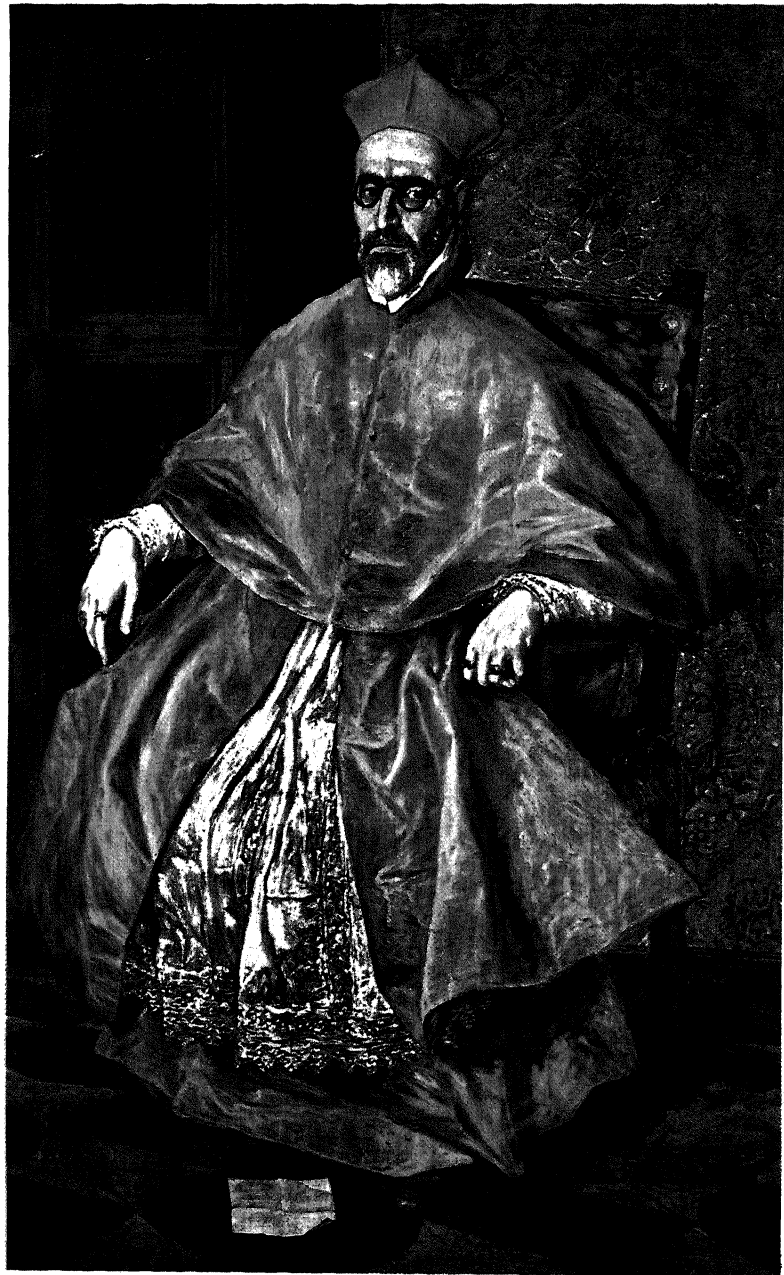




El Greco's portrait of Saint Jerome as a Cardinal. A great virtuoso portrait painted by a late Renaissance master. El Greco feels quite free to exaggerate in order to render the rugged individuality of his model for the ascetic scholar and saint. For El Greco see p. 30.

Plate 13

Copyright The Frick Collection, New York



El Greco's portrait of the Spanish Archbishop and Cardinal Don Fernando Niño de Guevara (1600). The painter makes the portrait representative of an institution and an age: the Catholic Church of the Counter Reformation. "The most magnificent and splendid of all his portraits."

Plate 14

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929; the H. O. Havemeyer Collection



Rubens's portrait of his sons Albert and Nicolas (painted about 1625). Supreme talent is used here to render youthful character and personality and to reproduce the color, shimmer, and texture of fabrics, feathers, and fur. For Rubens see pp. 30-31.

Plate 15

Collection of the Reigning Prince of Liechtenstein
Color print by Konzett & Huber

Plate 16

Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London

Rubens's treatment of the husky, plump, baroque nude, *The Judgment of Paris*.





Velázquez' rather sober and impressive *Lady with a Fan*, painted between 1640 and 1649, is actually his eldest daughter. She is ready for Mass, carrying with her a fan, a bow, and also a rosary, and wearing gloves and a mantilla. See p. 31 for a discussion of Velázquez.

Plate 17

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection, London
Color transparency by Fine Art Engravers

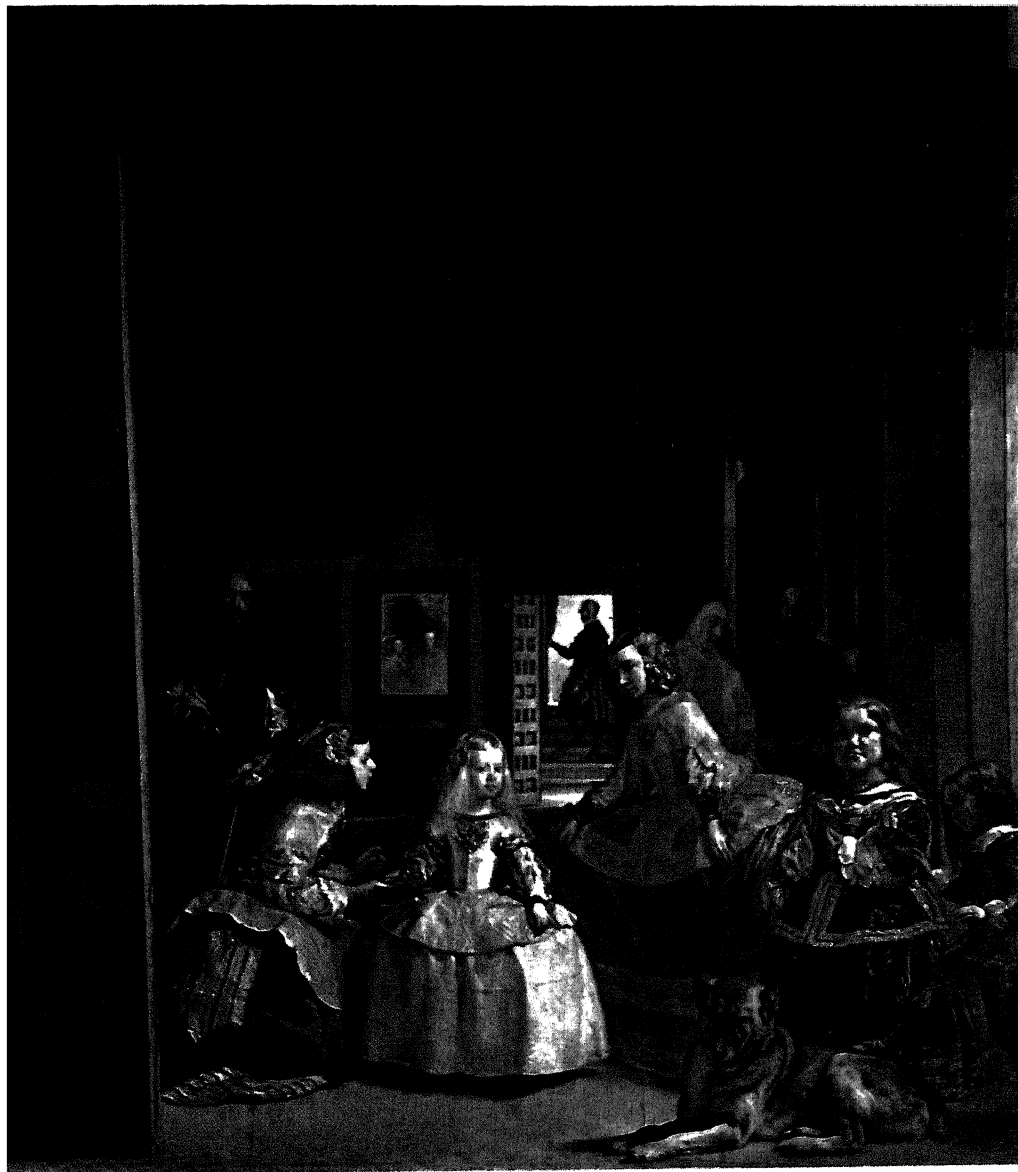


This portrait by Velázquez of Pope Innocent X has been called "one of the best portraits of all times." "Probably no painting in the world of whatever class, whether portrait, landscape or composition, has ever so seized upon the minds of all its beholders as this likeness of the man who some years before he sat to Velázquez (1650) was represented in a Roman fresco as Satan himself." Here are "the satanic power and menace of the mind behind the forbidding features, the fierce penetration of the eyes, the leashed force and ruthlessness of the massive figure; and again and still again, the marvel of its color." (A. S. Riggs, *Velázquez*, pp. 222-223)

Plate 18

Palazzo Doria, Rome; color transparency by Vasari

The Maids of Honor, *Las Meninas*. Velazquez in his studio in a corner of the Alcazar painting some visitors: King Philip IV and his queen (reflected in the mirror on the rear wall), the Infanta Margarita, and her Maids of Honor, and "the hideous dwarf" Maria Barbola with the midget Nicolasito Pertusato. "To every critic who has studied it, *Las Meninas* has irresistibly carried the impression of nature so perfectly imitated that it satisfied every observer and every critical faculty." (Riggs, p. 253)

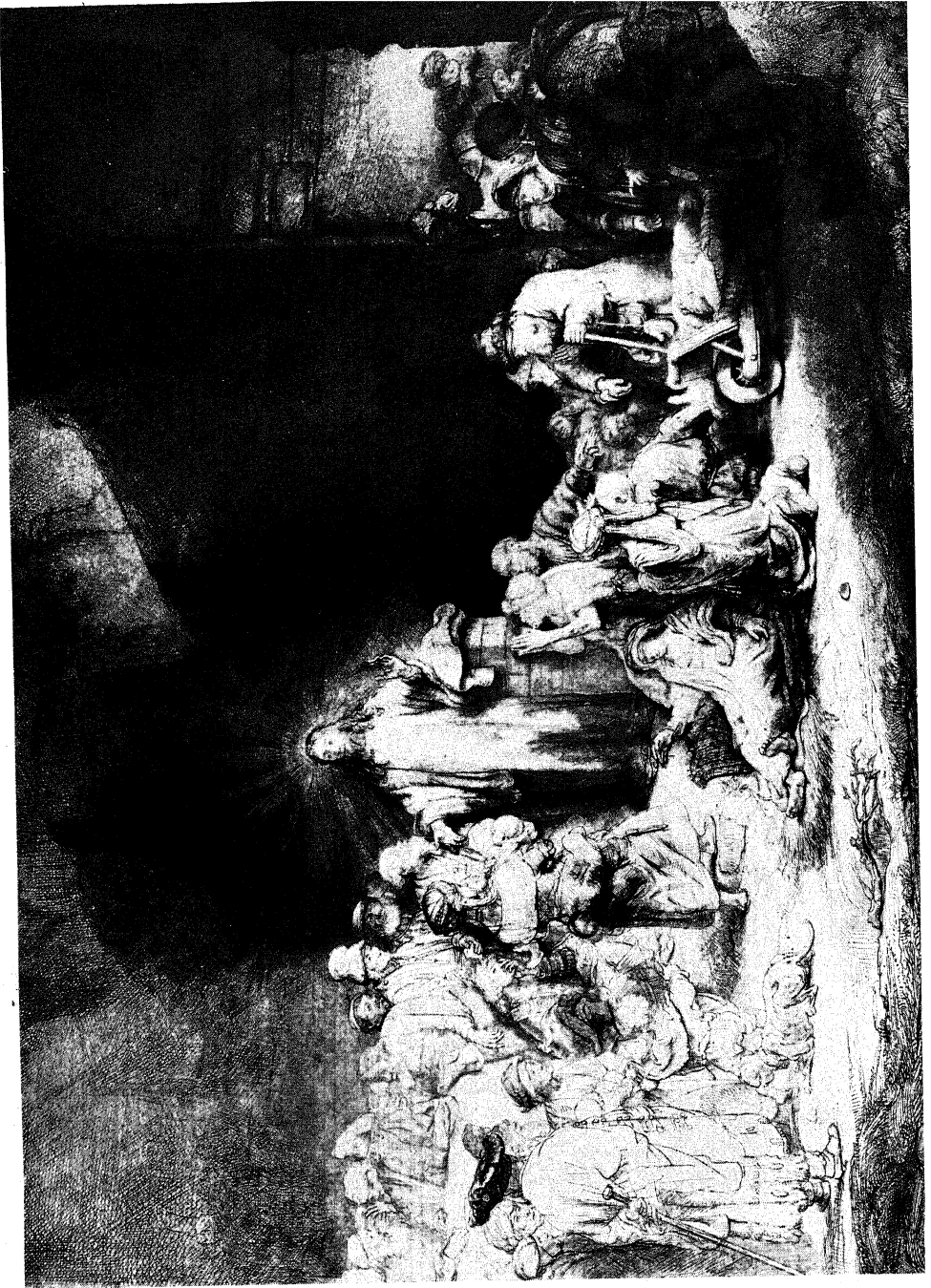


Rembrandt's so-called Night Watch, painted in 1642, is actually The Shooting Company (or civic guard of Amsterdam) of Captain Frans Banning Cocq (the captain dangles his glove in the foreground), getting ready to parade or march out to a shooting contest. "Instead of placing a pedantic emphasis upon each individual portrait, Rembrandt has boldly subordinated this traditional feature in the interest of a more unified action. He has chosen the moment of the call to arms, when the drum sounds and the crowd pours from all sides to gather behind its leaders. Arms are hastily examined, loaded, or shouldered while the men are already on the move. The group includes many more than the actual number of members of the company. Children are running about, a dog barks at the drummer, a boy fires off his gun in the midst of the crowd, to heighten the general commotion. The company advances into position, but an orderly formation is not yet reached and the effect is one of surging movement. . . . A thunderstroke of genius. . . . Its fame rivals that of Beethoven's *Eroica* or Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel." (Jakob Rosenberg, *Rembrandt*, pp. 74-75) For Rembrandt, see pp. 31-32.





"In the majestic portrait in the Frick Collection Rembrandt appears in rich oriental garments, leaning back in an armchair like an old pasha. He sees himself as a sovereign in his realm of pictorial fancy. . . . The warm and glowing colors perform a symphony in orange-red and gold, in white and black, with shadowy browns fluctuating in the background. . . . The colorful splendor is matched by the richness of psychological content. Here is represented an impulsive, volcanic personality, controlled under a calm exterior." (Rosenberg, p. 30)

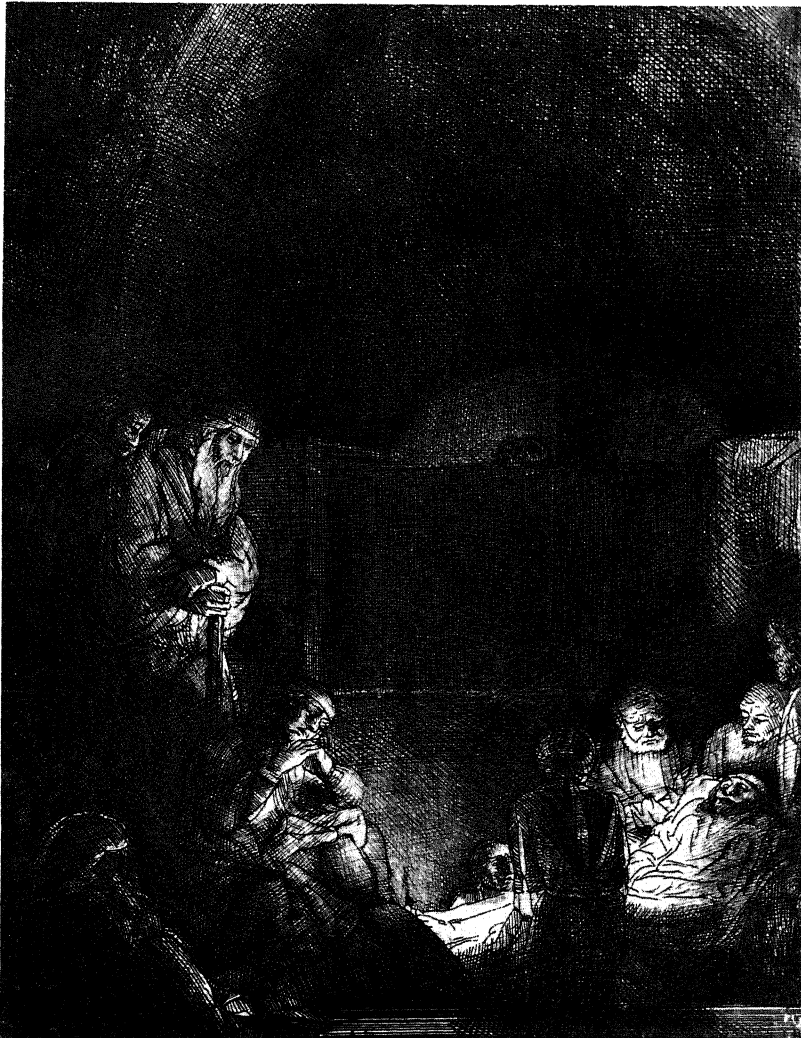


A Rembrandt etching, *Christ Healing the Sick* (1648-1650), illustrating Matthew 19. The student might like to work this out.

Plate 22

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Rembrandt did this etching of *The Entombment* in 1654. Here he "has compressed the figures into smaller compass, leaving room for the echo of their mood in the unfathomable dark space surrounding them. Large, comparatively empty passages become highly evocative through vibrant shadowing or transparent lighting. . . . In the high rear wall . . . two lone skulls on a horizontal ledge are the only interruption in a vast area. . . . The action is subdued to allow a tragic stillness to prevail." (Rosenberg, p. 132)





The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp, painted by Rembrandt in 1632. Again the artist subordinates the individual portraiture of eight surgeons to rendering of "unusual tension" in a group, and thus raises "the act of lecturing to a dramatic event. . . . One of the most fascinating features in this group portrait is the subtle variation in the attentiveness of the listeners." (Rosenberg, p. 72)

Plate 24

Stichting Johan Maurits van Nassau, The Hague

MICHELANGELO AS AN ARCHITECT

Michelangelo was also a distinguished architect. In 1546 he was commissioned to finish the new cathedral of St. Peter's that Donato Bramante (d. 1514) had planned earlier in the century. He returned to Bramante's ground plan, a Greek cross, at the intersection of whose axes he put the present magnificent dome. The façade, which spoils the front view of the dome, was designed by Carlo Maderna (1556-1629), who also changed the ground plan of the church from a Greek into a Latin cross by adding three bays to Michelangelo's nave. The present colonnade enclosing the square in front of St. Peter's was the work of Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680). As completed by these men the cathedral was a late climax in the history of Renaissance architecture, if not an attempt to put the spirit of the Counter Reformation papacy into stone and overwhelm with sheer grandeur. The result is secular and showy, not religious or mystical. The dome is itself a climax in a grand series of domes that mark the history of western architecture. They begin with the dome on the Pantheon at Rome, continue with the dome on Justinian's church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, and after numerous Byzantine and Gothic domes in medieval western Europe end with Brunelleschi's dome on the cathedral of Florence and Michelangelo's on St. Peter's. The original choice of a Greek cross for the ground plan of the capitol church of western Christendom continued a Renaissance emphasis upon round, domed churches with a central altar to supplant the rectangular, medieval churches with the altar in the eastern apse.

Michelangelo was also responsible for designing the third floor of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome and a group of buildings on the Capitol Hill. He drew the plans for the first Jesuit church in Rome (Il Gesù), a church actually built by Giacomo Vignola (1507-1573) after Michelangelo's death, and whether using his plans it is difficult to say. Il Gesù, a baroque church, became the model for many Jesuit churches in Europe and the world. In architecture as well as sculpture and painting Michelangelo turned away from a strict classical style.

EARLY-RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

It is toward the development of a classical style that early- and high-Renaissance architecture in Italy was bent. The Italians, never strongly attached to Gothic, built their best medieval churches in Romanesque style. Rome had many early Christian basilicas, and these became important as the Christian phase of the Renaissance developed. The early-Renaissance churches in Italy are experiments in the early Christian basilica form, combined with Graeco-Roman orders (Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian), decoration, and domes. These features are to be seen in quite original combinations by such architects as Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in the Pazzi Chapel, Santo Spirito, or the Foundlings Hospital in Florence. The Renaissance archi-

tect had to plan new urban residences for the merchant, industrialist, and banker. One of Brunelleschi's pupils, Michelozzi, built a palazzo for the Medici (the Medici-Riccardi palace), well known to members of the Florentine Academy and Michelangelo. These town palaces were still half-medieval fortresses, but their formidable exteriors were softened by classical windows, stringcourses, and cornices. The spontaneity of early-Renaissance architecture was curbed finally by the codification of rules for building in the classical style. The work on architecture by Vitruvius, the Roman architect,²⁷ became authoritative. Under its influence Andrea Palladio of Vicenza (1518-1580) wrote *Four Books of Architecture*, which in turn became immensely influential in western Europe. His own public buildings and palazzi can be seen in and about Vicenza, which he wanted to rebuild in classical style. When originality tended to be thwarted by too slavish an imitation of Roman architecture, a new baroque style was the result.

THE BAROQUE STYLE

The history of art in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is often discussed with reference to the baroque style. Of late there has been a tendency to extend the meaning of this term to include literature. Some writers go so far as to speak of a baroque civilization or culture. There could be no quarrel with extending the meaning of the term from art to literature and society if authors were careful to be precise in their use of the term. Here, baroque will be used to refer to a style of architecture and to the painting and sculpture which was used to enhance this architecture. For baroque architecture attempted once again, as did Gothic, to subordinate painting and sculpture and the other arts to the total architectural effect. Baroque, however, is not a word that can be used to describe all the architecture or art that was produced during this time. There was classical as well as baroque art. Students of ancient and Renaissance art reduced its practice to a set of rules and regulations which were taught in new academies. The classicism of this art meant a subordination of talent to academic dogmas.²⁸ Baroque was an attempt to escape from this classicism. Much art was neither baroque nor classical. Painting and the graphic arts in Germany and Holland were, despite the influence of these styles, a further development of the stark realism of the late Gothic.²⁹

BAROQUE AS A TERM OF CENSURE

Baroque was a term originally used by Portuguese jewelers to refer to a misshapen pearl. It then came in Italian to refer to the ungainly arguments of scholastic logic. In eighteenth-century French it referred to the exaggerated, overemphasized, elaborate, and absurd. Thus, baroque, like

²⁷See Vol. I, p. 256.

²⁸For French classicism of the 17th century, see pp. 53 ff.

²⁹See Vol. I, pp. 747 ff.

Gothic, was first a term of opprobrium. It remained such for as long as classical standards were dominant in architecture (until more or less recently).³⁰ Many of those who loved Romanesque and Gothic architecture welcomed this censure of a style too often used to renovate good medieval churches. Just as Gothic has been transformed into a term of praise, so historians of art have now turned to rehabilitate baroque. The general historian may not therefore neglect this style.

THE SPREAD OF BAROQUE

Baroque architecture was the creation of Roman architects working in the latter half of the sixteenth century. From Italy it spread to Spain and thence to Hapsburg lands in Europe (Austria and Germany) and overseas (the Americas). It became in time the Mission architecture of our Southwest. It is to be found in its most extravagant forms in Spain, Germany, and Austria, and as tempered or moderated by French taste it is called rococo. As a European style it reasserted once again the international power of Rome. Pagan Rome spread its state and law to Europe. Now as a kind of attempt to recapture by artistic means what it had not been able to hold by ecclesiastical and religious ones, Rome (and Italy) spread to Europe and the world its baroque art.

BAROQUE AND RENAISSANCE STYLES

It could be argued that the human being finds it difficult to be rational for long or to submit indefinitely to the restraints of law, order, and good form. Likewise, he dislikes the prolonged monotony of the same fare, is easily bored, and demands something new and exciting. The creative artist especially does not easily follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. He does not regard this as creative. He must be free to be original, to deviate from the past, if not wholly to reject its tradition. The essentials of his technique he will get from the past and modify them if need be, but he will use technique to express the needs of his own personality and his own time. Such human traits help to explain the constant alternations in artistic styles or fashions.

BAROQUE AND GOTHIC

Michelangelo's restless adaptation of the art of antiquity to the needs of his talent and his patrons enables some writers to call him an inaugurator of the baroque. The precarious stances of the figures on the Medici tombs, for example, reveal his refusal to do as others had done. In this sense baroque was an attempt to go beyond the possibilities of a Renaissance style, a declaration of independence after that style had become formal and dogmatic. If we say that Renaissance architecture was rational

³⁰It is called by S. Sitwell, *German Baroque Art*, p. 17: "This bastard and romanticised classicism . . . the method by which the late Holy Roman Empire emphasised a dying cause by disproportionate monuments."

in its harmony, balance, proportion, and order, then baroque by way of reaction was irrational, introducing new emotional features. Since the shift from a Gothic to a Renaissance style involved the harnessing of a primitive, tense emotionalism by classical balance, reserve, and calm, the dissatisfaction of the baroque artist with Renaissance art meant a return to the Gothic spirit. In this sense all changes are a return to something in the past, all reforms a kind of revival. Thus the baroque style renewed the Gothic spirit after the chastening discipline and stimulation of the Renaissance. The ground plans of the Christian churches became much more complicated than the Latin or Greek cross. Plane surfaces on the exteriors of churches were boldly curved. The round classical arches were broken into various shapes and encrusted with heavy decoration. The round classical columns were bent and twisted. The interior of the baroque church became a riot of colored marble and stucco. Little chubby angels seem to have been thrown about with great profusion. Rationality and restraint gave way once again to a rather gaudy exhibition of religious feeling.

A style that is in itself a liberation can be put to uses having little to do with freedom. The new artistic style arose as a religious revival, the Counter Reformation, took hold of the Church. The revival sought to check victorious Protestantism, regain the ground lost in Europe, and send missionaries abroad to conquer a new religious empire. The Church did not intend to compromise with the reformers to achieve these things. It chose, rather, to employ its old medieval methods. The Inquisition was extended to Italy and Spain. It was even extended to painting, when such artists as the Italian Paolo Veronese had to answer it for a too profane treatment of religious subject matter (*The Feast at the House of Levi*). Ignatius Loyola, a fanatical and mystical Spaniard, founded the Jesuits, a new religious order which set out in the service of the papacy to capture the minds of youth with a new system of education, the consciences of the ruling classes with the confessional, and to extend the Catholic empire overseas. A new Church council (Trent), dominated by Jesuits and Spaniards, refused for the sake of religious unity to alter Catholic dogma.

The Jesuits adopted the new baroque architecture to help to fight against, and celebrate its victories over, Protestantism. The Church as well sought to impress with the dramatic new style and to arouse feelings of awe and devotion with its lavish artistic display. The exterior of the baroque church was unconventional enough; its interior, however, was an introduction to infinity; the bold perspective of the ceiling carried the worshipers, in the company of floating angels, to the very threshold of paradise. Theatrical lighting from hidden windows sent bright rays streaming into the interiors. Impressive confessionals stood about in great numbers inviting the faithful to pacify their consciences. Elaborate pulpits held clergy who stirred their audiences with the rhythms of a new religious oratory. From baroque organs came music of operatic quality to

augment elaborate choirs accompanied by whole orchestras. With this art the Church was exhibiting wealth and power in a way that was to prove costly in an age of revolution. Baroque art was used to celebrate, if not to cover up, the refusal to compromise with Protestantism. The Church meant to dazzle where it was unwilling to reform.

If the freedom of the baroque style was perverted when employed as propaganda by the Counter Reformation, it was still further misused to express the power and wealth of the early modern state. It will be shown in a subsequent chapter³¹ how western theocracy, after being rejected on an international scale in Holy Roman Empire and Holy Roman Church,³² tried to make good on a more limited dynastic and national scale with absolute monarchy. The Hapsburg monarchy of Spain, ardent in its support of the Counter Reformation, adopted the baroque style for its new palaces and churches throughout its empire. The French Bourbons followed suit in a more elegant form at Versailles. Together the royal residences of Hapsburg and Bourbon supplied models for the dwellings of hundreds of lesser German and Italian princes who sought to impress their subjects with architectural grandeur. Not only were castles now supplanted by grandiose palaces; baroque architects transformed the surrounding areas into formal gardens decorated with magnificent fountains such as those at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, or Versailles, or Vienna (Schönbrunn).

Western art after the high Renaissance was, whether baroque or not, almost as magnificent a display of human talent as the Renaissance itself. Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo had their successors in Velazquez, Rubens, and Rembrandt. Human ingenuity and energy not only broke out in baroque extravagance; they discovered also new methods of artistic expression: the woodcut, the copper engraving, the etching, and porcelain sculpture. Painting itself, having mastered the problems which independence from architecture first suggested, set out on a voyage of exploration. It learned to serve other needs than those of church, prince, or rich merchant. In the hands of Dutch and Flemish painters it helped to adorn the homes of more modest members of the middle class with portraits, reproductions of the spotless interiors of their houses, and domestic scenes from everyday life: their music lessons, drinking parties, and conversations. These painters sought inspiration in the peasantry, workingman, beggar, and cripple, displaying a compassion for the tragedy and suffering of these groups and a humorous delight in their simple, rough good nature. In so doing they found that it was not necessary for great painting to limit itself to the imposing subject matter of antiquity or Christianity. Greatness could be expressed in paintings of a "low kind" (*genre bas*), depicting homely scenes of daily life (*genre painting*). These men painted superbly assortments of fruit, vegetables, flowers, fish, flesh,

³¹See pp. 209 ff.

³²See Vol. I, Chaps. xii, xiii.

fowls, or armor, separately or thrown together. They reveled in the beauty of fine silks, satins, and oriental rugs. Finally they discovered beauty in the outside world, developing a new splendor in landscape painting. In the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the spirit of humanism continued to seek, and found, ever-new ways to express man's sense of beauty and utilize his varied talents.

An introduction to baroque painting could be made by analyzing carefully the works of El Greco (Domenico Theotocopuli, d. 1614), the Cretan painter, and Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), the Flemish master. Although a Cretan in origin and thus subject to Byzantine influences, El Greco studied at Venice with Titian, her greatest master, and came under the influence of Tintoretto, one of the earliest baroque painters. After absorbing the lessons of the Venetian school he made his way to Rome, where he antagonized Michelangelo's followers and admirers by saying that if all of Michelangelo's Last Judgment were to be destroyed he could remake it "in a decent seemly manner and of a quality equal to that of the original." Rome indeed became so inhospitable that he betook himself finally to Toledo in Spain, where there were few supporters of a public representation of the nude in painting. Already he adhered to the view that the art of antiquity, or pagan art, had no place in expressing Christian subject matter and feeling, for, as one of this group put it, "What mystical emotion can we experience when we see a naked Christ?"³³ Thoroughly assimilating the Spanish tradition, El Greco showed a new style of great virtuosity and, with constant use of distorted, elongated figures, used his painting to portray the tortured and ecstatic religious fervor of the land of the Inquisition, Loyola, and Saint Theresa of Avila. The long white beard of the towering figure of Saint Jerome (Pl. 13) is that of a contemporary cardinal. It is obvious that the fanatical and cruel spirit of persecution is incorporated in the portrait of the Grand Inquisitor Fernando de Guevara (Pl. 14). In the end, like most great artists, El Greco broke through his conventional and theatrical style for a direct and abstract portrayal of his subject matter.

RUBENS

Rubens, on the other hand, was no transplanted immigrant but a very vigorous and earthy son of the Flemish countryside. Long residence in Italy, partly in the service of the Gonzaga duke of Mantua, made it possible for him to absorb the works of the great Italian masters. Upon his return to Antwerp he entered the service of the Austrian archduke Albrecht, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands. So superb and productive was his talent that he soon enjoyed a success such as few if any painters had ever had: hundreds of students waiting to be admitted to his studio. He took great pleasure in filling churches and palaces with

³³J. Lassaigue, *Spanish Painting from the Catalan Frescos to El Greco*, trans. S. Gilbert, p. 106.

canvases of heroic size. "The large size of a picture," he said, "gives us painters more courage to present our ideas with the utmost freedom and semblance of reality. . . . I confess myself to be, by a natural instinct, better fitted to execute work of the largest size." In the Louvre at Paris are some of the huge canvases done for Marie de' Medici, the queen mother of France. He became so well known as to be used by his archduke in diplomatic missions to Holland, England, and Spain. His Antwerp studio poured out over two thousand paintings during his lifetime, many of them in the grandest possible style, the work of one of the most gifted of all painters. The studies of his own children are tender evocations of youthful beauty (Pl. 15). His paintings of ancient myths are lusty, Flemish reproductions of human indulgence (The Bacchanal) or energetic presentations of husky, buxom, baroque, female nudes (Judgment of Paris, Pl. 16). As a painter of Christian subject matter he produced his great masterpieces.

VELAZQUEZ

Velazquez (1599-1660) and Rembrandt (1606-1669) belong also in the ranks of the greatest painters of all time, but it is not very helpful to classify them as baroque. Velazquez, possessing a supreme technical mastery, may be called a realist, a reproducer of the world about him, who was able to penetrate to the vital quality of his subject matter. He was acquainted with the work of the Italian Renaissance as a result of visits to Italy, on one of which he painted the wonderful portrait of Pope Innocent X (Pl. 18). But for most of his life he was a court painter for the Spanish Hapsburg Philip IV and lived in the royal palace as a holder of other courtly offices than that of royal painter, using his art to perpetuate the pallid face of his king and the figures of the queens, royal children, dwarfs, buffoons, and hydrocephalic idiots the royal court was peopled with—"where all seemed doomed to premature decay, where the young people, victims of a congenital disease, with their spectre-pale faces and unhealthily flushed cheeks, went one by one to early graves."³⁴ But there can be few more powerful portraits than the Lady with a Fan (Pl. 17), more charming than the Infanta Margarita, or more convincing and ingratiating than Velazquez' portrait of himself.

REMBRANDT

Rembrandt was a radical Protestant, a Mennonite, a member of a sect returning to the time when early Christianity administered to the hope and comfort of the sick, miserable, and unfortunate ranks of Roman society. He inherited, moreover, the tradition of German art, the art of Dürer and Holbein and of those fellow countrymen who had begun to paint the life about them. He refused to go to Italy and after a try at school in

³⁴Quoted in Lassaigne, *Spanish Painting*, II, 68.

Leyden settled down in Amsterdam to the enjoyable and profitable life of a very popular painter. But Rembrandt soon found himself at odds with his world. It was in part the loss of the members of his family that crushed him: his mother, his first wife (Saskia), and three of their four children. He found, too, that as his personal style developed his bourgeois patrons did not develop along with it. In his *Night Watch* he was not enough concerned with giving the twenty-nine figures of the Cocq Guard the equal space and emphasis which would correspond to the equal payment each made. He was interested in the play of light and dark in the picture, and some of them had to be in the dark (see Pl. 20).

After the death of his first wife Rembrandt took in his mistress, a servant girl, who stood loyally by through all his misfortunes, but his church excommunicated her for living in sin. Finally, unable to limit his mounting debt, he fell into total bankruptcy. This cost him his house, his art treasures, and seventy of his own paintings; it made him an employee of his second wife, Hendrickje, and his son Titus. An old, sick, and lonely man, he had to lean upon his own magnificent internal resources. Rembrandt made no compromise with his integrity as an artist and a human being. He did not paint in the way it would have been popular and profitable to paint. Instead, the history of his work as an artist was a steady advance into the realm of liberated greatness. "When I give rein to my spirit," he said, "it is not honor that I seek, but freedom." He attained that freedom in part by a study of himself. Looking at himself in a mirror, as he had as a young man, he continued his series of extraordinary self-portraits: hurt and suffering but dignified revelations of his old age (Pl. 21). His work at its best is a penetration to the very depth of the humanity which is his concern. He sought it in his beautiful first wife (see the Saskia in a Red Hat), and he sought it in the doctors attending Dr. Tulp's Class in Anatomy (Pl. 24). Not only a great painter, he was in the estimation of many the greatest of all etchers. Whether in painting or in etching, it is in his works treating of the life about him or of the life that Scriptures reveal that his deep sympathy with human kind comes forth. At the end of his life he was painting such supreme masterpieces as *The Unmerciful Servant* and etching such profound works as *The Entombment* (Pl. 23), *The Three Crosses*, the *Writingmaster Coppenal*, and a *Christ Healing the Sick* (Pl. 22).³⁵ While Rembrandt was influenced by the painting and etching of the Italian Renaissance this was not the main source of his humanism. The humanity reflected in his work came from a religious training built upon the democratic spirit of early Christianity and a sturdy character, well endowed at birth and disciplined by a difficult life. His Christian humanism came from the insight of a sensitive and astute nature into man's essential dignity.

³⁵No student should deny himself the privilege of becoming acquainted with his works. They will be found in the *Paintings*, ed. A. Bredius (Phaidon), and the *Etchings*, ed. L. Munz (Phaidon).

The Music of the Renaissance

A BAROQUE MUSIC?

It is not possible to speak of baroque music in quite the same sense as of art. Baroque art began with certain extravagances of Renaissance architects, painters, or sculptors. When the execution of the classical Renaissance style became a matter of following fixed rules, as if there were only one way to build, paint, or carve, artists sought to free themselves from this dogmatism. The resulting style was used by the Church of the Counter Reformation and by the absolute monarchies and principalities. The music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not fit this pattern. There was no revival of classical music similar to the revival of classical art and architecture. Not enough was known about Greek and Roman music to make this possible. Thus there were no mannerisms of a classical Renaissance music to push to extremes and no hard-and-fast rules of an academic classical music from which to escape. One could speak of baroque music as the music which was composed for services held in baroque churches, but this gives it no especial meaning. Baroque could be made to refer to the uses the Church made of the new developments in music, such as the oratorio, to wage its battles and celebrate its victories. It could mean the very ornate character of some of the music of these centuries, the coloratura arias of operatic sopranos or the fugues of the new keyboard instruments. These, however, are not emancipations from restrictive rules but the creative use of new opportunities.

It is likewise difficult to speak of a Renaissance music in other than a chronological sense. The history of music in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries concerns the development of many-voiced, or polyphonic, choral music, written in the ancient modes according to rules of counterpoint (the relationship of the notes of one melody to those of the melody or melodies which accompany it).³⁸ Flemish and Dutch composers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made daring advances by piling voice upon voice in their Masses until the actual words of the liturgy were lost in the complex polyphonic structure. In fact, the earlier concern for the ritual solemnity of the Latin was often disregarded. As basic melodies for the writing of sacred polyphonic music composers did not hesitate to use popular songs, sung even with their original words. Thus a Mass of these later centuries might contain melodies of sacred and secular origin sung at the same time in more than one language. Indeed Masses were named from the popular refrains they incorporated, such as the *Mass of the Armed Man* or the *Good-Bye-My-Love Mass*.

The secularization of church music paralleled other kinds of secularization that led to demands for reform and ultimately to the Reformation.

³⁸See Vol. I, pp. 753 ff.

It spread together with Netherlandish composers to the courts of German and Italian princes. Pleas for reform were finally heard at the Council of Trent. Here the Fathers insisted that religious music should return to its earlier purpose of enhancing the mood of the liturgy. If polyphonic music were to be tolerated further it would have to abandon its search for the spectacular and return to the modest spirit of Gregorian chant. A very gifted composer of choral music, Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594), undertook this reform. The composer of some ninety Masses, he was active in papal chapels for most of his life. His choral music, sung *a cappella*, that is, without accompaniment, has an exalted, ethereal religious quality. The free flow of the many voices, no one voice dominating the other, is meant to emphasize the Latin of the service. So well did Palestrina succeed in meeting the demands of the musical reformers that he is very difficult to improve upon. Thus, by the end of the sixteenth century in Italy, a peak had been reached in the writing of sacred choral polyphonic music.

Further advances came when instruments were mixed with voices in polyphonic composition. Other devices were discovered by writers of the period. Venetian composers wrote polyphonic music for more than one chorus, each chorus carrying a voice. A certain Benevoli outdid earlier composers in a Mass for fifty-three voices to dedicate the new baroque cathedral of Salzburg, a score no subsequent composer ever dared to try to equal. Masses could be accompanied by orchestras and even by the local artillery. The use of polyphony in composing for instruments alone reached another climax in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750).

The classical revival had some little influence upon music when the odes of Horace or an occasional Greek drama were set to music. Learned composers have continued to do this. There is, however, a more important example of this influence. At Florence, at the end of the sixteenth century, a group of men became interested in the implications of Greek drama for the development of music in their own day. They were aware that the characters and choruses of Greek drama sang or, rather, chanted their lines. Inspired by this example they decided to introduce a chanted or sung poetic drama to Florence. In 1597 two of their members, Caccini and Peri, set to music and produced the poetic text, or libretto, of another member, Rinuccini, on the story of *Dafne*. This was the first opera presented in the West, an event opening up to enterprising composers, singers, dancers, and other artists a whole new world they have not yet succeeded in exploring fully. The possibility was immediately realized of doing for a religious text what was here done for a secular theme, that is, compose an oratorio. By 1600 the first oratorio had been given in Rome, an allegory set to music by Cavalieri (*The Representation of the Soul and the Body*). Classical drama therefore furnished part of the stimulus to the creation of two new western musical forms.

Poets and composers knew that polyphonic music was unclassical. Aeschylus and Sophocles did not write many-voiced music for their plays. The well-established polyphony therefore should not be used for the new opera and oratorio. These should be sung or chanted as of old, and the dramatic chanting accompanied by one or more instruments. There was thus produced the recitative, the melodically declaimed speech with instrumental accompaniment. This development helped to introduce what has been called the monodic, or monophonic, revolution in music—monody, or monophony, in this case being the single melody. Writing polyphonic music, in which the separate voices are of equal weight and where the emphasis is upon the horizontal independence of the modal melodies, is different from writing monodic or monophonic music. Here but one melody is all important, and this is supported by chords giving a vertical emphasis to the form and in the tonality of the major and minor scales, not the ancient and ecclesiastical modes. The bass accompaniment of the single melody was called the figured bass, for the composers simply wrote notes in the bass clef accompanied by numbers or figures indicating to the player the kind of chord he was to play, that is, what kind of harmony he was going to use to support the melody. We have thus, with the initiation of new forms such as opera and oratorio, a further contribution to bring about a complete change in the nature of musical composition, the change from polyphony to monody, a horizontal to a vertical music, from a modal harmony in counterpoint to a chordal harmony in modern scales. This revolution ended with Mozart.

If we may not speak of a revival of interest in, and cultivation of, classical music it is still true that the development of music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries extended and widened the spirit of humanism. Humanism is concerned with realizing the fine human potential in an art of living upon this earth. The cultural history of western Europe since the Renaissance shows abundantly that human talent was released through the arts; and the joy and dignity of life upon this earth was enhanced by acquaintance with the work of many talented architects, painters, and sculptors and with the work of a long series of gifted musicians.

Music expanded the uses to which it was put as well as changed its character and forms. It became more secular. Music as an art form had previously been in the service of the Church, employed to promote an ascetic, otherworldly mood and attitude. In the course of the Renaissance it was utilized by the state, aristocracy, middle classes, and to some extent by the simple members of Protestant church congregations. Beyond choral forms music likewise expanded its nature by creating instrumental forms for individual and grouped instruments and for the combination of voice with instrument.

It is worth being more precise about this expansion. Choral polyphony in the service of the Church reached a climax with Palestrina. At the same

time it was used for the madrigal, a new type of secular song. The motet was the medieval sacred polyphonic song set to a Latin text from Mass or Scripture. The madrigal might be popular song in origin, or more often might use as text the new Renaissance poetry. Almost all the sonnets of Petrarch, for example, were made into madrigals, thus continuing a long history of setting poetry to serious music. The musical treatment given these secular texts was polyphonic, usually in five voices, and *a capella*. Every effort was made to make the music literally express the words. But much more often than with the earlier religious polyphony the treatment was melodic and harmonic. Tonal experiments were being made that make this often gay and light-hearted music seem quite contemporary. The practice of writing madrigals spread from Italy to the rest of Europe, notably Elizabethan England, where a great profusion of happy madrigal composers (William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons among others) were active. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Venetian Monteverdi (1567-1643) was the outstanding Italian composer of madrigals. Through his operas (*The Coronation of Poppea*, *Orfeo*) he also contributed much to the monodic revolution. Alongside the recitative now appeared the melodic aria to which subsequent composers of the century permitted all those stunts of the virtuoso still associated with coloratura singing. Monteverdi made a colorful orchestra (it now had violins, and in one instance some thirty-eight woodwinds) not only accompany the singers but play by itself; overtures and little symphonies were distributed throughout the operas.

Enthusiastic Italian composers of the seventeenth century fully exploited the possibilities of opera. With it they explored the limitations of the human voice in the singing of many styles and the expression of every emotion, serious as well as comic. The relation of the orchestra to musical drama was further investigated. The amount of operatic composition then done—music, for the most part, we never hear—was enormous. Cavallini wrote forty-two, and Cesti over one hundred operas. The music and its singers, male (*castrati*) and female sopranos and altos, spread to the courts and new opera houses of Europe and established an Italian supremacy in this field that has lasted to this day. Little German princes spent more money on opera than on anything else. Monarchies and leading members of the aristocracy used opera to make spectacular the festivities at court. Comic opera became a middle-class form of entertainment, and before the seventeenth century was over commercial opera houses had been opened in Venice, Naples, Hamburg, and London, catering to anyone who could pay the price. That fact that opera often became a contest between prima donnas and primi castrati, and that it often appealed to the fighting blood of its aristocratic audiences by provoking very serious fisticuffs among the artists, did not prevent the Italians from maintaining their superiority in the writing, singing, and production of it. Few can be so benighted as to wish it otherwise.

For any who could read music there was now to be had the fun of singing madrigals. There was available, too, a music for new keyboard instruments and stringed instruments. The keyboard instruments were the virginal, so popular with Elizabethan composers, the clavichord, and the harpsichord, the last of which was used often for the figured bass of the new monodic style. During the first half of the eighteenth century experiments were made to combine the advantages of the clavichord and the harpsichord into a new instrument, the piano. The most popular stringed instrument of the sixteenth century was the lute, for which a large amount of independent music was written. When choral singing acquired its freedom by the development of an *a capella* style, the accompanying instruments had the opportunity of developing musical styles peculiar to themselves. Viol playing could be as exciting as madrigal singing if one did not mind the "pallid sonorities" of the instrument. Music was written for the individual viols, the ancestors of our modern stringed instruments, and also for combinations of them. The Italians succeeded also in making stringed instruments of a more brilliant kind. Such distinguished families of violin-makers as the Amati, Stradivari, and Guarneri in Cremona and Brescia produced instruments unequaled since their day. The violin in time was perfected, and as soon as this was done music had to be composed for it and for the new violas, violoncellos, and bass viols, whether alone or together (concerted). The Italians wrote for the new instruments, stringed or keyboard, as well as for the voice in the new operas. The student who wishes to enjoy the gusto of this instrumental music should listen to the works of Frescobaldi, Vivaldi (1678-1741), and Corelli (1653-1713) for strings. He will like the showy vigor of Corelli's writing for the new virtuoso violin in *La Folia*, a theme with twenty-three variations, and the vivacious elegance of the sonatas for harpsichord by Domenico Scarlatti.

The Italians classified music into what could be sung (*cantata*) or played (*sonata*). If performed outside a church in a room or chamber (*camera*) such music was called chamber music. Before the cantata and sonata became finished musical forms in the eighteenth century many experiments were made. Corelli, for example, established the four-movement sonata. Music was written for one voice (*solo*) or for a chorus (*choral*); for one instrument or for a group of instruments (*concerto*). The concerto could be for solo instrument with orchestra (for instance, violin concerto) or indeed for any instrument the composer chose. It could also be written for a small group (*concertino*) of instruments, usually the choir of strings, with orchestra (*concerto grosso*). Orchestras to accompany operas, oratorios, or cantatas displayed a wonderful variety in instruments and combinations of instruments. The search for the large, more perfect, and independent orchestra was begun. If the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries established any special instrumental form it was the suite of dances, taken first from popular dances and then given artistic treatment.

There are many of them from different lands: slow, fast, simple, complicated; gigue and allemandes, bourrées, sarabands, and courantes. The new instrumental music adopted the innovations introduced into choral music: the new monodic, vertical, and chordal harmony based on scales. In these many ways, therefore, the potentialities of music and the whole musical side of the human personality were being inventively exploited.

HÄNDEL

The musical development of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came to a kind of climax in the first half of the eighteenth century with Händel (1685-1759) and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) at a moment when, outside the field of opera, Germans succeeded Italians as leaders in musical composition. Both men were the possessors of an extraordinary talent which they developed by absorbing the musical tradition of their own and other lands, notably Italy and France. Händel, an international figure, went to Italy to learn Italian music firsthand and met Corelli and Domenico Scarlatti. After serving the Elector of Hanover he finally settled in England, where he acquired citizenship when his German patron, the Elector George, became George I of England. Händel's writing was not confined to any particular form. He wrote powerful and beautiful sonatas for violin as well as noble concerti grossi for orchestra. He created the organ concerto, and after becoming interested in opera, wrote some forty-six of them. In London he was the director of his own company, performed his own operas, and thus continued the tradition of Henry Purcell, the one great English operatic composer of the seventeenth century. But Händel was not able to compete successfully either with rival opera composers, who were financed by the aristocracy, or with the popular *Beggar's Opera*, and he turned in his later life to the composition of oratorios for a middle-class audience. After all, it had been proclaimed by the redoubtable Dr. Johnson, opera was "an exotic and irrational entertainment." Händel wrote thirty-two oratorios, the best known of them today being the *Messiah*, on which he worked only a little more than three weeks. The constant strain on his eyes which came from rapid composition and laborious copying ultimately cost him his eyesight, and London audiences crowded to hear the blind composer play the organ for his oratorios. By the time of his death he had given classic proportions to that form.

J. S. BACH

Unlike Händel, Bach never left Protestant North Germany to seek popular successes as a composer and director of opera. This was not because he was uninterested in what the Italians and the French had to teach him. He spent many hours copying and transcribing for organ and harpsichord the works of contemporary German composers, such as Telemann and Buxtehude, and those also of Frescobaldi, Vivaldi, and the Frenchman Couperin. This close work, combined with the incredible amount of his

own composition, finally made him blind. Only a few days before his death he had to dictate his last work to a son-in-law.

BACH AT LEIPZIG

He was content to serve the duke of Weimar and the prince of Anhalt-Köthen as performer, composer, conductor, and general director of the musical activities of their courts. From 1722 on he was the somewhat difficult employee of Leipzig, for whose local school for boys (the Thomasschule) he acted as cantor, a position which made him responsible for the music of the St. Thomas and three other churches. The town council had thought at first to get a better musician than the "mediocre" Bach, perhaps someone wedded to the new Italian style. They accepted his application only when others, such as Telemann, were unavailable. Like many petty bureaucrats in dealing with artists, they made him miserable.

HIS PIETY

Nor was his domestic life particularly radiant.⁸⁷ He lost his first wife after thirteen years of marriage. Eleven of his twenty children died at birth or in childhood. Of the remainder, four became musicians, looking upon the music of their father as hopelessly old-fashioned. Another was feeble-minded. Of the four girls only one ever married. Yet these misfortunes did not disturb the inner serenity which came in part from Bach's piety and in part from the satisfaction of constant artistic creation. He took great comfort and joy in his religion even though as a composer he had to suffer from it. There were in his congregations Pietists who looked upon the use of decorative music to praise God as blasphemous. In the Catholic Church, on the contrary, according to one theorist, God could not "be praised artificially enough."

The Lutheran Church had abandoned the Catholic Mass for a shortened one. For Gregorian chant it substituted congregational singing of chorales, four-part arrangements of melodies from Gregorian chant and other sources, set to words of Luther and other hymn writers. Bach loved the deep religious spirit of these as much as the Scriptures themselves. By his time, however, congregational singing had so weakened the religious impact of the service that trained singers were reintroduced. They had to sing the ever-fresh music composed by an artist with that spirit Hindemith calls the "fanaticism of an impetuous God-sent composer." As the cantor of the Thomasschule he was expected to compose new music for the services of the Leipzig churches, no less than 295 cantatas over a period of five years. This he did. One hundred ninety-nine of the 265 he wrote during his first twenty-one years at Leipzig are considered "the richest and most varied collection of church music in existence."⁸⁸ He had to produce them with a choir of some sixteen adolescent voices and

⁸⁷See the appreciation *Johann Sebastian Bach* by Paul Hindemith.

⁸⁸W. G. Whittaker on Bach, in *The Heritage of Music*, I, 33.

an even smaller orchestra, but this did not prevent him from making them such an intimate and intense expression of his piety that they are still almost unsurpassable works of their kind.

THE PASSIONS AND THE B MINOR MASS

Besides cantatas Bach wrote Passions (*St. John's*, *St. Matthew's*), dramatic and tragic works on the last days of Jesus' life, whose greatness musicians and others strive to express in words. He wrote also a Catholic *Mass in B Minor*, whose sublimity, almost too much for human comprehension, can hardly leave any listener the same. Of the *St. Matthew Passion* it has been said, "Here devotion, humility, and adoration reach their highest intensity in music," and of the "Sanctus" of the *Mass*, "the noblest piece of music ever conceived." Musically these forms relied mainly upon the contrapuntal character developed by the Netherlandish composers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Combined with their difficulty, this is what made them old-fashioned and unpopular to Bach's contemporaries. Few of these or any other of his compositions were published during his lifetime, and he went to a grave that soon became nameless. He remained, in fact, practically unknown until 11 March, 1829, when a young German composer named Mendelssohn performed portions of the *St. Matthew Passion* in Berlin, one hundred years after its first performance in Leipzig. Therewith began a Bach revival which has gathered momentum until this day.

THE INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

His writing for voice was only a small part of his total musical creation. In instrumental music he has been called the creator of absolute music: the world of pure tone and form. He used the chorales as themes for mighty contrapuntal compositions for organ, the Choral Preludes. Many who will read this have experienced the beauty and virtuosity of the *Wohltemperierte Klavier*, the forty-eight preludes and fugues for clavichord or, as some now think, harpsichord. In the *Art of the Fugue* Bach carried this form to a new peak, and in the *Goldberg Variations* he did the same for the theme-and-variation form. The sonatas for unaccompanied violin and cello sound depths of feeling and thought it seems very difficult again to reach. And this is not to mention the large amount of writing for concerted strings, for example, the *Brandenburg Concertos*.

Bach, then, is the kind of superb figure often produced by mankind, the person who suffers and ignores the indignities of his contemporaries to produce great art of a kind that brings to perfection many forms and obliges those who follow to cultivate other fields. Paul Hindemith says of him, "If we call that man a hero who triumphs over overwhelming odds, who, seeing all his efforts leading to futility, gives his lifeblood for a noble cause, here we behold him. . . . If music has the power to direct our entire existence toward nobleness, this music is great. If a composer

has dominated his music to this point of greatness, he has achieved the utmost. This Bach has achieved."³⁹ Bach, says another panegyrist, was "one of the greatest of all minds and one of the most human of all hearts. . . . His message to humanity is the purest, the noblest, the most fruitful that musician has ever delivered."⁴⁰

The Literature of the Renaissance

THE CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

The revival of Latin and Greek literature during the early Renaissance helped to determine the form and character of the vernacular literature of early modern Europe. This literature, medieval in origin, was quite young at the moment of the revival, and therefore susceptible to the example of the ancient classics. The new Latin prose and poetry of the Renaissance, when Latin was no longer a living, spoken tongue, does not have the vitality of medieval Latin. As a language of learning, however, Latin remained international until well into the seventeenth century.

The influence of the ancient classics upon the youthful vernacular literatures of Europe can be traced (1) in the gradual perfection of their languages to accord with the high degree of articulation of Latin and Greek; (2) in the standards of form and criticism borrowed from the classics; (3) in much of the subject matter and mythological allusion of this literature; and (4) in the larger humanistic spirit which pervades it. In some cases this spirit is deliberately antiascetic or antimedieval. In other cases it comes from the intimate acquaintance with, and love which an author has for, the literature of the Romans and Greeks. The humanism was often of a rollicking, fun-making sort, as if after centuries of serious preoccupation with sin the individual had learned to laugh once again. It was often, too, a Christian humanism.⁴¹

After Petrarch and Boccaccio had abandoned Italian for Latin it was still necessary, as it had been for Dante, to defend the use of the vernaculars as serious literary languages. This was a liberating as well as patriotic movement. After some two centuries of discipline French became classical in the seventeenth century, meaning that it attained the dignity and perfection of Latin and Greek at their best. In developing the forms in which a better disciplined national language was to be used, authors and scholars used the standard works on criticism from the classical period (Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Poetic Art*) in much the same way as they used Vitruvius's work on architecture. As the masterpieces of Latin and Greek literature were understood and analyzed their form and manner tended to become authoritative. No one could think of writing

³⁹Hindemith, pp. 36, 44.

⁴⁰Whittaker, pp. 19, 43.

⁴¹See Vol. I, pp. 790 f.

an epic without the classical examples of Homer and Vergil in mind, even if he used the conventional themes of the medieval epics and romances of chivalry. This was true for Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533) when in his epic *Orlando Furioso* (*The Mad Roland*) he decided "to continue the invention [*Orlando Innamorato*, *Roland in Love*] of Count . . . Boiardo";⁴² true for Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599) in the *Faerie Queene*; and true for Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) when he wrote his Counter Reformation epic on the First Crusade (*Gerusalemme Liberata*, *Jerusalem Liberated*). Even when authors used recent historical subject matter rather than continue popular medieval themes, as in the case of the Portuguese epic *The Sons of Lusus* by Luiz de Camoens (1524-1580), celebrating the voyage of Vasco da Gama to the Cape of Good Hope and beyond, the classical tradition was vital. When Milton wrote his epics on the Christian drama of salvation, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, the inspiration of Homer and Vergil was not to be denied.

Classical example stimulated and guided not only epic but other kinds of poetry and prose.⁴³ Modern drama may have its medieval beginning in the religious mystery and miracle plays, but it developed maturity and stature only with the help of the revival of classical drama. Seneca, Plautus, Terence, Euripides, and Sophocles now set the example. Pindar, Horace, Anacreon, and Catullus did the same for lyric poetry. Petrarch, Ronsard in France, and Ben Jonson were early admirers of Horace. Horace and Juvenal inspired the satire of the French critic Boileau, of Dryden, and of Pope. The authority of Cicero's prose style could not be dethroned. Acquaintance with Latin and Greek literature is therefore a means of enriching one's understanding and enjoyment of modern literature.

CERVANTES' DON QUIXOTE

The Renaissance created much dissatisfaction with earlier literary themes and with the earlier medieval point of view. It grew tired of the Roland material in the Carolingian *chansons de geste* (songs of deeds) and of heroic knights on chivalrous adventures in Arthurian tales and other romances of chivalry. To be sure, the theme of romantic love retained its popularity, whether ennobled by the Platonic treatment of Petrarch and Ronsard or shorn of idealism by someone like Boccaccio. When Ariosto transformed the crusading hero Roland into a witless lover to amuse sophisticated Italian courts he was preparing the paladin's downfall and that of all others like him. In Spain the devotion to romances of chivalry was so widespread and intense in the sixteenth century that Cervantes (1547-1616) sought to combat it with that most lovable of all knights, even though the knight to end all knights (if such things can be ended), *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. It is not only the portrait of Don

⁴²See Vol. I, pp. 714 ff.

⁴³G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, treats this matter in great detail in his chapters on the Renaissance.

Quixote and his somewhat less idealistic squire Sancho Panza that Cervantes paints but also a great number of simple events and people of his age. "The wise and humorous spirit that informs them is that of a man who found within himself resources of character to meet a fortune he could not control, as well as a glad escape and freedom in the creative world of his imagination."⁴⁴ Cervantes says in his preface that his purpose was "to diminish the authority and acceptance that books of chivalry have in the world [and] to overthrow the ill-compiled . . . knightly books abhorred by many, but applauded by more."⁴⁵

When Don Quixote got interested in tales of chivalry he was "about fifty years old, of a strong complexion, dry flesh, and a withered face." He read so much and so constantly that in the end, through lack of sleep, "he dried up his brains in such sort that he lost actually his judgment." His fantasy was filled with those things he read, of "enchantments, quarrels, battles, challenges, wounds, wooings, loves, tempests, and other impossible follies." His reading convinced him at last that "he . . . should become a knight-errant, and go throughout the world, with his horse and armour, to seek adventures, and practice in person all that he had read was used by knights of yore." And so the Don "caused certain old rusty arms to be scoured, that belonged to his great-grandfather." When he found the helmet had no visor he made one of "certain papers pasted together." His old workhorse was "nothing . . . but skin and bone," yet Don Quixote thought that "neither Alexander's Bucephalus" nor the Cid's Balieca "were in any respect equal to him," and so he took him for his charger and called him Rozinante. "He forthwith bethought himself that now he wanted nothing but a lady on whom he might bestow his service and affection; for the knight-errant that is loveless resembles a tree that wants leaves and fruit or a body without a soul." This lady he found in a neighboring village, "a young handsome wench, with whom he was sometime in love, although as is understood, she never knew or took notice thereof. . . . Her he thought fittest to entitle with the name of Lady of his thoughts." He called her Dulcinea del Toboso, for in Toboso was she born.

As he sallied forth "to the wrongs that he resolved to right, the harms he meant to redress, the excesses he would amend, the abuses that he would better and the debts he would satisfy," he suddenly remembered he was not "yet dubbed knight, and therefore by the laws of knight-hood, neither could nor ought to combat with any knight." He spent an unadventurous day until he spied an inn which he took to be a castle "with four turrets, whereof the pinnacles were of glistening silver, [a] drawbridge [and] deep fosse." Don Quixote secured from the innkeeper

⁴⁴H. H. Blanchard, *Prose and Poetry of the Continental Renaissance in Translation*, p. 1002.

⁴⁵The selections from *Don Quixote*, trans. Thomas Shelton, copyright 1908 by The Macmillan Co., and used with The Macmillan Co.'s permission.

a promise to dub him after he had spent the night watching his armor in the chapel of the castle. The innkeeper assured him of his qualification to perform such a deed, for he too had been a knight in his youth, "doing many wrongs, soliciting many widows, undoing certain maidens, and deceiving many pupils, and finally making himself known and famous in all the tribunals and courts almost of Spain." Don Quixote spent the night watching his arms in the courtyard and attacked with nobility (and with appeals to Dulcinea) certain muleteers who took his armor off the cistern to water their beasts. To avoid further incidents of this sort the innkeeper hurried on the dubbing. He gave the Don "a good blow on the neck and after that gave him another trim thwack over the shoulders with his own sword, always murmuring something between the teeth as if he prayed." One of the ladies staying at the inn, a butcher's daughter of very questionable virtue, girded on his sword; another, a miller's daughter, buckled on his spurs, and Don Quixote, thus dubbed, could not rest until he was mounted on horseback, "that he might go to seek adventures: wherefore, causing Rozinante to be instantly saddled, he leaped on him . . ." Before going on with his journey the Don went home for his squire, Sancho Panza, "a certain labourer, his neighbour, who was poor and had children." Together they saw "thirty or forty windmills," which the Don took to be "monstrous giants with whom I mean to fight, and deprive them all of their lives." Sancho could not persuade the Don that they were windmills. He charged them as "cowards and vile creatures!" He swung his lance into the sail of the first mill, and "wind swung it about with such fury that it broke his lance into slivers, carrying him and his horse after it, and finally tumbled him off a good way from it on the field in very evil plight." When Sancho came to the rescue he told his master that none could think windmills giants "unless he had also windmills in his brains."

RONSARD

Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) was to French literature what Petrarch had been to Italian. He was captivated by Petrarch's sonnets, and in his early odes bent the French language to the form and music of Pindar and Horace. In his sonnets are perpetuated the tender memories of the love of more than one Laura. To one he wrote in an oft-repeated vein:

When you are old, by the hearth's glare,
At candle-time, spinning and winding thread,
You'll sing my lines, and say, astonished:
Ronsard made these for me, when I was fair.

Then not a servant even, with toil and care
Almost out-worn, hearing what you have said,
Shall fail to start awake and lift her head
And bless your name with deathless praise fore'er.

My bones shall lie in earth, and my poor ghost
 Take its long rest where Love's dark myrtles thrive.
 You, crouching by the fire, old, shrunken, grey,
 Shall rue your proud disdain and my love lost. . . .
 Nay, hear me, love! Wait not to-morrow! Live,
 And pluck life's roses, oh! to-day, to-day.⁴⁶

However devoted to Homer, he could be no substitute for HER:

I want three days to read the Iliad through!
 So, Carydon, close fast my chamber door.
 If anything should bother me before
 I've done, I swear you'll have somewhat to rue!

No! not the servant, nor your mate, nor you
 Shall come to make the bed or clean the floor.
 I must have three good quiet days—or four.
 Then I'll make merry for a week or two.

Oh! but—if anyone should come from HER,
 Admit him quickly! Be no loiterer,
 But come and make me brave for his receiving.

But no one else!—not friends or nearest kin!
 Though an Olympian God should seek me, leaving
 His Heaven, shut fast the door! Don't let him in!⁴⁷

RABELAIS

The conflict between the old asceticism of the Middle Ages and the new humanism of the Renaissance can be seen clearly in the account by François Rabelais (1494–1553) of the lives of those two fantastic giants Gargantua and Pantagruel. These works are also caricatures of romantic exploits of chivalric heroes. They express in addition the point of view of a humanist steeped in the intellectual currents of his time. Rabelais was a French contemporary of Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin (the last of whom he called a demoniacal imposter). He was born to middle-class parents and when a young man became a Franciscan friar in order to pursue the life of a scholar. He studied Greek literature so intently that his monastic superiors destroyed his books. He then transferred to the Benedictines and may have studied law at the University of Poitiers. It is likely that in 1587 he took the garb of a secular priest and moved from French university to university, including Paris, in search of knowledge. Later he studied medicine at Montpellier and lectured on the Greek texts of Hippocrates and Galen. For a while he directed the municipal hospital at Lyons and in the company of the bishop of Paris made two visits to Rome. He received as benefices the income from certain parishes and finally joined a Benedictine

⁴⁶Trans. C. H. Page, quoted in Blanchard, p. 683.

⁴⁷Trans. Page, *ibid.*, p. 704.

community near Paris, which, when secularized, released him from monastic vows. Thus he saw the monastery and the Church from within. For asceticism of the conventional type he conceived a hatred as violent as that of Erasmus or any Protestant. His studies in the classics and law made him a well-versed and ardent humanist only too willing to display his learning in a way discouraging to some of his readers. Yet he never became pedantically enslaved to the classics. As a leading doctor of France he wished to go back to the early tradition of Greek medicine, and as a student of anatomy he performed his own dissections. A forward-looking physician, he had an abiding interest in science and was intimately acquainted with the miseries accompanying human life.

GARGANTUA AND PANTAGRUEL

His accounts of Gargantua and Pantagruel, first published in the early 1530's and completed in the early 1550's, were condemned by the theological faculty of the University of Paris (the Sorbonne), and for a while the *Parlement* (the supreme court) forbade their sale. They were written for a large audience and in fact were enormously popular; more popular for a time in France than the Scriptures. If in form they were a burlesque of the romances of adventure, their preoccupation with human biological functions continued the tradition of the earthy, late-medieval French popular tales (*fabliaux*) and expressed the acute interest in these matters of the successful practicing physician and his patients.

RABELAIS AS HUMANIST AND REFORMER

Gargantua is also a hearty summons to laugh, and laugh long, with quivering and shaking belly. Rabelais must certainly be regarded as a popular humorist indulging in those themes that have been and ever shall be congenial to the human race. He is more than a humorist, however. He is writing satire of the broadest and subtlest kind, taking the opportunity to speak out his mind upon subjects vital to his generation. Rabelais was also an earnest critic, and one who, while formally acquiescent in the creed of the Church, almost emancipated himself from orthodox Christianity of any kind. If he had any gospel to preach other than to laugh and be gay, to enjoy the pleasures of sense and the fruits of the earth, it was his faith as a humanist with a rich experience of life. This faith was in man's goodness, rationality, and freedom of choice and in science's possibilities. Man's job was the improvement of the world in which he lived through correct decisions and courageous actions based on knowledge. Rabelais was in many ways an Erasmus with an inconceivable gusto for the earthly joys of life. His are the "high spirits, gaiety, and joy of one who would drink life to the lees"; his outlook, "the product of abounding health in body and in mind, . . . freedom from pettiness and prejudice, freedom from regimentation, as well as from chance or circumstance." To him the philosophy of Pantagruelism is "a certain gaiety of mind made

up in scorn of accidents of fortune.”⁴⁸ He refers to the “great rabble of squint-minded fellows, counterfeit saints, demure lookers, hypocrites, zealots, tough friars and buskin monks [with] red snouts and gulching bellies as big as a tun” who read books such as his, meant to promote merriment, in order to seek their smut and to calumniate. “Fly from these men, abhor and hate them as much as I do, and upon my faith you will find yourselves the better for it. And if you desire to be good Pantagruelists, that is to say to live in peace, joy, health, making yourselves always merry, never trust those men that always peep out at one hole” (monks looking out from their cowls).⁴⁹

GARGANTUA ON MONKS

The conflict between the ascetic and humanist point of view in Rabelais can be further illustrated from (1) what Gargantua thought of monks and (2) from his plans for an ideal monastery, the Abbey of Thélème. Gargantua summons to his presence a Friar John, who has won renown defending his monastery against the enemy. He is a great eater, drinker, and hunter, and he contributes to the ribald conversation by asking “what is the reason that the thighs of a gentlewoman are always fresh and cool?” He comes from a monastery where “we never study, for fear of the mumps. Our late abbot was wont to say that it is a monstrous thing to see a learned monk.” He swears “by the body of God,” but only “to grace and adorn my speech [with] the colours of a Ciceronian rhetoric.” He is such a wonderful companion that it is asked, “How is it then that they exclude the monks from all good companies, calling them feast-troublers, as the bees drive away the drones from their hives?” Gargantua answers that “the peremptory reason is because they eat the turd of the world, that is to say, they feed upon the sins of the people, and as a noisome thing, they are cast into the privies, that is, the convents and abbeys [and] separated from civil conversation as the privies and retreats of a house are.” Moreover, he goes on, the “monk (I mean those little, idle, lazy monks) doth not labour and work as do” the peasant, worker, soldier, and the rest. But it is protested “they pray to God for us. . . . Nothing less,” says Gargantua. “True it is, with a tingle-tangle jangling of bells they trouble and disquiet all their neighbours about them. . . . They mumble out great stores of legends and psalms, by them not at all understood; they say many paternosters, interlarded with ave Marias, without thinking upon or apprehending the meaning of what it is they say, which truly I call mockery of God, and not prayers.” Friar John is “no bigot; he is not for divisions; he is an honest heart, plain, resolute, good fellow; he travails, he labours, he defends the oppressed, comforts the afflicted [and] helps the needy.”

⁴⁸Blanchard, p. 581.

⁴⁹The selections from *Gargantua and Pantagruel* trans. Sir Thomas Urquhart, quoted in Blanchard, pp. 583-662.

Gargantua liked Friar John so much that he wanted to give him an abbey, but the friar preferred to found one after his "own mind and fancy." He was given land in the region of Thélème, for Thélème, Greek for "will," was to be an abbey of free will, and a "religious order contrary to all others." It was to have no wall and no clock or dial to regulate the hours. The friar thought there could be no "greater dotage in the world than for one to guide and direct his courses by the sound of a bell, and not by his own judgment and discretion." Because it was the practice to put "no women into nunneries but such as were either purblind, blinkards, lame, crooked, ill-favoured, misshapen, fools, senseless, spoiled or corrupt," the nuns of Thélème were to be "fair, well-featured and of a sweet disposition." Because the monks in earlier monasteries were "either sickly, subject to defluxions, ill-bred louts, simple sots, or peevish trouble-houses", those of Thélème were to be "comely, personably and well-conditioned." Thélème was to be co-educational. There were to be "no women in case there be not men, nor men in case there be not women." Moreover, "men or women, admitted within this abbey, should have full leave to depart with peace and contentment, whensoever it should seem good to them so to do. . . . They might [also] be honourably married, . . . rich, and live at liberty.

"All their life was spent not in laws, statutes, or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. . . ." And there was only this one rule to be observed:

DO WHAT THOU WILT.

When one suggested anything they all did it. "If any of the gallants or ladies should say, 'Let us drink,' they would all drink. . . . If one said, 'Let us go a-walking into the fields,' they went all. If it were to go a-hawking or a-hunting, the ladies, mounted upon dainty well-paced nags, seated in a stately palfrey saddle, carried on their lovely fists, miniardly begloved everyone of them, either a sparhawk, or a lanneret, or a merlin, and the young gallants carried the other kinds of hawks.

"So nobly were they taught that there was neither he nor she amongst them but could read, write, sing, play upon several musical instruments, speak five or six several languages, and compose in them all very quaintly both in verse and prose." When a man left the monastery he took with him "one of the ladies, namely her whom he had before that chosen for his mistress, and they were married together." Indeed Thélème was a training school for marriage. If the monks and nuns had lived there in "good devotion and amity, they did continue therein and increase it to a greater height in their state of matrimony; and did entertain that mutual love till the very last day of their life, in no less vigour and fervency than at the very day of their wedding." Far then from being a place where anxious people work out the salvation of their souls in seclusion, poverty,

chastity, and obedience, the ideal monastery should be a place where rich young ladies and gentlemen of the aristocracy, indeed the young men and women from Castiglione's *Courtier*, should learn and practice with complete freedom the amenities of civilized existence in order successively to enter upon and maintain the blessed bond of matrimony.

MONTAIGNE

As notable and influential a humanist was Rabelais' fellow countryman Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592). The son of a Catholic father and a Jewish mother (whose family, exiles from Spain, had become Protestant), he was particularly sensitive to the horrors of fanatical and intolerant religion. As a young nobleman he was given a classical education of a unique kind. He describes it in one of his *Essays*, a form of literature which he introduced into the West, the one called *Of the Education of Boys*. His father determined that he should grow up speaking Latin as his first language and hired a German tutor who was forbidden to speak anything else to him. Montaigne's parents and the servants followed the same rule. "It is wonderful how much they all profited by it. My father and mother learned enough Latin to understand it, and acquired a sufficient knowledge of it to use in case of need, as did also the other domestics who were attached to my service. In short we all became so latinized, that it overflowed to our villages around, where to this day may be heard several Latin names of artisans and tools, which through frequent use have taken root. . . . I was more than six years old before I understood any . . . French." His father wanted him to learn Greek "in the form of recreation and exercise," but as a result, "I have as good as no knowledge whatever" of Greek.

HIS CLASSICAL EDUCATION

Ovid was his introduction to books. "The first relish I had for books came to me from the pleasure I had in the fables of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. For at the age of about seven or eight I would steal away from every other pleasure to read them." He was fortunate enough to have at school a tutor who did not mind his neglect of other studies to go through the Latin classics. "For thereby I was able, without a stop, to run through Virgil's *Aeneid*, and then Terence, and then Tacitus, as well as some Italian comedies, always allured by the attractiveness of the subject." Montaigne became more familiar with Latin literature than with French. It became a part of him, a major force in the play of his mind. In another essay, *Of Books*, he admits that "I do not take very readily to the moderns because the ancient authors appear to me fuller and more virile." To him Vergil's *Georgics* were "the most accomplished of all poetical works. . . . I also love Lucan and readily seek his companionship, not so much for his style as for his own worth and the truth of his opinions and judgements." Plu-

tarch and Seneca were books which taught him "to bring order into my opinions and morals." Cicero's eloquence he thought "beyond comparison; I believe that no man will ever equal him." Yet he knew that eloquence could be a substitute for original thought and an instrument of the demagogue. "The historians are my right-hand ball [he is thinking of tennis]; they're entertaining and easy, and at the same time, man in general, whom I seek to know, appears there more alive and entire than anywhere else. . . . The writings of the ancients, I mean the good, serious, and pregnant works, allure and carry me almost whither they please." What the writers of the medieval past wrote was "scholastic cackle."⁵⁰

MONTAIGNE AND CIVIL WAR

Montaigne served his time as a counselor in the courts, and later as mayor, of Bordeaux. He preferred, however, the quiet life of a student, ponderer, and writer, and after withdrawal to his estate at the age of thirty-eight this secluded and meditative way of life in the end made possible his *Essays*. Seclusion did not mean that he was not in touch with political and party struggles. He was close to the royal court at all times and maintained his allegiance to the Church. France,⁵¹ torn by bitter civil war between Catholic and Protestant, was of heartbreaking concern to Montaigne. Even at his own chateau he was caught up in the wars. No education was complete, he learned, which did not teach one how to "endure imprisonment as well as torture." The chaos, bloodshed, cruelty, and madness he attributed primarily to one thing: the fanaticism of dogmatic certainty. In the interest therefore of order, peace, decency, and sanity, he used his humanistic knowledge and sympathies to demonstrate the futility of believing that man could ever hope by the use of his reason to reach the security of absolute truth.

Montaigne was a conservative noble. The world of his day seemed to him to demonstrate the validity of Christian teachings about the inherent vileness of man. He saw no reason to deny to monarchy and church the direction of human society. But the monarchy and church that he conceived of were not the institutions which were causing the destruction of human life and achievement in the French religious wars. His monarch was the kind of king (Henry IV) who turned from Protestantism to Catholicism in order to reign, but only after a grant of toleration to the Huguenots, the French Calvinists.⁵² It is impossible to believe that he could have made his peace with any rigid religious orthodoxy. Montaigne was a latter-day Erasmus, a Christian humanist interested more in peace than slaughter and in a rationality that produces tolerance instead of torture and inquisition.

⁵⁰Trans. E. J. Trechmann, in *The Essays of Montaigne*, I, 175.

⁵¹See pp. 123 f.

⁵²See p. 124.

THE "ESSAYS"

The *Essays* belong to the kind of autobiographical literature that Cellini introduced to the West. One of their purposes was to reveal the character and personality of an individual who believed himself and his point of view important to his own and future generations. "These are fancies of my own by which I endeavour to make known not things, but myself. . . . I give them as representing what I myself believe, not as what I expect others to believe. . . . I claim no authority, nor do I desire it, . . . being too conscious of my lack of instruction to instruct others." To him education was a training of judgment. He quotes Cicero as saying, "the authority of the teachers is generally prejudicial to those who desire to learn." The student must be permitted to pour everything through a sieve, and "store nothing in his head on mere authority and trust. To him Aristotle's principles should be no more principles than those of the Stoics and Epicureans; let their various theories be put to him, and he will choose, if he is able; if not he will remain in doubt. Only fools are certain and cocksure."⁵³

THE "APOLOGY FOR RAIMOND SEBOND"

In the essay called an *Apology for Raimond Sebond* Montaigne's aversion to dogmatism is at its best. Sebond, an earlier theologian, had written a work on natural theology which Montaigne, upon his father's request, translated into French (1569).⁵⁴ Sebond's aim, Montaigne says, was "bold and courageous, for he undertakes by human and natural reason to establish and prove against the atheists all the articles of the Christian religion." To Montaigne this was impossible. We must accompany "our faith with all the reason that is in us; but always with this reservation that we must not imagine that it depends upon ourselves, nor that our endeavours and arguments will be able to attain to a knowledge so divine and supernatural." At a time when man's notions of the cosmos were being revolutionized⁵⁵ Montaigne suggested that he might be taking himself a little too seriously. "What has induced him to believe that that wonderful motion of the heavenly vault, the eternal light of those torches rolling so proudly over his head, the awe-inspiring agitations of that infinite sea, were established and endured through so many centuries, for his service and convenience?" How is it possible to regard as so important a human life that "is but a flash in the infinite course of an eternal night." Man must not exaggerate what he can do with his so-called reason. He cannot tell us what God is. If one were to read how the philosophers had defined God he would find it so much "racket from so many philosophical brains. . . . It is Socrates' opinion," he writes, "and mine too, that the

⁵³Trans. Trechmann, I, 149.

⁵⁴See T. Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, Chap. ii, for a treatment of this essay in its relation to Shakespearian tragedy.

⁵⁵See pp. 152 ff.

wisest theory about the gods is to have no theory at all. . . . How powerless" are they, moreover, who believe most in immortality "to prove it by their human arguments." He trusted science no more than theology. "I am mistaken if it has grasped the right end of a single thing, and I shall depart this life more ignorant of everything than of my own ignorance. . . . All the outcome of our own reasoning powers, whether true or not, is subject to doubt and uncertainty. . . . Our mind is an erratic, dangerous and unthinking tool; it is difficult to reconcile it with order and moderation. . . . If . . . beliefs have their revolving seasons, their birth, their death, like cabbages; if heaven moves and rolls them about at its pleasure, what magisterial and permanent authority are we to attribute to them? . . . This fine human reason of ours, thrusting itself into everything, commanding and domineering, confusing and distorting the face of things in its vanity and inconsistency!" Reason cannot really depend upon the senses, for the senses "are many a time masters of our reason and force it to receive impressions which it knows and judges to be false. . . . Is it possible to imagine anything more ridiculous than that this miserable and puny creature, who is not so much as master of himself . . . should call himself Master and Emperor of the universe, of which it is not in his power to know the smallest part, much less to command it?" Man is an animal who cannot claim distinction from other animals because of his reason. Indeed in many respects animals are superior to men. They are more loyal and have no equivalent for human warfare. "With regard to war, which is the greatest and most pompous of human activities, I would fain know whether we should regard it as arguing some prerogative, or, on the contrary, as a testimony of our imbecility and imperfection, as indeed the science of defeating and killing one another, of ruining and destroying our own race, seems to have little to recommend it to the animals that have it not."⁵⁶

As a kind of summary of what he believed Montaigne had put upon the rafters of his study some fifty-four mottoes. Among them were *There is no reason which is not opposed by an equal reason*; and *No man hath known, and none shall know, ought with certitude*. Closer to what we have defined as his humanistic attitude would be *Rejoice in the present life: all else is beyond thee*; and *The beautiful is worthy of admiration*. In proposing that man distrust his reason Montaigne was not suggesting that he should not use it and thus cast himself into the arms of authority, rational or irrational. He did not believe that everyone could make good use of reason. It were better that some remain ignorant and incurious, the docile and obedient sons of the Church. Those who could were obliged also to be reasonable enough not to become enslaved by their reasons, and to try to be wise enough to see that the results of one man's reason had always to be compared with the results of another's. A reason which

⁵⁶Trans. Trechmann, I, 441, 466-467.

sanctioned persecution and death on account of belief was no reason. Reason liberated the mind from authority and intolerant dogma. It was Montaigne's opinion, says one who knows him well, that "ethics are matters of custom; that creeds are matters of place of birth; that Moslem faith is the twin of Christian faith; that religious zeal turns men into savages; that wars are matters of mere nationality or mere partisanship; that men in the mass are forever ignorantly sure of what they know nothing about, and childishly heedless of how they risk life and well-being for vain causes."⁵⁷

CLASSICISM

When one turns from Rabelais and Montaigne to the literature of seventeenth-century France he encounters another of those vague, difficult words contrived by scholars to describe the creative work of an epoch. It is necessary to come to terms with this word *classicism*.⁵⁸ Its meaning is in part derived from the use we have given to the terms *classic* and *classical*, namely, to refer to the civilization of Greece and Rome. The classicism of French literature in the age of Louis XIV comes from the continuing influence of classical literature upon French writers. French classicism, however, means more than this. It marks the attempt of French writers and critics, with the standards of Greek and Latin literature before them, to do so well with their own vernacular tongue in creating French classics that subsequent generations would have to look back on as models, as writers of the Renaissance had to look back to Greece and Rome for models. With the possible exception of eighteenth-century England, the French are the only western European nation to date to have created a classical literature.

CLASSICAL WRITERS

The differences between the English of Chaucer and that of Shakespeare, and between that of Shakespeare and Pope's are the result of a process of simplification, ordering, discipline, and maturity. The same can be said of the differences between the French of the *Romance of the Rose* or Rabelais and that of Montaigne or of Racine and Molière, the leading classical dramatists of the seventeenth century. By a great disciplinary effort the French not only made their literature classical but their language international. Literary and artistic history was in fact reflecting political history: the creation of a temporary stability and order around the absolute, divine-right monarchy.⁵⁹ The monarchy provided a court which set standards of good taste and founded official academies which helped also to set and to enforce these standards. In this work the court was joined by the polite society of Paris organized into the salons of literary and learned ladies. The resulting literature carefully avoided

⁵⁷J. M. Robertson, introd. to Trechmann, I, xxxiii.

⁵⁸See pp. 257 ff.

⁵⁹See pp. 215 ff.

the disputes of politics and religion. French critics such as Malherbe and Boileau set themselves up as new Aristotles and Horaces, drawing up the rules in accordance with which the new literature was to be written. Under the influence of the Roman Martial, La Rochefoucauld demonstrated that French was as good as Latin in writing epigrammatic sentences. Under the influence of the Greek Theophrastus, La Bruyère showed that French could be used for the brief, scintillating character sketch. Under the influence of Cicero, court preachers like Bishop Bossuet revealed that French too was capable of surging rhetoric. La Fontaine reduced the Greek fables to inimitable verse. Madame de Sévigné put the new eloquent French into her letters. Saint Simon did likewise for his *Memoirs*.

CLASSICAL DRAMA

The drama, the tragedy of Corneille and Racine, and the comedy of Molière brought the new classicism to its peak. Its subject matter was to be the nature of man, not that particular nature which divides men, but those common qualities of reason and emotion that unite them. Tragedy, adopting as a mode of discipline the unities of time, place, and action, could thus devote itself to an analysis of the grand passions. Comedy, gathering in all that was typically humorous, could devote itself to an analysis of the comic human types and to the ridicule of certain situations in French society, such as those delicate ladies of the salons who preferred to call teeth the "furniture of the mouth" and cheeks the "thrones of modesty," and who rather than say a simple "stir up that fire" or "draw up that armchair" substituted "excite that combustible element" and "convey hither the comforts of conversation."⁶⁰ The word used most often to describe the ideal quality of the new literature was *reasonable*; it should conform to reason or good sense, and avoid the extravagant and the abnormal. It was to be intellectual in its concern for generality and analysis and in its emphasis upon what was permanent rather than ephemeral. It was to express the truth about man's nature in beautiful, simple, clear, precise, and elegant language. Something like this was the creed of a classicism which prevailed until contested later by romanticism.⁶¹

MOLIÈRE

Molière (1622-1673) was the author of social comedy in the sense that Aristophanes wrote political, and Shakespeare romantic, comedy. Educated in the classics, he knew Aristotle, Lucretius, and of course Plautus, the Roman writer of comedy. After a prolonged tour in the French provinces with his own acting company he settled in Paris under the protection of Louis XIV and contributed much, together with Lulli, the director of music at court, to the diversion of the aristocratic guests of Versailles. His great plays, and he was a master, make sport of the pedant, the

⁶⁰The examples are from J. Boulenger, *The Seventeenth Century*, p. 120.

⁶¹See Chap. vii.

miser, the hypocrite and social climber, the vain nobleman, the jealous husband, and the ladies of the circumlocutory phrase. He devoted several plays to the pretensions of the medical profession, from which he may well have suffered. Some of the squabbling physicians of his plays were actual doctors administering to the king or leading persons at court.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MEDICINE

It is probably true to say that the medical profession was never so dangerous to human life as in the early seventeenth century.⁶² Recruited and trained with no great care, it was bound by tradition, superstition, and arrogance. Doctors dressed like sorcerers, in wig, gown, and conical hat, and rode (the old-fashioned ones) upon mules to see their patients. Up-to-date doctors, we are told, rode horses. Professors of medicine swore "to teach in a long gown with wide sleeve, a doctoral cap upon my head [and] a knot of scarlet ribbon on my shoulder." They thought it better to die according to the rules than to be cured by unlicensed remedies, and indeed the contents of pharmacists' shops were calculated to destroy health. An official pharmacopoeia of London in 1618 contained bile, blood, claws, cockscomb, feathers, fur, hair, perspiration, saliva, scorpion, snake's skin, spider web, and wood-lice.⁶³ New discoveries in science, such as Harvey's circulation of the blood, were not easily absorbed and applied to the study of disease. But the doctors resorted to much blood letting to restore, as they thought, the proper balance among the elementary qualities (hot, cold, dry, and moist) and the four humours, or bodily juices (blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile), that they had learned about from the Greeks. Medicine was not yet free from astrology. An Italian doctor called a catarrh *influenza* because he thought it was due to the influence of the stars. If the physicians were not bleeding their patients they were destroying their vitality with emetics. "In nine cases out of ten it was clearly more dangerous for a sick man to consult a doctor than trust his constitution." The doctor got into popular verse as well as into the drama:

Assume a most pedantic frown,
Some Greek or Latin spout;
Have on a wig and grotesque gown
Of satin furred about;
For such things almost make, we own,
A doctor out and out.⁶⁴

THE MEDICAL PLAYS OF MOLIÈRE

In his play *The Physician in Spite of Himself* (*Le Médecin malgré Lui*) Molière has the hero, who is pretending to be a doctor, say, "I have made

⁶²J. Palmer, *Molière*, p. 414.

⁶³A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the 16th-17th Centuries*, p. 426.

⁶⁴H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, *Molière*, p. 284.

up my mind to stick to physic all my life. I find that it is the best trade of all: for, whether we do right or wrong, we're paid just the same. . . . A shoemaker in making a pair of shoes, cannot spoil a scrap of leather without having to pay for it; but in our trade, we can spoil a man without its costing us a farthing. The blunders are never put down to our charge: it is always the fault of the fellow who dies. In short the best of this profession is, that there is the greatest excellence and discretion current among the dead; for they have never yet been known to complain of the doctor who killed them."⁶⁵

Molière wrote three other plays about doctors: *Love's the Best Doctor* (*L'Amour Médecin*), *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, and *The Man Who Thought Himself Ill* (*Le Malade Imaginaire*). In the course of *The Physician in Spite of Himself*, Sganarelle, the pretending doctor, says that the patient must not "die without a doctor's prescription." When asked to explain the cause of his lady patient's ailment (she is pretending she cannot speak), he says that "it arises from an impediment in the action of her tongue." The girl's father is worried about Sganarelle's location of the liver and the heart. "It seems to me that you place them differently from where they are; the heart is on the left side, and the liver is on the right." But Sganarelle answers, "Yes; this was so formerly; but we have changed all that, and now-a-days we practice medicine in an entirely different way."

In *Love's the Best Doctor* the maid asks her master, who is planning to have in four doctors for a consultation on his ill daughter, "What do you want with four doctors, Monsieur? Is not one enough to kill anybody? . . . Look out! you will be highly edified. They will tell you in Latin that your daughter is not well." In *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* a man quite well is taken to two doctors to be treated for insanity. He protests that he is not ill and is told by one of the doctors, "A bad sign, when a patient does not feel he is ill. . . . We know better than you how you are, for we are doctors, we can see clearly into your constitution." The patient then replies, "I jeer at medicine," and the doctor says, "Ah, ah, this man is more mad than we thought." The patient replies, "My father and my mother would never take their remedies and they both died without doctors' assistance."

"THE MAN WHO THOUGHT HIMSELF ILL"

In *Le Malade Imaginaire* Argan, thinking himself desperately ill, is being victimized by his doctor, Purgon. The doctor, moreover, wishes to have his nephew, Thomas Diafoirus, a recent graduate in medicine, marry Argan's daughter, Angélique. The young graduate is a boor. He is also indifferent to the new advances in science. "He attaches himself blindly to the opinions of the ancients, and . . . has never desired to listen to or

⁶⁵The selections from *Plays of Molière* trans. A. R. Waller.

understand the reasonings and experiments of the pretended discoveries of our century, concerning the circulation of the blood and other opinions of like nature." Indeed the young doctor has written a thesis "against those who support the theory of the circulation of the blood," and he presents it to Angélique as "the first-fruits of my intellect." When the young man writes her "to come one of these days and amuse yourself with the sight of the dissection of a woman, upon which I have to lecture," the maid remarks, "What a delightful entertainment. Some suitors take their mistresses to the play; but to offer to take her to a dissection is something quite out of the common." When Argan asks whether some attempt is going to be made to get the young man, who possesses "in an exemplary degree prolific power," a job at court he is told by the young man's father, also a physician, "I have always found it better for us to work among ordinary people. The public is amenable. You are not responsible to anyone for your actions; and, provided you follow the ordinary rules of your art, there is no need to trouble yourself over what may happen. The trouble in the case of the great is that, when they fall ill, they absolutely insist upon their doctors' curing them."

Angélique does not have to marry the boy, because Argan's faith in doctors is undermined by his brother, who tells him that "the springs of these machines of ours are a mystery which, up to the present, men do not understand." Doctors "know a great deal about the classics, they can talk in fine Latin, they know the Greek names for every disease, and can define and distinguish them, but, as for curing them . . . they know nothing at all about that." Argan's Dr. Purgon, the brother says, is a man "who believes in his rules more than in all the demonstrations of mathematics, and who would deem it a crime to wish to enquire into their authenticity; a man who sees nothing obscure in the art of medicine, nothing doubtful, nothing difficult, and who, with impetuous prepossession and obstinate confidence rides roughshod over reason and common sense, and orders purgings and bleedings on every hand, without weighing matters at all. You must not bear him ill will for all he may do to you: he will dispatch you in the heartiest good faith, and, in killing you, he will only do what he has done to his own wife and children, and what he will do to himself when the occasion arises." Indeed the brother advises Argan to go to see some of Molière's plays on the subject of doctors. Argan then expresses the hope that Molière will die without the attendance of a doctor. This is in fact what happened. Molière died soon after he had played the lead in *Le Malade Imaginaire* on its first presentation (10 February, 1673), "suffering much from cold and inflammation, which caused a violent cough." His death has been referred to as "a calamity in which the physicians saw a heavenly vengeance for the insults he heaped upon them."⁶⁶

⁶⁶H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, p. 299.

Under the inspiration of classical models, the French of the age of Louis XIV did so well in producing their own French classics that they began to wonder whether it was necessary any longer to look with adulation upon all that the Greeks and Romans had done. "The ancients," Molière said, "are the ancients, we are the people of today." He was referring to the controversy which grew up over this question, a controversy based on the achievements of French and other authors and scientists, who for some time had been proving that the authority of the ancients was unreliable. Europe, now escaping from the prolonged authority of Ptolemy, Aristotle, and Hippocrates, sought also to abandon the authority of Homer, Vergil, and the rest. The attacks upon the authority of the ancients were launched first in the new French Academy, a creation of the French absolute monarchy. They were thus meant to assert that the new academy was of the same stature as the ancient Platonic one and that the French people had in fact arrived at a level of civilization equal, if not superior, to the first great age of the Roman Peace, the age of Augustus.

The leader of the attack upon the ancients was the academician Perrault, who added to his authorship of fairy tales a poem on the *Age of Louis the Great* and a long work on the *Comparison of the Ancients and Moderns*. He was in the main supported by Fontenelle, the secretary of the Academy of Sciences, in an essay called *Digression on the Ancients and Moderns*. The support of the ancients was at first taken up by the distinguished critic Boileau and others. The controversy was continued into the eighteenth century, with the moderns being supported not only by the academies but by the new journals and by the new arbiters of opinion, the learned ladies of the salon. It was, of course, a chapter in the liberation of the West from too great dependence upon authority. The humanism of the Renaissance had first meant liberation from too dogmatic an assertion of the Christian point of view. When, in turn, that humanism became pompous, pedantic, and academic, it called forth, in part from its own resources, the spirit of protest.

In his poem on Louis XIV Perrault had made the mistake of omitting in a list of the great Frenchmen who were the equal of any ancients the names of three who are recognized today, with Molière, as being in the front rank: Boileau himself, Racine, and La Fontaine, and they were all in his audience when he made the speech. The argument which he and Fontenelle and others used to support their claim that it was no longer necessary to rely upon the authority of Greece and Rome was twofold. First, they said that the operations of nature are uniformly constant at all times; if animals and plants were no better in ancient times than they were in theirs it was necessary to suppose that there was no difference between the kind of men produced in ancient times and the kind of men produced in modern times. They were essentially the same and could produce the same

kind and quality of work. What differences there were could be accounted for by external differences rather than by any difference in the nature and capacity of men. This idea of constancy in the operation of natural forces was of course borrowed from science. Second, these men said that the modern was bound to be superior to the ancient, inasmuch as in the course of the centuries man learns, his experience grows, his knowledge increases, and the methods he uses to build up his knowledge improve. Thus it is inevitable that with this progress in knowledge the men of the present have a decided advantage over the men of the past. It is the ancients who are young and foolish, and the moderns who are old and wise. Since knowledge is likely to go on increasing there is no reason to believe that future generations will not be superior to present ones. The revolt of these men from authoritarian pedantry was laying the foundations of a doctrine of progress that in the next century was to be a new gospel.

The more sensible of them, however, came to see that there were different kinds of knowledge, a scientific knowledge that was cumulative, and a religious, moral, philosophical, and artistic knowledge that was not. Seventeenth-century Frenchmen were no better or happier than first-century Romans. In the realm of imaginative literature there was no cumulative knowledge. The imaginations of men did not progress. The best imaginative literature of the ancients could not be improved upon. It was perfect. That is what a classic meant. This did not mean that it could not be equalled. The drama of the ancients could be equalled by the drama of the moderns. Thus, in the end a compromise was reached which recognized the importance of the ancients in stimulating the creative imaginations and setting standards of accomplishment for modern and contemporary men. This did not mean that they were to be worshiped or that they could not be equalled or, in some fields, surpassed. The tradition of the classics, whether modern or ancient—and all modern classics become in time ancient—was to be discarded only when it became dogmatic. In this way the liberating quality of the humanistic tradition was perpetuated by a quarrel which at moments threatened to become a petty squabble over personalities. The battle between Ancients and Moderns was carried on in England as well as France after the English genius, combined with the Renaissance, had brought forth some modern wonders of its own: Shakespeare and Milton.

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS AGE

In 1613 an English poet and playwright, William Shakespeare (1564–1616), together with John Fletcher, made a play out of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*). It was the last play he wrote of the long series that had proved him the greatest English poet and one of the world's best. All such men ultimately defy classification and analysis. Shakespeare's supreme poetic gifts would have found expression, one must believe, in almost any age. But the actual age into which he was born

contributed to the profundity and beauty of his work, for it was an age of national greatness. An able queen of strong character, Elizabeth I (1558-1603), sat on the throne. The storm of the Reformation was finally weathered. England and English Protestantism were successfully defended against Philip II's Armada. English buccaneers and explorers were coursing the seas of the globe, while prosperity steadily mounted. The classical Renaissance had begun to shed its full bounty upon education, learning, and literature. If this were not enough to mature a people, events elsewhere in the scientific and literary worlds struck at familiar ways of thinking and set thoughtful men to probing once more the fundamental questions of existence. Copernicus had shifted the center of the universe, Machiavelli had upset the Christian description of the state, and Montaigne had suggested that man's capacity had been seriously overrated.⁶⁷ It was time for high seriousness, even for great tragedy.

Shakespeare was a man of this high seriousness, and sensitive to the tragic as well as splendid and grand implications of his age. This is hardly the place to try to enter into the extraordinary accomplishments of his exuberant genius, but it can be pointed out that what we have referred to in this chapter as humanism in a specific sense (the cultivation of classical civilization) and humanism in a general sense (the exemplification and celebration of the noble human qualities and capacities) are in his writing. We must limit ourselves to one play, *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607).

SHAKESPEARE AS A HUMANIST

Shakespeare was not a humanist in the limited sense of being a classical scholar, for he was not much of a scholar. Poetry, scholarship, and the drama are a rare combination. He learned his Latin at school like any other boy but did not go on to the university. Greek he did not acquire. He knew "small Latin and less Greek," according to Ben Jonson, a fellow poet and playwright. But he was well acquainted, whether in the original or translation, with Ovid, Seneca, and Plutarch, and less so with Plautus.⁶⁸ The subject matter of twelve of his works came from classical antiquity, and by allusion to Graeco-Roman mythology⁶⁹ his poetry is filled with its atmosphere. In steeping his plays in classical myth and subject matter Shakespeare was not merely a quoter. In the alembic of his imagination he transmuted all into true poetry.

PLUTARCH AND SHAKESPEARE

This is worth illustrating. Shakespeare knew Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* very well. They had been translated into French in 1559 by Jacques Amyot (the translation Montaigne knew), and they were translated from

⁶⁷See pp. 152 ff., 237 ff., and 49 ff. for these men. See also T. Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, Chaps. i and ii.

⁶⁸See Vol. I, pp. 232 f., 248 f., 186, and 231 for these men.

⁶⁹See Highet, "Shakespeare's Classics," *Classical Tradition*.

Amyot's French into English by Sir Thomas North in 1579. It was North's translation which Shakespeare used. From Plutarch he constructed the plots of his *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*, and *Timon of Athens*. The difference between North's prose and Shakespeare's poetry can be seen in the following use Shakespeare made of parts of Plutarch's *Life of Caesar* and *Life of Antony*.

In the *Life of Caesar* Plutarch says that "Caesar also had Cassius in great jealousy and suspected him much: whereupon he said . . . to his friends, 'What will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks.' Another time, when Caesar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabelle, . . . he answered them again, 'as for those fat men and smooth-combed heads,' quoth he, 'I never reckon of them; but these pale-visaged and carrion lean people, I fear them most.'" In Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* this becomes

Caesar: Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

Antony: Fear him not, Caesar, he's not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman, and well given.

Caesar: Would he were fatter! but I fear him not!
Yet if my name were liable to fear,
I do not know the man I should avoid
So soon as that spare Cassius.

This is the way Plutarch describes Cleopatra's first appearance on the Cydnus in his *Life of Antony*: "Therefore, when she was sent unto by diverse letters, both from Antonius himself, and also from his friends, she made so light of it and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, haut-boys, citherns, viols and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of herself: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus commonly drawn in picture; and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the nymphs Nereides (which are the mermaids of the Waters) and like the Graces, some steering the helm, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderful passing sweet savour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharf's side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongst the river's side; others also ran out of the city to see her coming in. So

that in the end, there ran such multitudes of people one after another to see her, that Antonius was left part alone in the market place in his Imperial seat to give audience."

In *Antony* and *Cleopatra* this is made over into

Enobarbus: When she first met Mark Antony she pursed up his heart,
upon the river of Cydnus.

Agrippa: There she appeared indeed, or my reporter devised well
for her.

Enobarbus: I will tell you.
The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burned on the water; the poop was beaten gold,
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were love-sick with them, the oars were silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggared all description; she did lie
In her pavilion,—cloth-of-gold of tissue,—
O'er picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature; on each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheek which they did cool,
And what they undid did.

Agrippa: O! rare for Antony!

Enobarbus: Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids, tended her i' the eyes,
And made their bends adornings; at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers; the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
That yarely frame the office. From the barge
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her, and Antony
Enthron'd i' th' market place, did sit alone,
Whistling to th' air; which, but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
And made a gap in nature.

Agrippa: Rare Egyptian!⁷⁰

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra* cover one of the most dramatic short periods of history, from the death of Caesar (44 B.C.) to the aftermath of the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). The Roman Republic was falling prey to its generals. Its last terrible century, perhaps the fateful one in the history of Graeco-Roman civilization, was to give way to empire and tyranny. "The time of universal peace is near," says the future

⁷⁰Highet, pp. 211–213.

Augustus in *Antony and Cleopatra*. This is not all clear to Shakespeare, but he senses the grand spectacle that was being played and the universal scope of its parts. The "world" rolls easily from everyone's tongue. Scenes shift readily from Rome to Alexandria and from Athens to Sicily. The duality of the Mediterranean world, the Roman West and the Graeco-oriental East, was taking political form. Two ways of life were struggling for mastery, Antony's Roman world and Cleopatra's Graeco-oriental world, for she was a Greek queen of Egypt. Caught up in this universal struggle are a man and a woman, a general and a queen, transfigured by a great and all-consuming love. The quality of their love is enhanced by the grandeur of the setting and the persons of the lovers. The conflict between high duty and sensual love is here; at one point Antony thinks he has been betrayed by a "triple-turned whore." But this conflict is made trivial by the greater theme of the ennobling character of a devoted love between two extraordinary people, a love that sends each to his death in search of the other, putting such things as empires and kingdoms in their petty places. "Human excellence in all its potential beauty and excelling power rides proudly here."⁷¹

ANTONY

The Antony of this play is well-nigh a god. It almost breaks Augustus' heart to think of the great soldier of the past, "the old ruffian," now at his "lascivious wassails." To Lepidus he is "the noble Antony." To Enobarbus at one point he is "Our courteous Antony, Whom ne'er the word of 'No' woman heard speak." At another point, after Enobarbus has abandoned his old general for the enemy, a desertion he must pay for by suicide, it is "O Antony!/ Nobler than my revolt is infamous." Antony's "demon—that's the spirit which keeps thee—is/ Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable." If Augustus is the "Jupiter of men," then Antony is "the God of Jupiter." Eros takes his own life rather than complete the suicide of "My dear master,/ My captain, and my emperor . . . Farewell, great chief." At his death a guard can say, "The star is fallen." To another he is "Most absolute lord." After his death Agrippa says, "A rarer spirit never/ Did steer humanity." And Augustus:

The breaking of so great a thing should make
A greater crack; the round world
Should have shook lions into civil streets,
And citizens to their dens. The death of Antony
Is not a single doom; in the same lay
A moiety of the world.

To Cleopatra he was "this Herculean Roman," her "man of men, . . . the demi-Atlas of this earth, the arm and burget of men." A Roman

⁷¹G. Wilson Knight, "The Transcendental Humanism of Antony and Cleopatra," in *The Imperial Theme*, p. 210.

officer calls him "the noble ruin of her magic," who upon her flight at Actium "Claps on his sea-wing, and like a doting mallard,/ Leaving the fight in height, flies after her." When Antony in desperation says that "If from the field I shall return once more/ To kiss these lips, I will appear in blood," she calls him her "brave lord." He wants her to see him fight his last fight:

O love!
That thou couldst see my wars today, and knew'st
The royal occupation! Thou shouldst see
A workman in 't.

After Cleopatra's reported death and the suicide of his trusted Eros, when suicide seems to him the only way out, Antony wants to be "A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't/ As to a lover's bed." When he comes to her dying, she exclaims,

Had I great Juno's power
The strong-wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up
And set thee by Jove's side.

She dreamt of him after he had gone:

His face was as the heavens, and therein stuck
A sun and moon, which kept their course, and lighted
The little O, the earth. . . .
His legs bestrid the ocean; his rear'd arm
Crested the world; his voice was propertyed
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
There was no winter in 't; an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping. His delights
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
The element they liv'd in. In his livery
Walk'd crowns and crownets. Realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.

CLEOPATRA

Shakespeare calls Cleopatra a "gypsy" with a "tawny front" ("The tanned Helen of the Nile"). She refers to herself "that am with Phoebus' amorous pinches black." Enobarbus says, "Her passions are made of nothing but the finest part of love." When Antony exclaims, "Would I had never seen her," he answers, "O, Sir! you had left unseen a wonderful piece of work which not to have been blessed withal would have discredited your travel."

Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety; other women cloy
The appetites they feed, but she makes hungry

Where most she satisfies; for vilest things
Become themselves in her, that the holy priests
Bless her when she is riggish.

To Pompey she is "Sweet Cleopatra"; to Mecaenas, "a most triumphant lady"; to Agrippa, a "Royal wench"; and to Caesar, at one moment, a whore ("He hath given his empire up to a whore."); and to Scarus, a "ribaudred [lewd] hag of Egypt."

But to Antony she is his "wrangling queen . . . enchanting queen . . . cunning past man's thought . . . serpent of old Nile . . . a gem of women . . . my chuck." She was "this great fairy . . . day o' the world . . . my nightingale . . . This grave charm,/ Whose eyes becked forth my wars, and called them home,/ Whose bosom was my crownet, my chief end." She was "O eastern star" to her slave Charmian, and at the same time, "a lass unparallel'd." In her death the Augustus whose Roman triumph she would not grace can say, "She looks like sleep,/ As she would catch another Antony/ In her strong toil of grace."

DEATHS OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

The exalted pace of their love is set in the very first scene, when in reply to Cleopatra's "I'll set a bourn how far to be below'd," Antony says, "Then must thou needs find out new heaven, new earth." When she urges him to go back to Rome and give up their love, he cries:

Let Rome in Tiber melt, and the wide arch
Of the rang'd empire fall! Here is my space.
Kingdoms are clay; our dungy earth alike
Feeds beast as man. The nobleness of life
Is to do thus [embracing]; when such a mutual pair
And such a twain can do't, in which I bind,
On pain of punishment, the world to weet [know]
We stand up peerless.

Eternity [she tells him] was in our lips and eyes,
Bliss in our brows bent; none our parts so poor
But was a race of heaven.

There had been riotous gaiety and "gaudy nights":

That time—O times!
I laugh'd him out of patience; and that night
I laugh'd him into patience; and next morn
Ere the ninth hour I drunk him to his bed,
Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst
I wore his sword Philippan.

When at the end he is told that she has committed suicide, he decides that this must also be the end for him.

I come, my queen. . . .
Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand
And with our sprightly port [demeanor] make the ghosts gaze.
Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops,
And all the haunt be ours. . . .

When he is brought to her dying, she cries,

And welcome, welcome! die where thou hast liv'd;
Quicken with kissing; had my lips that power,
Thus would I wear them out.

When he is gone:

Noblest of men, woo't die?
Hast thou no care of me? Shall I abide
In this dull world, which in thy absence is
No better than a sty? O, see, my women,
[Antony dies.]
The crown o' the earth doth melt. My lord!
O, wither'd is the garland of the war,
The soldier's pole is fall'n! Young boys and girls
Are level now with men. The odds is gone,
And there is nothing left remarkable
Beneath the visiting moon.

It must be death for her also.

Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have
Immortal longings in me. Now no more
The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip.
. . . quick. Methinks I hear
Antony call; I see him rouse himself
To praise my noble act; I hear him mock
The luck of Caesar, which the gods give men
To excuse their after wrath: husband, I come:
Now to that name my courage prove my title!
I am fire and air; my other elements
I give to baser life. So, have you done?
Come then, and take the last warmth of my lips.

.

The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
Which hurts, and is desir'd. . . .

The poisonous asp she calls: "my baby at my breast,/ That sucks the nurse asleep."

JOHN MILTON

In the same year that *Antony and Cleopatra* was published, John Milton was born in London (1608-1674). For him Shakespeare was "sweetest" and "Fancy's child," who warbled "native wood-notes wild." He was an advanced spokesman of the age of the Renaissance and Reformation, if

not the age of the new science. At school (St. Paul's, London) and university (Cambridge) and during six years of private study after his M. A. degree, he steeped himself, as few have done, in the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. Milton became a radical Protestant (Puritan) and an active supporter of Parliament and Cromwell in the years 1640-1660.⁷² He opposed an episcopal form of church government and an intolerant Presbyterianism. He supported the execution of Charles I in 1649. His first, unfortunate marriage led him to advocate divorce, and he became an eloquent supporter of freedom of the press.⁷³ He was an active publicist in the causes he believed in and served the government of Cromwell as Secretary for Foreign Tongues (1649). He went totally blind in 1652. The restoration of Charles II in 1660 was the defeat of all his political hopes, and for a while he was under arrest. The fusion of his humanistic and Christian faith with a resolute character led to the completion of the epics *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. They led to his resumption of the battle for what he believed in *Samson Agonistes* and subsequent pamphlets. He achieved the stature of the greatest English poet after Shakespeare and preached a Christian humanism, "founded on the rational dignity of man as the creature of a rational Deity,"⁷⁴ that rejected Calvin's predestination for human responsibility and free will. When combined with his support of Parliament and of intellectual freedom, this makes Milton a noble representative of the western tradition.

MILTON ON EDUCATION

In 1644, the same year as the *Areopagitica*, Milton had occasion to express himself on the subject of education in a letter which has been called "perhaps more than any other prose writing of Milton, a document of the Renaissance."⁷⁵ It not only illustrates Milton's high expectations of the schoolboy but also what a great and activist Puritan poet was already thinking were the ingredients of the education of a Christian humanist.⁷⁶ "The end then of learning," he writes, "is to repair the ruins of our first parents [Adam and Eve] by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection. . . . A complete and generous education . . ." should do more. It should fit "a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

The training in the classics is rigid. While students are beginning with Plutarch and Quintilian, among others, they are to be given "such lectures

⁷²See pp. 227 ff.

⁷³See pp. 248 ff. for the *Areopagitica*.

⁷⁴Ed. Douglas Bush, *Portable Milton*, p. 15.

⁷⁵E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton*, p. 153.

⁷⁶These notions should be compared with those in Castiglione's *Courtier* (see pp. 10 ff.). I am using Bush's text.

and explanations, upon every opportunity, as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living, to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages." They are to continue in a manner proper for English gentlemen with "the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and, if the language be difficult, so much the better; it is not a difficulty above their years."

From Latin they must go on to Greek, and after having "passed the principles of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, with a general compact of physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, engineering or navigation, and in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely [it will be noted] from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy." This is to be combined with reading in the poets (Hesiod, Theocritus, Lucretius, and Manilius, among others). They may now be considered ready to "contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice; while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch," and others. Some place here must come economics, and "either now or before this, they may have easily learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue." After "choice comedies" in Greek, Latin, or Italian and "those tragedies . . . that treat of household matters," they are to go on to "the study of politics, to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Commonwealth, be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state." This will introduce them to law.

The discipline goes on relentlessly. "Sundays also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of theology and church history, ancient and modern; and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect. When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems and Attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles." Only further training in rhetoric and logic will bring some understanding of "what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-writers be, and show them what

religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things." Only at this point "when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things should they deign to write or speak in parliament or in the pulpit."

And of course there must also be athletics and military training. After them the time of the "interim of unsweating themselves" and of "convenient rest before meat . . . may with profit and delight, be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learnt, either while the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometime the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions." The pleasure of music must be combined with nature. "In those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies . . . to all quarters of the land. . . . These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty."

"ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY"

When Milton was twenty-one he had finished Cambridge and written his first great poem, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," using his classical learning to adorn his faith in celebrating with a "humble ode" the birth of the Christ child. While the celestial machinery stopped in its course

The shepherds on the lawn,
Or ere the point of dawn,
 Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
Full little thought they than
That the mighty Pan
 Was kindly come to live with them below;
Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep.

In the last verses of the poem,

The old dragon under ground
In stricter limits bound,
 Not half so far casts his usurped sway,
And, wroth to see his kingdom fail,
Swinges the scaly horror of his folded tail.

It is likewise with the oracles, gods, and goddesses of antiquity, who now quit their familiar haunts to make way for the Saviour:

The oracles are dumb.
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance or breathed spell
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

.

In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint;
In urns and altars round,
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the flamens at their service quaint;
And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat.

.

And sullen Moloch, fled,
Hath left in shadows dread
His burning idol of blackest hue;
In vain with cymbals' ring
They call the grisly king,
In dismal dance about the furnace blue;
The brutish gods of Nile as fast,
Isis and Orus, and the dog Anubis, haste.

Nor is Osiris seen
In Memphian grove or green,
Trampling the unshowered grass with lowings loud;
Nor can he be at rest
Within his sacred chest,
Nought but profoundest Hell can be his shroud;
In vain with timbreled anthems dark
The sable-stoled sorcerers bear his worshiped ark.

He feels from Judas' land
The dreaded Infant's hand,
The rays of Bethlehem blind his dusky eyn;
Nor all the gods beside
Longer dare abide,
Not Typhon huge ending in snaky twine:
Our Babe, to show his Godhead true,
Can in his swaddling bands control the damned crew.

So when the sun in bed
Curtained with cloudy red,
Pillows his chin upon an orient wave,
The flocking shadows pale

Troop to the infernal jail;
Each fettered ghost slips to his several grave,
And the yellow-skirted fays
Fly after the night-steeds, leaving their moon-loved maze.

But see, the Virgin blest
Hath laid her Babe to rest.
Time in our tedious song should here have ending;
Heaven's youngest-teemed star
Hath fixed her polished car,
Her sleeping Lord with handmaid lamp attending;
And all about the courtly stable
Bright-harnessed angels sit in order serviceable.

"SAMSON AGONISTES"

Milton finished *Paradise Lost* in 1667. He had thought first to write an epic on the British Arthur but instead took up the tradition of the Christian epic and in gorgeous poetry wrote of the pride responsible for the fall of the angels and the fall of man. In 1671 he published *Samson Agonistes* together with *Paradise Regained*. The former was his attempt to write an English tragedy upon a Greek model but with Old Testament subject matter in the defense of Puritan morality. There can be little doubt that its poignancy has to do in part with the fact that the blind Samson is in some respects the blind Milton, and that the fall of the Philistines is Milton's way of predicting the fall of the Stuarts. This was his way of resuming the struggle against absolute monarchy on behalf of what was in the seventeenth century the battle of liberty. In considering the affliction to which Samson has been subjected, the chorus breaks out:

God of our fathers, what is man!
That thou towards him with hand so various—
Or might I say contrarious?—
Temper'st thy providence through his short course
Not evenly, as thou rul'st
The angelic orders and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute.
Nor do I name of men the common rout
That wandering loose about
Grow up and perish, as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned
To some great work, thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect;
Yet toward these thus dignified,
Amidst their highth of noon,
Changest thy countenance and thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favors past
From thee on them, or theirs to thee of service.

.

So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,
The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.
What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already?
Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn
His labors, for thou canst, to peaceful end.

The speech of the messenger describing Samson's destruction of the Philistines and himself is reminiscent of a comparable speech in the *Medea* of Euripides describing Medea's destruction of the royal household. Samson says to the Philistine throng assembled in Gaza:

"I mean to show you of my strength, yet greater,
As with amaze shall strike all who behold."
Thus uttered, straining all his nerves he bowed;
As with the force of winds and waters pent
When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
With horrible convulsions to and fro
He tugged, he shook, till down they came and drew
The whole roof after them, with burst of thunder
Upon the heads of all who sat beneath.

.

Samson with these immixed, inevitably
Pulled down the same destruction on himself;
The vulgar only scaped, who stood without.

In the end God's support of Samson against the enemies of the Israelites, even at the cost of Samson's death, seems to belie the earlier complaint of the chorus that God often treats his champions unjustly:

All is best, though we oft doubt,
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft he seems to hide his face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to his faithful champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,
And all that band them to resist
His uncontrollable intent:
His servants he, with new acquist
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

THE REFORMATION AND COUNTER REFORMATION

THE RENEWAL OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HUMANISM AND ASCETICISM. If the humanism of the Renaissance had not been confronted with the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation its influence upon the minds and hearts of the literate classes of Europe would have been more intense. These religious movements, emphasizing once more the ascetic and theocratic point of view, intensified the continuous struggle between humanism and asceticism. What follows, therefore, is a new chapter of an old, old conflict in the development of the western tradition.

THE FAILURE OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

There is a sense in which the Protestant Reformation and indeed the Catholic Counter Reformation were parts of a much larger movement, the attempt to make the western world really Christian. It has often been argued that the earliest Christianity was far too difficult for the human race. The ethics of Jesus, some scholars have said, were so extraordinary that they cannot have been meant to regulate normal human conduct. They pertained only to the abnormal affairs of what was expected to be the short period before the Second Coming of the Lord. When this event was postponed and Christianity had to continue its way in the world, the Church adopted less rigorous standards of Christianization for the majority of men. To convert and hold the Roman and barbarian worlds, Christianity became less difficult. This compromise, making

salvation steadily more mechanical and automatic with the passing of the centuries, was, from the point of view of the moral reformation of the Christian community, plainly a failure by the end of the Middle Ages. What Protestant and Catholic reformers were then trying to do was to correct this failure by making a more authentic and more difficult Christianity work as it had not worked before.

EARLY PROTESTANTISM REVOLUTIONARY AND VIOLENT

This is to say that the Reformation and Counter Reformation were not, as some scholars have argued, primarily political, economic, or social, but religious movements. The former was revolutionary, quite willing to destroy by force, if necessary, the system of salvation and the organization of the medieval Church. The Catholic Counter Reformation was both defensive to check the Protestant inroads and offensive to recover the losses they had caused. It is well to realize that early Protestantism was a Christianity so outraged as to be violent.

REVOLUTION AND VESTED INTERESTS

Why did a reforming party of this temper grow up in the West? Why are men willing to resort to force to correct a venerable institution? Normally, institutions subject to revolutionary attack are controlled by vested interests who exploit them for their own private advantage. Mankind is usually quite patient. It suffers extraordinary abuse before it rises to put down the exploiters of its institutions. Ordinarily it is content to set up new directors rather than to smash or remake the institution itself. When, therefore, reformers cease talking about normal, peaceful reform and move to destroy old, and to set up new, institutions, it is reasonably sure that the institutions so attacked are riddled with intolerable abuses, administering to the private and particular advantages of those who manage them.

THE REFUSAL OF THE HIERARCHY TO REFORM

The institution attacked by Protestant reformers was the still-imposing medieval Church. The vested interests directing it were the upper clergy, the bishops, archbishops, and big abbots, composing the hierarchy headed by the papacy. The clergy were often the appointees of the rulers of the West, who therefore shared their special advantages. In spite of serious abuses and scandalous perversions of Christianity, these men refused to reform, to take, that is, the difficult steps of adjusting their institution to the needs of a changed society. They refused to abandon powers and privileges having little to do with Christianity but much with the pomp and circumstance, the wealth and comfort, of a clerical élite. Such conduct precipitated revolution and the severance of western religious unity.

CHRONOLOGY — The Reformation and Counter Reformation

	German Reformation	Calvinistic Reformation	English Reformation	Counter Reformation
1450	Johann Tetzel (1465–1519) Elector Frederick (1463–1525) Erasmus (ca. 1469–1536)			
1500	Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) Luther (1483–1546) Pope Julius II (r. 1503–1513) Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521) <i>Ninety-five Theses</i> (1517) Thomas Münzer (ca. 1490–1525) Archbishop Albrecht (1490–1545) Leipzig Debate (1519) <i>Diet of Worms</i> (1521) <i>Peasants' Revolt</i> (1524–1525) Menno Simons (1492–1559) <i>Diet of Speyer</i> (1529) <i>Marburg Colloquy</i> (1529) Augsburg Confession (1530) Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556)	Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) Bernardino Ochino (1487–1565) William Farel (1489–1565) John Knox (1505?–1572) John Calvin (1509–1564) Michael Servetus (1511–1553) Francis I (r. 1515–1547)	Thomas More (1478–1535) Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536) Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547)	Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556)
1550	Peace of Augsburg (1555) Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556–1564)	William of Orange (1533–1584) <i>St. Bartholomew Massacre</i> (1572) Henry IV (r. 1589–1610) <i>Edict of Nantes</i> (1598)	Act of Supremacy (1534) Edward VI (r. 1547–1553)	Pope Paul III (r. 1534–1549) <i>Society of Jesus</i> (1534) <i>Roman Inquisition</i> (1542) <i>Council of Trent</i> (1545–1563)
1600	Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)		Mary (r. 1553–1558) Richard Hooker (1554–1600) Elizabeth (r. 1558–1603) <i>Thirty-Nine Articles</i> (1563)	Pope Paul IV (r. 1555–1559) Philip II (r. 1556–1598) <i>Index</i> (1559) Pope Pius V (r. 1566–1572)

THE MEDIEVAL REFORMATION

The situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century would not have been so serious had this been the first demand upon the Church to reform. Such demands were now centuries old. In the medieval period they had been so varied and prolonged that historians speak of a medieval reformation.¹ What is meant by this term is, first, a series of heresies beginning with Waldensians and Albigensians and concluding in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries with John Wycliffe and John Huss. They had been beaten down with force and persecution, crusades and the Inquisition, and still Waldensians survived in Piedmont and Hussites in Bohemia. Medieval reformation refers also to the conciliar movement of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.² Its leaders wanted to subject the absolute pope to the legislation of a general council, to transform, in other words, what some regarded as papal tyranny into a limited monarchy. They wanted a general council to abolish those notorious financial abuses, extraordinary in character and extent, that capitalized on the spiritual prerogatives of church office. The conciliar movement was a great opportunity for the Church to save itself from revolution. Had the papacy been willing to co-operate in limiting its own power and inaugurating a serious program of reform, the unity of western Christendom might have been preserved. It was unwilling, however, to sacrifice any of its power, or to stir up the vested interests in the *curia* and hierarchy, who were profiting too much to wish to reform. It preferred to take the path of least resistance and to hope that the rebellious storm would blow over. The result was, instead of new heretics like John Wycliffe and John Huss, revolutionaries like Martin Luther and John Calvin. These men came to the conclusion that a church that would not reorganize and reform had to be forsaken, unless Christianity were to become a mockery.

THE RENAISSANCE PAPACY

The papacy, moreover, while refusing to limit its prerogatives or to lead a program of reform, appeared to cover its pretensions and lack of courage with a lavish patronage of the scholars and artists of the Renaissance and to be overwhelmed by the worldliness of the secular spirit of this movement. As early as 1461 German princes were protesting in their Diet about Roman clergy who were "public fornicators, keepers of concubines, ruffians, pimps and sinners in various other respects."³ By the end of the century popes and cardinals "consorted publicly with their mistresses, acknowledged their bastards, and enriched them at the cost of the Church."⁴ At the death of Pope Paul II in 1471 the papal treasury included pearls "inventoried at 300,000 ducats, the gold and jewels of two

¹See Vol. I, pp. 594 ff.

²See Vol. I, pp. 626 ff.

³Preserved Smith, *The Age of the Reformation*, pp. 45-46.

⁴H. Pirenne, *History of Europe*, p. 551.

tiaras appraised at 300,000 more, and other precious stones and ornaments at 1,000,000.”⁵ Northern reformers, at a moment they felt to be critical in the history of Christianity, were horrified to look across the Alps and see popes like Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X pouring the money received from essentially corrupt ecclesiastical administration into armies, the pockets of their relatives, and patronage of the new art and learning. “Leo X was a Medici, indolent, elegant, skilled in impromptu Latin orations, a spendthrift who squandered more on pageants and gambling than on the needs of the church or the patronage of the arts.”⁶ These men were unaware of, or indifferent to, the explosive character of the situation.

THE MECHANICAL NATURE OF SALVATION

This desire of the reformers to purge the Church was strengthened by the feeling that, as suggested above, the heart had gone out of contemporary Christianity because of the ease and mechanical nature of its salvation. To the illiterate masses of the Roman and medieval worlds salvation was some remedy for earthly misfortunes. It came through the grace of God given in the holy sacraments, administered only by the priests. These sacraments, it was taught, were valid if performed correctly, their efficacy not depending upon the good moral character of the performing priest. The belief of the Church was analyzed and summarized in voluminous systems of theology where the character of the sacraments was discussed. Some theologians held that the recipient of a sacrament must be sincerely repentant, and truly believe, if the sacrament were to impart grace, while others insisted upon a “good disposition” or, if not this, then at least the absence of a “bad” one. The prevalent view, however, was that the mental disposition of the recipient had nothing to do with its efficacy, the mere performance of it being enough to cause grace to exist in any person willing to receive it. One could not save himself, therefore, without the Church, whose clergy were the only mediators between God and man. Their mediation consisted in performing ceremonies (sacraments) whose efficacy was guaranteed by the sacred character of the Church rather than the individual priest and, in any case, did not depend upon the state of mind of the believer. Such opinions tended obviously to put emphasis upon the form rather than the matter, upon the ceremony rather than the spirit. In asking so little of the faithful they made salvation an almost automatic and mechanical accommodation to the weakness of mortal flesh. As a stimulus to moral action the Church had thus come to minimize personal faith in God’s promises for faith in the Church, in the mediatorial role of the priesthood, and in the efficacy of rites.

⁵C. H. Lea, “Eve of Reformation,” *Cambridge Modern History*, I, 666.

⁶R. H. Bainton, *Reformation of the 16th Century*, p. 18.

SAINT AUGUSTINE AND PREDESTINATION

Since the days of Saint Augustine it had been held that faith in Christ as the redeemer of mankind was in itself not something the individual acquired for himself.⁷ It was a gift of God. God, Augustine taught, gave this ability to believe in Christ to whom he pleased, for reasons of his own. Thus God was the absolute determiner of man's salvation. Those to whom he chose to give the gift of faith were saved, those to whom he denied it were damned. Mankind was therefore at the mercy of an inscrutable and arbitrary Providence.

MODIFICATION OF ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION

The doctrine of predestination, denying men all moral responsibility, theologians subsequent to Augustine found harsh and unpalatable. The Church had developed a sacramental system in which the performance of good works would assure the individual merit in the sight of God that would stand him in good stead at the Last Judgment. Augustine's doctrine of predestination made good works quite unnecessary and futile, since salvation was by faith, and faith was predestined. Medieval theologians therefore undertook to restore to man at least part of his lost free will by insisting that God in the very beginning of beginnings, because of the special quality of his vision and knowledge, was able to scrutinize the lives of all men in the long centuries that were to come. He foresaw and foreknew that some of their own accord would choose the good rather than the evil, and these he included in his original decree of predestination, Calvin's "terrible decree." Man was thus, although with some difficulty, made partial master of his own destiny in that his faith and good works in prospect, his original choice of good or evil, influenced God's primary decision. But God's gift of such freedom to man was not unlimited. Man could not be permitted to become a rebel. If he chose evil rather than good, God was left no choice but to punish him, and salvation still remained impossible without the grace of God through the sacraments. Theologians were, however, by modifying Saint Augustine's predestination, attempting to take into consideration man's sense of moral responsibility.

SPECIALIZED ASCETICISM

The Church had made other compromises with human weakness. Its whole attitude toward the world was ascetic, that is, the world was a place where sinful man, through rigorous self-denial under the guidance of the Church, could earn a place for himself in an immortal heaven. But the Church did not consider that it was necessary for everyone to practice the extreme rigors of an ascetic life. These were reserved for a specialized class of Christians, the monks and nuns. Their chief occupation was to

⁷See Vol. I, pp. 344 ff.

earn salvation for their own souls, and for those of the founders and benefactors of their institutions, by performing the good works, prayers, and acts of charity which the latter had no time to perform or did not trust themselves to perform in sufficient abundance. Salvation therefore could be promoted vicariously.

CRITICISM OF THE MONK AND NUN

Even the specialization of asceticism in the monastery and the nunnery worked none too well in the course of the medieval centuries.⁸ The history of the monastery is marked by periodic reform culminating in the various orders of friars. The friars, too, were finally subjected to the bitterest ridicule for making a mockery of their original professions. This was all very serious. That the saintly recluse, the monk or nun, the figure most respected during the Middle Ages, should now become an object of contempt meant that some men were wondering whether the specialized asceticism of the monastery could be regarded as a desirable Christian ideal.⁹

PAGAN INHERITANCES

There were other ways in which Christianity, in the course of its Roman and medieval development, had adapted itself to the religious needs and practices of illiterate and often miserable, hopeless, and exploited masses. It had tolerated the growth of a quasi-polytheistic cult in its sanction of the adoration of the Virgin and the saints. Around these heroic figures there had accumulated practices that could hardly be called Christian: the veneration of relics of the saints and pilgrimages to their shrines. A product of antiquity, this cult had had an enormous development in the Middle Ages. It is no exaggeration to say that the cults of the innumerable saints constituted the popular religion of the Middle Ages (and of course of Romance countries today). Into these cults were poured all the folklore and magic of a pre-Christian countryside. They were often subject to many kinds of exploitation and abuse. The economic importance of a favorite shrine of a miracle-working saint led to the creation of false saints, collections of fake bones, and the perpetration of fraudulent miracles that in some cases became scandalous. Into the sacramental system itself had been introduced miraculous elements borrowed from or developed along the same lines as the mystery cults of antiquity.¹⁰

THE RETURN TO EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The abuses connected with these popular adaptations had been criticized in the Middle Ages. They were not understood to be late Roman and medieval adaptations until, with the revival of Christian as well as pagan

⁸See Vol. I, Chap. ix.

⁹See pp. 391 ff.

¹⁰See Vol. I, pp. 325 ff.

antiquity, it became clear to learned men just what early Christianity was like. These scholars, best represented by Erasmus,¹¹ have been called Christian humanists, and their point of view and program of reform, Christian humanism. They discovered that there was a time when Christianity had no theocratic church, no mediatorial priesthood, no monks and nuns, no saints, no sacramental system, and no system of theology. The abuses connected with these features of contemporary Christianity led them now to say that they were really perversions of real Christianity. If Christianity were to be made effective, it must be restored to its original purity, that is, to the religion the New Testament describes. This program was revolutionary in its implications because it involved the destruction of the absolute centralized Church, the mediatorial priesthood, the special class of ascetics confined in their monasteries, the cult of the Virgin and the saints, and a radical simplification of the whole system of Christian theology.

THE PROGRAM OF REFORM

Christian humanists, reformers, and revolutionaries differed about the extent to which, and the methods by which, these implications were to be realized, but in general they used a similar language. Christianity was to be revived again as a living force in the hearts of the faithful by trimming off its historical accretions and restoring it to its original apostolic form. Christianity had failed because of its constant adaptation to the weakness of mortal flesh. A return to primitive Christianity was to be followed by no further compromises. If necessary, Christianity was to be made a more difficult rather than an easier discipline. The destruction of the theocratic Church would enable its successor to attend exclusively to spiritual and not also to temporal and political affairs. The abolition of the mediatorial priesthood would charge each individual with responsibility for his own salvation. Luther was to talk about the priesthood of all believers (every man his own priest). The abandonment of specialized asceticism would permit everyone to become in his own way a monk or nun and practice asceticism in, rather than outside, the world. The dismissal of the saints and their cult practices opened the way for everyone to become a saint. The dissolution of elaborate systems of theology would enable the difficult philosophy of Christian love to prevail. The simplification of the sacramental system would undermine a mechanical and contractual system of good works and substitute justification by faith. According to the views of Luther and Calvin, this was all to be done under the tutelage of Augustine's predestinarian God. It was as if this absolute and almighty God of will were to frighten, terrorize, and intimidate men to show forth their goodness and display their place among the elect. The Reformation was one of the periodic revivals of Christian ideal-

¹¹See Vol. I, pp. 783 ff.

ism, fortified now by the spirit of a newly discovered early Church. It was another and quite different monastic reform, an attempt to universalize the ascetic ideal.

THE EARLY DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOK OF CHRISTIANITY

It is possible to look upon the Protestant Reformation from another point of view. The victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire may be attributed in part to certain opinions which today would be called a democratic outlook. By making the Old Testament a part of its Scriptures it associated, as did the Hebrew prophets, religion with social reform. Righteousness in the sight of God had to do with more than private conduct. It had also to do with the social policy of states. Christianity also preached the equality of souls in the sight of God, that is, the right of every man, no matter what his social status, race, or wealth, to be saved. In so doing it emphasized human dignity in the possession of a divine soul. Christianity also demanded for itself a right to be heard. It had to demand tolerance from an intolerant state. The Christian Church came to demand also that it had the right to govern its own affairs as an independent, separate institution.

UNDEMOCRATIC FEATURES OF MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY

As Christianity adapted itself to the classical and medieval worlds some of these democratic features were lost sight of, if not quite contradicted. That Christianity had anything to do with social reform was not emphasized when wealthy, powerful ruling classes entered the Church. In the Middle Ages, when dominated by the aristocracy, the Church became conservative rather than liberating. While Christianity never ceased to speak of the equality of souls, it developed within its ranks rigid systems of inequality. The individual lost the right to save himself when a priestly class was responsible for salvation. Between Christians who were not priests there also developed distinctions, the distinction between the ordinary member of the Church and the special members of monastic orders. Christianity forgot to be tolerant in its turn when once its victory in the Roman Empire had been won. If the Church claimed the right to regulate its own affairs as an independent and separate institution, it also pursued aims of temporal and spiritual supremacy. In the pursuit of a Christian society no mere state could be permitted to stand in the way.

THE DEMAND FOR THE REVIVAL OF DEMOCRATIC FEATURES

The decline of medieval Christianity led Christian humanists and reformers to try to revive these earlier democratic implications. Some of them wished to make Christian love vital in the world; others to associate religious reform with economic and social reform. The reformers would abolish distinctions between priests and non-priests, and between special-

ized and nonspecialized Christians. They had to insist again upon the right to be heard and to interpret Scriptures for themselves. They likewise wished to substitute for an absolute theocratic church one which, though perhaps not controlled by councils, would at least allow a larger role to the local congregation and be less politically ambitious. But, as before, much of the democratic program was lost in the course of pushing the Reformation on to victory.

PERSONALITY OF THE REFORMERS AND REVOLUTION

Christian humanists and reformers disagreed as to how the restitution of apostolic Christianity was to be brought about. The approach of Erasmus was to bring about a gradual change, a slow modification of existing conditions. Christianity was to be carefully purified as knowledge of the past, and especially of the early Christian past, permeated the minds of the clergy. Luther and Calvin were less patient. They had at first the temper of revolutionists, ready if necessary to bring about forceful change. If one is seeking to explain the reasons for the Reformation he must go beyond details illustrating how the spirit of Christianity had died. He must deal with the temperament of a man like Martin Luther (1483-1546). He has to explain how anomalous conditions in the Church reacted upon a sensitive nature. In other words, one chief cause of the Reformation was that Luther was willing to act the way he did. This is to be explained by his religious experience and his personality. Someone remarked to Erasmus that he laid the egg that Luther hatched. He is supposed to have answered that the egg he laid contained a gentle hen and not a stormy gamecock. What was the experience that made Luther a religious revolutionist?

LUTHER'S POPULAR ORIGIN

He came from peasant stock. "I am a peasant's son," he said. "My father, my grandfathers, all my ancestors were thorough peasants. My father was a poor miner." His powerful build together with his strong, earthy, and often violent language were constant reminders of his popular origin. After he wrote a treatise *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in 1521 King Henry VIII of England called him "a hideous monster, an incurably scabbed sheep, a man of corrupt and putrid heart [and] a hissing serpent." Luther answered in the following year. He called Henry "a theological charlatan and a servile flatterer of the Pope . . . a liar . . . an unmitigated fool who has amply proved the truth of the proverb, that there are no greater fools than kings and princes. He must have been drunk or dreaming when he wrote such rubbish. But then what else can be expected when an ass takes to reading the Psalter. It is not surprising that he should take to defending the usurpation of the Papacy, that Babylonian whore, seeing that he himself owes his crown to murder

and tyranny, and imagines that he can silence Luther by scolding like a foul-mouthed harlot."¹²

LUTHER'S YOUTH

Luther was brought up in a pious home and subjected to a rigorous domestic and scholastic discipline. He remembers that "my mother caned me for stealing a nut, until the blood came. Such strict discipline drove me to the monastery, although she meant it well." "My father once whipped me so that I ran away and felt ugly toward him until he was at pains to win me back." "[At school] I was caned a single morning fifteen times for nothing at all. I was required to decline and conjugate and hadn't learned my lesson."¹³ His father, who had risen to a position of some importance in the Thuringian town of Mansfeld, wanted a legal education for his son so that he might enter the bureaucracy of the petty, local, territorial states. Luther was accordingly sent to the University of Erfurt to prepare for law.

HIS SCHOLASTIC EDUCATION

His education at Erfurt was scholastic and not humanistic. He was trained in the late medieval—for him afterward the "sow"—theologians. He was drilled in Aristotle, of whom he later wrote: "His propositions are so absurd that an ass or a stone would cry out at them. . . . My soul longs for nothing so ardently as to expose and publicly shame that Greek buffoon who like a spectre has befouled the church."¹⁴

THE VOW TO BECOME A MONK

While returning to Erfurt from Mansfeld on a day in July, 1505, he had an experience which forced him into the monastery. He was caught "in a violent thunder-storm and smitten by lightning to the ground." To him the thunderstorm seemed the voice of God calling him to do his will. He was brought so close to death as to ask himself whether any kind of secular career was worth the risk of hell. On the spot he made a decision and took a vow to become a monk (an Augustinian friar) immediately upon reaching Erfurt. "I was forced, more than drawn into making this vow," he later wrote to his father, "for God so willed it." "I was called to this vocation by the terrors of heaven, for neither willingly nor by my own desire did I become a monk, but, surrounded by the terror and agony of a sudden death, I vowed a forced and unavoidable vow."¹⁵

Luther thus followed the hard way of attaining religious peace. He became a priest as well as a monk and set out upon the specialized ascetic life. It brought him no peace. No amount of monastic discipline or good

¹²James Mackinnon, *Luther and the Reformation*, III, 124, 127.

¹³R. H. Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 23.

¹⁴Preserved Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, p. 26.

¹⁵Mackinnon, I, 31.

works made him feel that he was pleasing God sufficiently to deserve forgiveness. Nor can Luther's failure be attributed to not trying seriously. He says of his own monastic career, "I was an earnest monk, lived strictly and chaste, prayed incessantly day and night. . . . I was a pious monk and observed the rule of my Order so strictly that I venture to say that if ever a monk could have gained heaven through monkery, I should certainly have got there. . . . I was a wonder in the sight of my brethren. . . . If it had lasted much longer I would have martyred myself to death with watching, praying, studying and other performances."¹⁸

LUTHER AT WITTENBERG

As a monk he continued his education and, after a visit to Rome (1510-1511), took his doctorate in theology at the new Saxon University of Wittenberg, where he was then invited to teach. He lectured repeatedly on various books of the Bible, using the best critical authorities available (including Erasmus' edition of the New Testament). His lectures constantly struck a reforming note. In these early years (at Wittenberg) (1512-1517), while thinking about and preparing his lectures, he began to work out the principles of a new theology that was to bring him peace. Its fundamental principles were "justification by faith" and "the priesthood of all believers."

Luther abandoned his earlier discomfiting notion that God was an awful judge demanding the performance of righteous acts and good works as a condition of salvation. For this God he substituted the compassionate, merciful, and forgiving God who accepted the faith of the sinner in his promises in Scriptures to save mankind through the atonement of Christ. Because of this faith in him God considered the sinner "justified," that is, saved, and no longer unrighteous. Without it no amount of righteous deeds or good works availed. These things inevitably followed faith. One could not earn salvation through them. The sinful man who had faith in God could trust him. With Augustine Luther came to insist that one's ability to believe or have faith came ultimately from God. If through this faith one is justified or saved he does not need a priest. He is his own priest—hence the priesthood of all believers. If one is justified by faith instead of good works that part of the sacramental system concerning good works (for example, Penance) is unnecessary. Without being quite aware of their import, Luther was working out doctrines which made the sacramental system and the mediatorial priesthood unnecessary. It was faith that saved, and priests could not supply faith.

LUTHER AND THE SALE OF INDULGENCES

Until 1517 Luther was a quiet and comparatively unknown university professor, doing the best kind of teaching he could in view of the many

¹⁸Mackinnon, I, 93-94.

other tasks required by his membership in the Augustinian Order. Four years later he had become the radical and heroic revolutionary, cowering before neither emperor nor pope. The transformation is explicable by certain events obliging him to realize the implications of his principles and to seek their actual application in the world of affairs. Luther was unable merely to sit in Wittenberg propounding his new doctrine. The first event impelling him to draw conclusions with respect to justification by faith was a sale of indulgences. This sale was a perfect example of what many humanists and reformers meant when they said that Christianity had lost its heart and become a mechanism for earning immortality in an utterly unspiritual way.

INDULGENCES

Indulgences were, and are, bound to the sacrament of Penance. In this sacrament one is absolved from the guilt of his sin after having made oral confession to the priest. The theologians made a distinction, however, between the guilt which condemns to hell (*culpa*) and the guilt which involves temporal punishment on earth or in purgatory (*poena*). The absolution of the priest after confession frees the individual from *culpa* but not *poena*. To satisfy God's justice with respect to *poena* the priest assigns a certain amount of penance, various kinds of good works, such as making the rounds of the stations of the cross, prayers, pilgrimages, acts of charity, and the like. If the priest assigns enough penance the sinner need not worry when once it is performed. But if the priest does not assign enough, then in order that God's justice may be satisfied the soul of the deceased must be purged in the flames of purgatory. Indulgences were to take care of this temporal punishment on earth or in purgatory. They had nothing to do with freedom from hell, nor could they be effective without confession. Originally they were to reward meritorious service to the Church (crusades, for example, or gifts). They were explained by the theory that Jesus, the Virgin, and the many, many saints had accumulated more merits than were necessary for their salvations. This surplus, or treasury, of merits was at the disposition of the pope, to be dispensed to those who, under proper circumstances, earned them. One could then confess, be absolved from *culpa*, and acquire indulgences to take care of *poena*. As long as indulgences were rewards for services they were innocuous substitutes for penance. But they soon came to be sold for money. As a source of revenue they were subject to grave abuse. It was an indulgence of this kind that horrified Luther.

THE RELICS OF FREDERICK THE WISE

In fact, before the Indulgence of 1517 came to his attention, Luther had already worried about the practice. His own prince, Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, had collected in the castle church of Wittenberg an extraordinary number of relics of the saints. The pope had promised

indulgences to those who visited the church upon a certain day to see these relics and make a proper contribution. As early as 1509 Frederick had collected 5005 relics “to which were attached indulgences calculated to reduce purgatory by 1,443 years.” There were parts of Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, and Saint Bernard. There were four hairs of the Virgin, “three pieces of her cloak, four from her girdle, and seven from the veil sprinkled with the blood of Christ. The relics of Christ included one piece from his swaddling clothes, thirteen from his crib, one wisp of straw, one piece of gold brought by the Wise Men and three of the myrrh, one strand of Jesus’ beard, one of the nails driven into his hands, one piece of bread eaten at the Last Supper, one piece of the stone on which Jesus stood to ascend to heaven, and one twig of Moses’ burning bush.”¹⁷ By 1520 the relics in the Elector’s collection numbered 19,013, and attached to them were indulgences calculated to reduce one’s own or another’s stay in purgatory by 1,902,202 years and 270 days. The elector was using income from indulgences to build bridges and support the university at which Luther was a teacher.

THE INDULGENCE OF 1517

The Indulgence of 1517 marked a cynical peak in the practice. Already much of the management of the papal-indulgence business in Germany had been taken over by bankers, notably the Fuggers of Augsburg. In return for their services in forwarding papal bulls and hiring indulgence sellers they had been granted as early as 1507 one-half of all profits. In 1514 they took over the whole management of the traffic for a fee of one-half of the net receipts.¹⁸ The Indulgence of 1517 arose from another irregularity, the holding of more than one church office. In 1514 Albrecht, a brother of Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, was elected archbishop of Mainz, one of Germany’s most important ecclesiastical positions. He was already at the time the archbishop of Magdeburg and the acting bishop of Halberstadt, and had had to pay Rome for this violation of canon law. To hold a third clerical office of this importance he had to approach the papal *curia* for another dispensation. It was suggested that he pay 12,000 ducats for the twelve apostles. Albrecht countered with 7000 ducats for the seven deadly sins. “The average between apostles and sins was struck at 10,000 ducats [presumably not for the ten commandments¹⁹] or 50,000 dollars, a sum equal in purchasing power to near a million today [1911].”²⁰ Albrecht borrowed this money from the Fuggers of Augsburg. To help him repay it officials of the Roman court suggested the sale of an indulgence for the building of St. Peter’s, to run eight years throughout the archdiocese. One-half of the proceeds was to go to the pope (Leo X) and

¹⁷Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 69.

¹⁸Smith, *Martin Luther*, p. 83.

¹⁹Bainton, *Reformation*, p. 38.

²⁰Smith, p. 39.

one-half to Albrecht. The papal bull authorizing the sale said nothing about the one-half to Albrecht. The prices of this indulgence were graduated according to social rank, although those who could not pay for them could substitute appropriate acts for money. Subscribers were promised "a plenary and perfect remission of all sins. They would be restored to the state of innocence which they enjoyed in baptism and would be relieved of all the pains of purgatory, including those incurred by an offense to the Divine Majesty. Those securing indulgences on behalf of the dead already in purgatory need not themselves be contrite and confess their sins."²¹

TETZEL, THE INDULGENCE SELLER

Albrecht used the services of Tetzel, an experienced Dominican, to sell this indulgence. He begged his audiences to "Listen to the voices of your dear dead relatives and friends, beseeching you and saying, 'Pity us, pity us. We are in dire torment from which you can redeem us for a pittance! Do you not wish to? Open your ears.' Hear the father saying to his son, the mother to her daughter, 'We bore you, nourished you, brought you up, left you our fortunes, and you are so cruel and hard that now you are not willing for so little to set us free. Will you let us lie in flames? Will you delay our promised glory?'

"Remember that you are able to release them, for

As soon as the coin in the coffer rings,
The soul from purgatory springs.

"Will you not then for a quarter of a florin receive these letters of indulgence through which you are able to lead a divine and immortal soul into the fatherland of paradise?"²²

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES

Frederick the Wise forbade these sellers to come into his territory. But they came close to Wittenberg, and Luther's own parishioners went to buy indulgences. They told Luther after they had confessed to him that he could not impose penance, for they had just purchased some of Friar Tetzel's indulgences. Luther was outraged as a scholar and priest, a serious Christian and shepherd of souls. He decided to protest. On the eve of the day (All Saints, 1517) when the viewers of Frederick's relics received their extraordinary indulgences, he posted his ninety-five theses on the door of the castle church. He brought into question for serious debate the whole theory and practice of indulgences. The fervor of these theses is to be explained not only by what Luther had seen and knew of this particular indulgence and others. The whole practice belonged to a

²¹Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 76.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 78.

religion of mechanical works he had abandoned when he worked out justification by faith. After all, you could not bribe God to release you and your relatives and friends from punishment. They were immediately printed, spread far and wide, and discussed in all circles. The leader of the Reformation had arrived. Luther says that "Almost within a fortnight they were known all over Germany . . . and whilst the bishops and doctors kept quiet and no one would bell the cat for fear of Tetzel and his fellow-inquisitors of heresy, who threatened all opponents of the traffic with the stake, then it was that Luther became a famous doctor as the one who should come and take a grip of the business. This fame was not to my liking."²³

THE DEBATE AT LEIPZIG

If left alone Luther might have stopped with the ninety-five theses. He was pushed on by church authorities and monastic enemies, especially Tetzel's Dominican supporters, all of whom wished to silence him. He was not a good person to try to silence. In 1519 Luther was drawn into a debate with Catholic theologians at Leipzig on this issue. Since the pope was the dispenser of the treasury of merits, the sale of indulgences raised the question of the foundations of papal power. In preparation for it he studied the papal decretals, including those called the Forged Decretals²⁴ and the Donation of Constantine. He was shocked over what he found. "I am in doubt," he wrote a friend, "whether the Pope is Antichrist or his apostle, so miserably is Christ [that is, the truth] corrupted and crucified by him in these decretals. I am terribly tormented by the thought that Christ's people is so fooled under this spurious form of law in the name of Christianity." When later Luther read Lorenzo Valla's treatise proving the Donation of Constantine a forgery²⁵ he wrote: "Good God, how great the darkness and the villainy of these Romanists. How we must wonder at the judgment of God that these have not only endured, but have prevailed throughout so many centuries, and that such impure, gross, and impudent lies have been included among the Decretals, nay that nothing may be wanting to these monstrosities, have wickedly acquired the force of an article of faith." At Leipzig Luther questioned the authenticity of the decretals. When his opponents declared his views identical with those of John Huss, the Bohemian heretic who had been burned at Constance,²⁶ Luther was content to rely on the authority of Scriptures and the early Fathers. "I care not whether this is asserted by Wycliffe or Huss" (namely, "that it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the Roman Church is superior to other churches"). "I know that Basil the Great [and other Greek Fathers] have been saved and nevertheless did not hold this article. It is

²³Mackinnon, *Luther*, II, 13-14.

²⁴See Vol. I, p. 390.

²⁵See Vol. I, pp. 389 f.

²⁶See Vol. I, pp. 629 ff.

not in the power of the Roman pontiff or the Inquisitor of heresy to establish new articles of faith, but only to judge according to those established. Nor can any believing Christian be compelled to believe whatever is beyond Scripture, which alone is of divine authority.”²⁷

“Without knowing it I have hitherto been teaching all that John Huss taught. . . . In short, we are all Hussites, though hitherto unconscious of the fact.” When Luther was taunted by his chief opponent at Leipzig with “Are you the only one that knows anything? Except for you is all the Church in error?” he replied, “I am a Christian theologian; and I am bound, not only to assert, but to defend the truth with my blood and death. I want to believe freely and be a slave to the authority of no one, whether council, university, or pope. I will confidently confess what appears to me to be true, whether it has been asserted by a Catholic or a heretic, whether it has been approved or reproved by a council.”²⁸

THE PAPAL BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION

When papal attempts to quiet Luther proved unavailing—even a cardinal’s hat did not tempt him—the papacy threatened him with excommunication if he did not recant (1520). Such action did not intimidate Luther. “I will laugh their Bull and their bombast to scorn,” he wrote. “The more the adversaries the better I am pleased. I am never more defiant and audacious than when I hear that I am displeasing the enemy. . . . The Truth is asserting itself and will burst all the bladders of the papists. . . . [They] have striven for 100 years against the truth, and the more they have striven, the more it has become evident that it will and shall not remain hidden.” In a tract *The Execrable Bull of Anti-Christ* he warned Leo X and the cardinals to “put an end to your audacious blasphemies and this without delay.” Otherwise, “I . . . will esteem your seat possessed and oppressed by Satan, the damned seat of anti-Christ to which we will not render obedience, or be subject, or be united, but will detest, and execrate, as the chief and supreme enemy of Christ.” He would not be surprised “if the princes, nobility, and people, knocked the Pope, bishops, parsons and monks on the head and chased them out of the land.” The period for recanting contained in the bull expired on 10 December, 1520. As a formal demonstration to all Germany that he was renouncing the Church and its papacy he burned the bull at Wittenberg in the presence of students and burned as well collections of canon law and papal decretals.

THE DIET OF WORMS

This defiance of the Church was followed the next year before a diet of German princes at Worms by defiance of Charles V, ruler over the Hapsburgs’ various dominions and newly elected emperor of the Holy

²⁷Mackinnon, II, 170, 138.

²⁸Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 119.

Roman Empire. Luther knew he would be called upon to repudiate his writings and recant his opinions and that he was in danger of his life as a heretic. He had said, "Certain I am that these bloody men will not rest till they have sent me to the stake. . . . They are [on the eve of the diet] exerting themselves to get me to recant a large number of my articles, but my revocation will be as follows. Formerly I have said that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ. This I now revoke and say, the Pope is the enemy of Christ and the apostle of the devil." He was not awed by the impressive setting of the diet. When called upon to recant his opinions, he said, "Since . . . your majesty and your lordships desire a simple answer, I will give you one straight to the point and without [intentional] offence. Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by an evident reason, for I confide neither in the Pope or a council alone, since it is certain that they have often erred and contradicted themselves, I am held fast by the Scriptures adduced by me, and my conscience is taken captive by God's word, and I neither can nor will revoke anything, seeing it is not safe or right to act against conscience. God help me. Amen."²⁹

THE EDICT OF WORMS

Luther was then put under the ban of the empire in the Edict of Worms, signed by the emperor and those of the diet who remained. "Luther is to be regarded as a convicted heretic. . . . No one is to harbor him. His followers are to be condemned. His books are to be eradicated from the memory of man." Aleander, the papal envoy to Charles V, reported the signing to Rome: "His Majesty signed both the Latin and the German with his own blessed hand, and smiling said, 'You will be content now.' 'Yes,' I answered, 'and even greater will be the contentment of His Holiness and of all Christendom.' We praise God for giving us such a religious emperor. . . . I was going to recite a paeon from Ovid³⁰ when I recalled that this was a religious occasion. Therefore blessed be the Holy Trinity for his immense mercy."³¹

THE "LETTER TO THE NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION"

In the summer and early fall, before the bull had arrived in Germany (October, 1520), Luther had written three of his most important reforming works. The first of these, *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate*, emphasizes those conditions in the Church that he found especially outrageous and wanted the temporal power to reform. Using his doctrine of the priesthood of all believers to reject the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, Luther urges the latter to exercise its office of reform "without let or hindrance, regardless whether it be a pope, bishop,

²⁹Mackinnon, II, 301-302.

³⁰See Vol. I, p. 232, for Ovid.

³¹Bainton, *Here I Stand*, pp. 189, 190.

or priest whom it affects; whoever is guilty let him suffer. . . . It is a horrible and frightful thing that the pope, who boasts himself vicar of Christ and successor of St. Peter, lives in such worldly splendor that . . . no king or emperor can equal or approach him." There are too many cardinals and they will soon suck Germany dry of all her ecclesiastical revenues, for they say, "we are Christ's vicars and shepherds of Christ's sheep; the mad, drunken Germans must put up with it." The papal *curia* should be greatly reduced in size. "There is such a swarm of vermin yonder in Rome, all boasting that they are 'papal that there was nothing like it in Babylon.' . . . I believe that Germany now gives much more to the pope at Rome than it gave in former times to the emperors . . . we should rather wonder that we still have anything to eat. . . . The Christian nobility should set itself against the Pope as against a common enemy and destroyer of Christendom." They should "help the German nation become once more free and Christian after the wretched, heathenish and unchristian rule of the pope," who should be deprived of temporal power. "The kissing of the pope's feet should take place no more." Pilgrimages to Rome should be abolished or regulated. The mendicant orders should be consolidated and kept from expanding further. "The mendicants should also be relieved of preaching and hearing confession." Priests "should not be compelled to live without a wedded wife, but should be permitted to have one. . . . My advice is that matrimony be again made free and that everyone be left free choice to marry or not to marry. . . . All festivals should be abolished, and Sunday alone retained. . . . Fasts should be matters of liberty, and all sorts of food made free, as the Gospel makes them." Pilgrimages and further canonization of saints were to be stopped. "Indulgences, letters of indulgence . . . dispensations, and everything else of the sort, are to be drowned and destroyed. . . . We should vanquish heretics with books not with burning; for so the ancient fathers did. If it were a science to vanquish the heretics with fire, then the hangmen would be the most learned doctors on earth; we should no longer need to study, but he who overcame another by force might burn him at the stake. . . . It were well if the canon law, from the first letter to the last and especially the decretals were utterly blotted out."³²

THE "BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH"

In the second of his reforming treatises, *A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther attacks the sacramental system. He accepts only Baptism, Penance, and "the bread" as possible sacraments. And that the priesthood has any monopoly in the dispensation of God's grace through the sacraments he denies. God dispenses grace in return for faith. "In no other way can man come to God and deal with Him

³²*Works of Martin Luther* (Muhlenberg Press), II, 61 ff.

than through faith: that is, not man, by any work of his, but God, by His promise is the author of salvation, so that all things depend on the word of His power." When dealing with penance he is outraged to think that the priest pronounces absolution before satisfaction for sin is made. "Absolution ought rather to follow on the completion of satisfaction . . . with the result that, after completing the work, penitents gave themselves with greater diligence to faith and the living of a new life."³³

THE "TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY"

Luther considered his *Treatise on Christian Liberty* "the whole of Christian living in a brief form." It was to have been sent to Pope Leo X, and it is prefaced by a letter to him. In it Luther describes the Roman Church, "formerly the most holy of all," as "the most lawless den of robbers, the most shameless of all brothels, the very kingdom of sin, death and hell, so that not even anti-Christ, if he were to come, could devise any addition to its wickedness." Leo is told that Luther will not recant. "I will accept no rules for the interpretation of the Word of God, since the Word of God, which teaches the liberty of all things else, dare not be bound." Claiming to serve only the "unlearned," Luther sets out in his treatise to show that "A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none [and] a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." Luther interprets this freedom of the Christian as a liberation by faith. "A christian man has in his faith all that he needs, and needs no works to justify him. And if he has no need of works, neither does he need the law; and if he has no need of the law, surely he is free from the law . . . and this is that christian liberty, even our faith, which does not indeed cause us to live in idleness or in wickedness but makes the law and works unnecessary for any man's righteousness and salvation." Works, however, are necessary, not to acquire salvation, but to implement one's love of God inspired by faith. One who loves God will find it necessary "to repress the lasciviousness and lust of his body." The Christian, moreover, does good works for his neighbor. "A man does not live for himself alone in this mortal body, so as to work for it alone, but he lives also for all men on earth, nay rather, he lives only for others and not for himself. . . . It is a Christian work to care for the body, that through its health and comfort we may be able to work, to acquire and to lay by funds with which to aid those who are in need, that in this way the strong member may serve the weaker and we may be sons of God, each caring for and working for the other, bearing one another's burdens, and so fulfilling the law of Christ. Lo, this is a truly Christian life, here faith is truly effective through love; that is, it issues in works of the freest service cheerfully and lovingly done, with which a man willingly

³³*Works*, II, 170 ff.

serves another without hope of reward, and for himself is satisfied with the fulness and wealth of his faith. . . . Lo, thus from faith flow forth love and joy in the Lord, and from love a joyful, willing and free mind that serves one's neighbor willingly and takes no account of gratitude or ingratitude, of praise or blame, of gain or loss. . . . Each should become as it were a Christ to the other, that we may be Christs to one another and Christ may be the same in all; that is, that we may be truly Christians. . . . Any work that is not done solely for the purpose of keeping under the body or of serving one's neighbor, so long as he asks nothing contrary to God, is not good nor Christian. . . . We conclude therefore that a christian man lives not in himself but in Christ and his neighbor. Otherwise he is not a Christian. He lives in Christ through faith, in his neighbor through love; by faith he is caught up beyond himself into God, by love he sinks down beneath himself into his neighbor."³⁴

THE CONSERVATIVE NATURE OF LUTHERANISM

In 1520 and 1521 Luther's heroic leadership reached its height. Thereafter, until his death in 1546, as he was confronted with the problems of actually laying the foundation of a new Lutheran Church in the Germanies and Europe he was unable to extend to those who differed from him the same kind of tolerance he had demanded for himself. The democratic implications of early Christianity³⁵ were not realized by Lutheranism. Instead, it became increasingly conservative, a bulwark of the social, economic, and political status quo, and in religious matters another kind of authoritarianism. Christian asceticism in its Protestant form lost the opportunity of identifying itself at this moment with the great hopes and possibilities of this earth, associating itself rather with social repression, intolerance, and the absolute state.

Justification by faith and the priesthood of all believers meant a liberation from the medieval Church, to be sure; but it was a limited liberation. Luther's attitude toward those who differed from him, those who wished to associate religious with political, economic, and social reform and toward the role of the princes in establishing a new Lutheran Church, reveals this limitation.

LUTHER ON PREDESTINATION

His spirit may be studied in his controversy with Erasmus over the question of whether man was free to develop his own moral and religious personality or whether he was merely the passive agent of God. It is difficult to fit justification by faith and the priesthood of all believers into predestinarianism, but this Luther managed to do in his treatise *On the Enslaved Will* (*De Servo Arbitrio*, December, 1525). Here he concludes that "all men discover this doctrine [that of predestination] written in

³⁴*Works*, II, 312 ff.

³⁵See Vol. I, pp. 366 ff.

their hearts and acknowledge and approve it (albeit unwillingly) when it is thus expounded to them. Firstly, that God is omnipotent not only potentially but actually; otherwise, He would be an absurd God. Secondly, that He knows and foreknows all things, nor can He err or be deceived. These two principles being conceded by the heart and understanding of all, they are compelled to admit the inevitable conclusion that nothing happens by our will, but by necessity, and that we do nothing by right of free will, but as God foreknows and brings to pass by His infallible and immutable decree and power."³⁶

THE TOLERANT LUTHER

The original toleration of Christianity by the Roman state was quickly followed by Christianity's denial of toleration to others.³⁷ The Christian Church of the Middle Ages developed as an intolerant, persecuting institution. Its answer to the problem of divergent interpretations of Christianity was authoritarianism. It faced the competition of divergent sects with crusades and the Inquisition. This was all repeated in somewhat different form when Protestantism challenged Catholicism in the sixteenth century. Luther, as well as others before him, had to demand the right to interpret Scriptures as he saw fit and to believe as his reason and conscience dictated. But, unless he regarded himself as a special agent of God in the revelation of his truth, as many men have, he had to allow to others what he demanded for himself. The early Luther understood this quite well. "Pope and Council may decree what they please," he had said, "but I have my own right to judge and I may accept it or not as I please. . . . You must be sharp enough to decide for yourself that this is right and that wrong. Otherwise it is impossible for you to hold your own. . . . No man," he said in 1521, "can or ought to be forced to believe, but everyone should be instructed in the gospel and admonished to believe though he is left free to obey or not to obey. . . . I will have no forcing and compelling. Faith and Baptism I commend. No one, however, may be forced to accept it, but only admonished and then left free to choose." In 1522: "I will preach, but I will force no one, for faith must be voluntary. Take me as an example . . . I only urged, preached and declared God's Word, nothing else. And yet while I was slumbering or drinking Wittenberg beer . . . the Word inflicted more serious damage on popery than prince or Emperor. . . . Had I appealed to force all Germany might have been deluged with blood. . . . Do you know what the Devil thinks when he sees men employ violence to propagate the gospel? He sits with folded arms behind the fire of hell, and says with malignant looks and frightful grin, 'Ah, how wise these madmen are to play my game! Let them go on; I shall reap the benefit. I delight in it.' But when he sees the Word running and contending alone on the

³⁶Quoted in Mackinnon, *Luther*, III, 163.

³⁷See Vol. I, p. 307.

battlefield, then he shudders and shakes for fear. The Word is almighty and takes captive all hearts."³⁸

THE INTOLERANT LUTHER

Later, however, when it became clear to Luther that his own interpretation was not necessarily the acceptable one to many people, he could say, "If everyone now is allowed to handle the faith so as to introduce into the Scriptures his own fancies, and then expound them according to his own understanding, and cares to find only what flatters the populace and the senses, certainly not an article of faith could stand. It is dangerous, yes, terrible in the highest degree, to hear or believe anything against the faith and doctrine of the entire holy Christian church. . . . Since I am sure of it [his doctrine] I shall through it be your judge and the judge of angels . . . so that he who does not embrace my doctrine cannot be saved. For it is God's doctrine and not my own, therefore the judgment too is God's and not mine. . . . Not that we should kill the preacher [that is, the heretic]. This is unnecessary. But they should be forbidden to do anything apart from and against the Gospel, and should be prevented by force from doing it."³⁹

ANABAPTISTS

It has never been easy for mankind to conform. When churches are organized embracing a whole society there is always the question of what to do with the sects who do not wish thus to be embraced. Luther's intolerance, and Zwingli's and Calvin's as well, was directed against those sectaries of the sixteenth century who, now that the monopoly of the medieval Church had been broken, did not propose to become subject to a new set of churches. These sectaries were the spiritual descendants of medieval heretics (especially Waldensians and Bohemian Taborites) and of the later medieval mystics of the Rhinelands (Friends of God, Brethren of the Common Life),⁴⁰ and they tried very hard to take their Christianity seriously and literally and to restore apostolic Christianity in its original form. They can be grouped together under the name of Anabaptists, for no matter how divergent in belief they all rejected the practice of having children baptized and insisted, over and against the new Protestant predestinarian doctrines, that baptism was a sign of man's free will, a symbol of his voluntary coming to Christianity after conversion as an adult. The Anabaptists had no faith in the regeneration of society or in the state. There was only hope in the little bands of saints composing their sects. They thus disavowed any union of church and state, preached their separation, and refused, as sectaries, to have anything to do with government. As Christians they took their Bible much more

³⁸Quoted in R. H. Murray, *Erasmus and Luther*, passim.

³⁹Quoted in H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany*, passim.

⁴⁰See Vol. I, pp. 776 ff.

literally than had been common. The Sermon on the Mount was to be the rule of life. Love of neighbor meant the community of goods. Equality of souls before God meant a life of simple austerity. They refused to go to court and take oaths, to kill their fellow men in war, and to pay taxes to a state engaging in war. They preached the gospel of religious liberty.

RADICAL ANABAPTISTS

Under the stress of vigorous persecution some of their leaders went to wild extremes, preached the speedy coming of the Lord, the setting up of the New Jerusalem, and urged the extermination of the ungodly by the sword. Luther had had to deal with Thomas Münzer, one of the prophets from Zwickau who respected no authority but an "inner spirit" in the interpretation of Scripture and the determination of doctrine. To Münzer, Luther was "Dr. Pussyfoot, the new pope of Wittenberg, Dr. Easychair, the basking sycophant." He could say to the Saxon dukes: "Think not that the power of God will be realized if your swords rust in the scabbard. . . . The sword is given to you to wipe out the ungodly. If you decline it will be taken from you. Those who resist should be slaughtered without mercy as Elijah smote the priests of Baal. Priests and monks who mock the gospel should be killed. The godless have no right to live."⁴¹ In 1534 other extremists, using Scripture to justify nudity and polygamy, tried to set up the New Jerusalem at Münster in Westphalia. It was wiped out by a combination of Catholics and Lutherans. Indeed these radicals were quickly repudiated by the great majority of the Anabaptists themselves.

LUTHER ON DEATH FOR ANABAPTISTS

Luther's attitude toward the Anabaptists and all sectaries gradually grew more rigid. The state should prevent the "true faith" from being blasphemed. In 1530 he took the view that two offenses could be punished with death, namely, sedition and blasphemy. But the Anabaptist abstention from public office and military service he regarded as sedition. In 1531 he regarded "the disintegration of the church as sedition against the ecclesiastical order. . . . Although it seems cruel to punish them [the Anabaptists] with the sword, it is crueller that they condemn the ministry of the Word, and have no well-grounded doctrine, and suppress the true and in this way seek to subvert the civil order." In thus sanctioning persecution and the death penalty for Protestant heresies, Luther was joined by Zwingli and Calvin and the German Empire, which in 1529 at the Diet of Speyer decreed death for Anabaptists. After the debacle of the Münster episode, the movement came under the direction of such moderate leaders as the Dutch Menno Simons (the Mennonites).

⁴¹Quoted in Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 264.

Utterly wiped out in Germany,⁴² it moved to the eastern frontiers of Europe and ultimately to the frontiers of the New World (Manitoba, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Nebraska, and Paraguay).

ANABAPTISTS AND SOCIAL REFORM

Luther's uncompromising attitude toward the sectaries can be partly explained by the fact that some of them, and especially Münzer, held that Christianity could not remain indifferent to questions of social, economic, and even political reform. Münzer once said, "Luther says that the poor people have enough in their faith. Doesn't he see that usury and taxes impede the reception of the faith? He claims that the Word of God is sufficient. Doesn't he realize that men whose every moment is consumed in the making of a living have no time to learn to read the Word of God? The princes bleed the people with usury and count as their own the fish in the stream, the bird of the air, and the grass of the field and Dr. Liar [*Lügner*] says, 'Amen!'"

THE QUESTION OF LUTHERANISM AND A REVOLTING PEASANTRY

The question at issue, whether the Christian outlook should be completely indifferent to worldly affairs, arose again in connection with the desire of German peasants to improve their conditions. The German peasantry long before Luther had attempted to improve its lot by violence and revolt. These revolts, often anticlerical, were inspired by the perpetuation of a feudal church and serfdom. They were stimulated also by German lords who used Roman law to supplant customary law and thus deprive peasants of common rights to field, forest, and stream. The Lutheran reform had stimulated resistance to the lords' pressure. Luther had preached liberation from the medieval Church, and did not this also mean liberation from medieval feudalism? Did not doctrines of spiritual equality and love of neighbor imply at least emancipation from serfdom? Did not doctrines of justification by faith and the priesthood of all believers support Christian equality? Would not the peasant's son, who had not feared to break with both church and state, and who had often struck a secular reforming note, also support a movement involving a larger measure of Christian charity and justice in the relations of man to man? The peasants were due for a rude awakening when a group of them from Upper Swabia submitted to Luther for approval and comment their program of reform, the *Twelve Articles*.

LUTHER'S REACTION TO THE "TWELVE ARTICLES" OF THE PEASANTS

The first article asked for "authority and power so that the whole community should choose and appoint a pastor" and also have the right

⁴²"This [the destruction in Germany] is one of the greatest tragedies of German history. If only Lutheranism could have been subject to the stimulus of the criticism and competition of the sects, it could never have become so complacent and allied to the established order." Bainton, *Reformation*, p. 107.

to depose him if he should conduct himself improperly. Luther was afraid that such a right might unlawfully deprive the lord of his property. The second article asked for the proper collection of the tithe on grain. This tithe was to be used to pay the pastor, to distribute to the poor and needy, and to maintain a reserve for a war tax, "so that no general tax may be laid upon the poor." The small tithe on cattle the peasants would not pay, for "God the Lord created cattle for the free use of men, and we regard this as an improper tithe which men have invented." Luther regarded this article as "nothing but theft and highway robbery. They would appropriate for themselves the tithes, which are not theirs but the rulers', and would do with them what they pleased." The third article brought up a crucial point, the compatibility of Christianity and serfdom. "It has been the custom hitherto," the peasants say, "for man to hold us as their own property, and this is pitiable seeing that Christ has redeemed and bought us all with the precious shedding of His blood, the lowly as well as the great, excepting no one. Therefore it agrees with Scripture that we be free and we will to be so." The rulers, the peasants think, as "true and real Christians . . . will gladly release us from serfdom or show us in the Gospel that we are serfs." To Luther this is "making Christian liberty an utterly carnal thing. Did not Abraham and other patriarchs and prophets have slaves? Read what St. Paul teaches about servants, who, at that time were all slaves. Therefore this article is dead against the Gospel. It is a piece of robbery by which every man takes from his lord the body, which has become the lord's property. For a slave can be a Christian, and have Christian liberty, in the same way that a prisoner or a sick man is a christian and yet not free. This article would make all men equal, and turn the spiritual kingdom of Christ into a worldly, external kingdom, and that is impossible. For a worldly kingdom cannot stand unless there is in it an inequality of persons, and that some are free, some imprisoned, some lords, some subjects." The remaining articles have to do with rights to "catch game, wild fowl, or fish in running water," with "the matter of wood-cutting," forced labor, excessive rents, "the great wrong of continually making new laws," the appropriation of meadows out of the common fields, and the death tax (*heriot*). Finally the peasants say, "It is our conclusive and final opinion that if one or more of the articles here set forth were not to be in agreement with the Word of God . . . these articles when they are shown to us by the Word of God to be improper, we will recede from, as this is explained to us with arguments of Scripture." Luther says about these articles that "I have said above that these things do not concern a Christian, and that he cares nothing about them. He lets anyone else rob, take, skin, scrape, and devour and rage, for he is a martyr on earth. Therefore the peasants ought rightly to let the name of Christian alone, and act in some other name, as men who want human and natural rights, not as those who seek Christian rights. This means that on all

these points they should keep still, suffer, and make their complaints to God alone."

LUTHER AND THE PEASANTS' REVOLT

This advice the peasants refused to take. They continued with open revolt (1524-1525) until at least two-thirds of the empire was ablaze with insurrection. Peasants in some regions were supported by radical reformer-preachers, and they were joined by workers in the towns. This not only outraged Luther, but he feared that the combination of reform and revolt might compromise the advance of reform. He tried to intervene personally and to stem the violence with his pen in such pamphlets as *Against the Robber and Murdering Bands of the Peasants*. In the course of a sermon he said, "You powerless coarse peasants and asses, would that you were blasted by lightning. You have the best of it, you have the marrow, and yet are so ungrateful as to refuse anything to the princes." The authorities are called upon by God "to drive, strike, suffocate, hang, decapitate, and break on the wheel the mob, so that they [the rulers] may be feared." In his pamphlet he says, "let all who are able hew them down, slaughter and stab them, openly or in secret, and remember that there is nothing more poisonous, noxious, and utterly diabolical than a rebel. You must kill him as you would a mad dog, if you do not fall on him he will fall upon you and the whole land. I believe that there are no rebels left in hell, but all of them have entered into the peasants. . . . It may be that whoever is killed on the side of the authorities is really a martyr in God's cause. . . . I will not forbid such rulers as are able to chastise and slay the peasants without previously offering them terms, even though the Gospel does not permit it. . . . A pious Christian ought to be willing to endure a hundred deaths rather than yield a hair's breadth to the cause of the peasants."⁴³ In a further pamphlet (*Circular Letter concerning the Hand Booklet against the Peasants*) he said, "What is more ill mannered than a foolish peasant or a common man when he has had enough and is full and gets power in his hands. . . . An ass must be beaten and the rabble governed by force. God knew this well and therefore He gave the rulers not a fox's tail but a sword. . . . A rebel does not deserve a reasonable answer for he will not accept it; the only way to answer such foul-mouthed rascals is with the fist until their noses dribble. . . . Their ears must be opened by musket bullets so that their heads may fly into the air." It can be imagined how such words were received by the peasants as their revolt was quelled in blood. Luther never regretted his stand. "It was I, Martin Luther, who slew all the peasants during the rising for I commanded them to be slaughtered. All their blood is on my head. But I throw the responsibility on our Lord God, who instructed me to give this order."

⁴³H. Grisar, *Martin Luther*, pp. 278 ff.

LUTHER AND ZWINGLI

Luther was unwilling to sacrifice his own interpretation of Scriptures for the sake of a common Protestant creed or party. In this he resembled other reformers. Such stubbornness among Protestant leaders has continued to date and broken their movement into an amazing number of sects and diminished its effectiveness in the world. To many it has always seemed unchristian to love theological opinion more than a neighbor. The split between the major Protestant groups first became evident in the disputes between Luther and Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), the reformer from Zürich and the leader of the reform in German Switzerland.

ULRICH ZWINGLI

Ulrich Zwingli began his career as a humanist and, like Luther, an ardent patriot, so ardent that he felt obliged to translate the second verse of the Twenty-third Psalm, "He maketh me to lie down in an alpine meadow." He began to preach the reform in Zürich in 1519, much under the influence of Luther, and in close co-operation with the Zürich town council. In fact, the Zwinglian reform was like the Lutheran not only in its belief in predestination but in its close reliance upon the state to carry out the reform—only in Zwingli's Zürich, as in Calvin's Geneva, the relationship between the two was theocratic rather than the church's being dependent upon the state. Zwingli, moreover, was a belligerent propagator of his new faith, quite willing to extend it with the sword. As the German reformation brought war between Lutheran and Catholic states, so in Switzerland there was war between the Protestant and the Catholic cantons.⁴⁴ Zwingli died fighting in this war (1531, Battle of Kappel), leaving Switzerland divided between Protestant and Catholic cantons.

THE MARBURG COLLOQUY

The war first broke out in 1529, the year in which the German Diet had decided to tolerate Catholics within Lutheran, if not Lutherans within Catholic, principalities, thus initiating a protest on the part of Lutheran princes and towns that gave rise to the term Protestant. The alliance of the Catholic Swiss cantons with the Hapsburgs, the enemies of Swiss independence, led Zwingli to search for Protestant allies among the princes and cities of southern Germany. New signs of aggression from Catholic forces, as well as the beginnings of a break in the Protestant ranks, led Philip, the Lutheran Landgrave of Hesse, to seek a common political and theological concord between the German Lutheran and Swiss Zwinglian and lesser (for example, Strassburg) reformers. He summoned Luther and Zwingli as well as others to debate these questions

⁴⁴I.e., between Protestant Zürich, Berne, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, and Constance and Catholic Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzerne, and Zug.

at his castle in Marburg in early October, 1529, an event called the Marburg Colloquy.

DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF THE EUCHARIST

Luther rejected, as Zwingli did not, the idea of a political alliance between the respective forces. He did not wish to defend the Protestant cause with the unchristian sword. He was, however, willing to try for a common statement of belief. This proved impossible because of their differences on the Eucharist. The Catholic Church taught the doctrine of transubstantiation.⁴⁵ Luther would not grant to the priest any magical power to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Neither did he regard the Mass as a renewal of the sacrifice of Christ to God to atone for man's sins. His adherence to the literal word of Scripture (*This is my body*) made him say that Christ was physically present in the elements of the bread and wine as heat is present in fire, even if the priest does not cause him to be there. The faithful in participating in the Eucharist do actually eat Christ's body and drink his blood. To Zwingli this was all unnecessary. The Eucharist was to be interpreted as a memorial of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross and of his Last Supper with his disciples. *This is my body* means "This signifies my body." Christ is present in the bread and wine in only a figurative sense.⁴⁶ Before the Marburg Colloquy Zwingli had expressed his willingness to tolerate differences of opinion for the sake of Christian charity and unity. Luther had replied, "Cursed be such charity and such unity to the very bottom of hell, since such unity not only miserably disrupts Christianity but makes sport and foolishness of it in a devilish manner."

On the second day of the Colloquy (2 October) at a public conference, Luther wrote in chalk on the table in front of him, *Hoc est corpus meum* (*This is my body*) and insisted upon taking it literally. He did not wish to argue about it; it was to be accepted upon faith. If God ordered him to eat dung, he would do it and ask no questions. "The words *Hoc est corpus meum* are not ours but Christ's. The devil cannot make it otherwise. . . . I ask you," he said to Zwingli, "to leave off your tampering with the Word, and give glory to God." To this Zwingli replied, "And we ask you to give glory to God and leave off your quibbling." At this point the Landgrave had to intervene and postpone the matter until the afternoon, but results were then no better. After another day of argument it was agreed that further debate was hopeless. When the official of the Landgrave asked for one more attempt at an understanding Luther replied to the Zwinglians, "The only way to reach an understanding is for you to give honour to the Word of God and believe as we do." The answer from the Zwinglian side was "As you refuse to bend to our interpretation of the text, so we refuse to accept

⁴⁵See Vol. I, p. 581.

⁴⁶For the following see Mackinnon, *Luther*, III, 320-328.

yours." Luther: "Well then, we commend you to God and His Judgment." Although each side realized it had gone too far Zwingli asked for friendship and fellowship, and Luther replied in what has been called a "repelling" negative: "You have a different spirit from us. There can be no community of spirit between us and you, who profess to accept the Word of Christ and nevertheless condemn, controvert and seek to undermine it with all kinds of sacrilegious arguments. Pray God that you may be converted." And the answer of a Zwinglian theologian was "Pray God yourself for you stand equally in need of being converted." In subsequent meetings agreement was reached on other articles of faith, but there was no real reconciliation between these two Protestant groups. And in spite of the passing of the centuries there never has been any real reconciliation.

LUTHER AND THE JEWS

Luther's opinions about the Jews became so violent that one of his biographers can wish that he had died before uttering such cruelty.⁴⁷ To say that Luther's opinions, unlike those of many of his twentieth-century compatriots, were not based upon racial qualities does not help much, for Luther had once laid great emphasis upon the expression of Christian faith in love of neighbor. Yet he could not overcome long centuries of Christian violence, intolerance, and persecution of the Jew. To be sure, he had once said, "We should use toward the Jews not the pope's but Christ's law of love. If some are stiff-necked, what does that matter? We are not all good Christians." But when he heard that in Moravia some Christians had been converted to Judaism he came out with a "vulgar blast," suggesting that all Jews be forced to go to Palestine; and if this were not to be, kept from practicing usury and obliged to earn their living as peasants. "Their synagogues should be burned, and their books including the Bible should be taken away from them."⁴⁸

LUTHER'S VIEWS ON THE STATE

Luther's opinions concerning the power of the state were inclined to bolster secular, rather than ecclesiastical, theocracy, that is, absolutism of the prince, who was considered an agent of God and a governor of church as well as state.⁴⁹ The term caesaropapism can also be used to describe this organization.⁵⁰ The prince is not only caesar but pope, the divinely sanctioned ruler of both state and church. Luther frequently quoted the thirteenth chapter of Romans to the effect that "the powers that be are ordained of God" and that "whosoever therefore

⁴⁷Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 379. "One could wish that Luther had died before ever this tract was written."

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁴⁹See Vol. I, p. 26, n. 14.

⁵⁰See Vol. I, p. 468.

resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves condemnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil." Thus Luther recognized that the state must use force to establish law and order because these evil works are always present and will always be. Christianity will not be able to eradicate them. "The world and the masses are and always will be unchristian, although they are baptized and nominally christian. Hence a man who would venture to govern an entire community or the world with the gospel would be like a shepherd who should place in one fold wolves, lions, eagles, and sheep. The sheep would keep the peace, but they would not last long. The world cannot be ruled with a rosary."⁵¹

This state cannot be resisted under ordinary circumstances. "No prince," he wrote in 1523, "may make war on his overlord, such as the king or the emperor or any other feudal superior, but must allow him to seize what he pleases. For the higher authorities must not be resisted by force, but merely by bringing them to the knowledge of the truth. If they are converted it is well, if not, you are free from blame and suffer injustice for God's sake." He said again in 1529, "Even though the authorities act unjustly, God wills that they should be obeyed without deceit unless indeed they insist publicly on doing what is wrong towards God or men; for to suffer unjustly harms no man or soul, indeed, it is profitable to it." "Doing wrong to God or men" Luther came to interpret as commanding what was contrary to the faith and undertaking an unjust war. In case of unjust war, then, there was a duty of civil disobedience, but not of armed resistance, which he would not tolerate. The faith was not to be defended by the sword. Luther did come to recognize, however, that the magistrate, if guilty of violation of the constitution, could be resisted by those beneath him in power, "the doctrine of the right of the lower magistrate to protect the people against the tyranny of the higher."⁵² He submitted to the principle of the territorial church, that is, was willing to have the German states undertake the institution of the Lutheran Church as a department of state, or state church. Thus religion once again was made to minister unto political absolutism.

THE EARLY CAREER OF JOHN CALVIN

Luther's successor as leader of the Protestant Reformation was the Frenchman John Calvin (1509-1564), whose task it was to provide a Protestantism threatened with disintegration with a body of belief, a form of organization, and a spirit determined to resist a Roman Church now alert to its peril. When compared with the sturdy peasant frame of Luther, Calvin was little, thin, and, as his health grew worse, somewhat emaciated. His face had the ascetic quality of a monk's, tense and drawn,

⁵¹Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 238.

⁵²Bainton, *Reformation*, pp. 235-236.

its eyes deep set and capable of flashing, burning anger, its nose long. In this sickly body was a rather cold heart, an iron will, and a superior mind. He experienced as a young man no such harrowing religious experience as Luther's. Still he prepared to follow relatives into the service of the Church, and went to the Sorbonne at Paris to study theology. After Paris, with his mind less on a clerical than a humanist's career, he went on to Orléans and Bourges to study Roman law. Upon his return to Paris he studied Greek and Hebrew and published a work on the Roman Stoic Seneca. Then, after a religious experience similar to conversion, he began to move in the circles of French reformers. The king, Francis I, did not intend to permit the growth of a reformed church in France and obliged Calvin to leave in 1534 and to locate finally in Basel, Switzerland. Here he devoted himself to study, and two years later, as a young man of twenty-six, he published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which immediately established his fame among European Protestants.

THE "INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION"

This first of many editions of a remarkable book was a landmark in the history of the French language, as Luther's translation of the Bible was of the German language. Subsequent editions grew in bulk but never changed in essential contents. Calvin had worked out once and for all the doctrines of a reformed faith and the organization of a reformed church. The importance given to this interpretation of Christianity made the *Institutes* a kind of Protestant Bible or at least something corresponding to Saint Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* or Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Since they were Calvin's word he became a kind of pope of a new Protestantism. No one can read much of them without sensing how much he incorporated of the ascetic, dogmatic, and institutional spirit of the medieval Church. It is also clear that his general concept of society was theocratic. As he told Francis I in his original preface to the *Institutes*, a government which did not undertake to uphold and establish the principles of the gospel was illegitimate. Calvin's church had to instruct states in the principles of the gospel. Thus, the Calvinistic as well as the Lutheran reform meant a revival of theocratic, as well as ascetic, principles, Luther's theocracy being secular and Calvin's ecclesiastical.

CALVIN'S ASCETIC MOOD

These points can be established by going to the *Institutes* themselves. Here the ascetic mood is well established. "With whatever kind of tribulation we may be afflicted," says Calvin, "we should always keep this end in view, to habituate ourselves to a contempt of the present life that we may thereby be excited to meditation on that which is to come. There is no medium between these two extremes, either the earth must become vile in our estimation, or it must retain our immoderate love.

Wherefore if we have any concern about eternity, we must use our most diligent efforts to extricate ourselves from these fetters. It should be the object of believers, therefore, in judging of this mortal life that, understanding it to be of itself nothing but misery, they may apply themselves wholly with increasing cheerfulness and readiness to meditate on the future and eternal life. When we come to this comparison then indeed the former will be not only severely neglected, but in competition with the latter altogether despised and abhorred. For if heaven is our country what is the earth but a place of exile? If the departure out of the world is an entrance into life, what is the world but a sepulchre? What is a continuance in it but an absorption in death? If deliverance from the body is an introduction into genuine liberty, what is the body but a prison? If to enjoy the presence of God is the summit of felicity is it not misery to be destitute of it? But until we escape out of the world we are absent from the Lord. Therefore if the terrestrial life be compared with the celestial, it should undoubtedly be despised and accounted of no value.”⁵³

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCRIPTURES

The rules for the denial of life in this, and for preparation for the next, world are of course to be found in Scriptures and in Scriptures alone. “For when it is admitted to be a declaration of the Word of God, no man can be so deplorably presumptuous . . . as to dare to derogate from the credit due to the speaker. . . . Since we are not forearmed with daily oracles from heaven, and since it is only in the Scriptures that the Lord hath been pleased to preserve his truth in perpetual remembrance, it obtains the same complete credit and authority with believers, when they are satisfied of its divine origin, as if they heard the very words pronounced by God himself . . . it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence and ought not to be made the subject of demonstration and argument from reason; but it obtains the credit which it deserves with us by the testimony of the Spirit. For though it conciliates our reverence by its internal majesty, it never seriously affects us till it is confirmed by the Spirit in our hearts. Therefore, being illuminated by him, we now believe the divine original of the Scripture, not from our own judgment or that of others, but we esteem the certainty, that we have received it from God’s own mouth by the ministry of men, to be superior to that of any human judgment, and equal to that of an intuitive perception of God himself in it.”

THE POWER OF THE WILL OF GOD

If the Bible which we have received from God’s own mouth teaches us that life is to be lived so as to escape it well, it also teaches that man,

⁵³Quoted in A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, pp. 91–92. The remaining quotations from the *Institutes* are, for the most part, from the translation of J. Allen.

after the Fall, was a hopeless creature utterly at the mercy of God. "Our poverty," Calvin says in the *Institutes*, "conduces to a clearer display of the infinite fulness of God. Especially, the miserable ruin, into which we have been plunged by the defection of the first man, compels us to raise our eyes toward heaven . . . aroused with fear to learn humility. For since man is subject to a world of miseries, and has been spoiled of his divine array, this melancholy exposure discovers an immense mass of deformity. . . . A sense of our ignorance, vanity, poverty, infirmity, depravity, and corruption leads us to perceive and acknowledge that in the Lord alone are to be found true wisdom, solid strength, perfected goodness and unspotted righteousness, and so, by our imperfections, we are excited to a consideration of the perfections of God." It is the will of such a God, quite unconditioned by any external factors, that determines the fate of the universe and man. "God does not act as he does," Calvin says, "because it is good to do so; but because he so acts the act is good. . . . The will of God is the supreme rule of righteousness, so that everything which he wills he held to be righteous by the mere fact of his willing it. Therefore when it is asked why the Lord did so we must answer, 'Because he is pleased.' But if you proceed further to ask why he is pleased you ask for something greater and more sublime than the will of God and nothing such can be found."

CALVIN'S PREDESTINATION

Like Augustine and Luther, Calvin makes man's salvation not a matter of his own free will but something already determined by this omnipotent God of unlimited and inscrutable will. God has in an original decree condemned some of mankind to hell and rewarded others with heaven, and this because it was his pleasure so to act. "In conformity," Calvin says, "to the clear doctrine of Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction. We affirm that this counsel as far as concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; but for those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by a just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible judgment." There is no point in trying to seek out some understanding for this decision of God to elect some and condemn others. Men who do this are only full of "arrogance and presumption." They should remember that "when they inquire into predestination they penetrate to inmost recesses of Divine wisdom, where the careless and confident intruder will obtain no satisfaction to his curiosity, but will enter a labyrinth from which he will find no way to depart. For it is unreasonable that man should scrutinize with impunity those things which the Lord has determined to be hidden in himself; and investigate, even from eternity, that sublimity of wisdom which God would have us to adore and not comprehend, to promote our

admiration of his glory. . . . They [the reprobate] have been raised up, by a just but inscrutable judgment of God, to display his glory in their condemnation. . . . Though we cannot comprehend the reason of this, let us be content with some degree of ignorance where the wisdom of God soars into its own sublimity. . . . To inquire . . . how it came to pass that the fall of Adam, independent of any remedy, should involve so many nations with their infant children in eternal death" is to have for an answer "because such was the will of God. It is an awful decree I confess." Calvin will have nothing to do with the notion that God's predestination is based on the foreknowledge that some men would choose the good and some the bad. It is an error "which derives election from foreknowledge. . . . God elected whom he would and before they were born laid up in reserve for them the grace with which he determined in favor of them." To say that "because he foresaw they would be holy, therefore he chose them and you will invert the order of Paul. . . . He considered nothing out of himself, with any view to influence his determination." Yet man may not assume that he is not one of the elect. It is his duty by obedience to God's word to show forth his gratitude for God's mercy and to do honor to the glory of God. The little band of the elect must see to it that all men, whether saved or not, act as if they were saved.

THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE PURITAN VIRTUES

To the glory of God, state and society must be made obedient to God's word. Calvin's spirit resembles Gregory VII's.⁵⁴ "We may not, therefore, think, speak, meditate or do anything but with a view to his glory. . . . O, how great a proficiency has that man made, who, having been taught that he is not his own, has taken the sovereignty and government of himself from his own reason, to surrender it to God! For as compliance with their own inclinations leads most men effectually to ruin, so to place no dependence on our own knowledge or will, but merely to follow the guidance of the Lord is the only way of safety." Philosophers are of no help in this matter. "For they set up Reason as the sole directress of man; they think that she is exclusively to be attended to; in short, to her alone they assign the government of the conduct. But the Christian philosophy commands her to give place and submit to the Holy Spirit, so that now the man himself lives not, but carries about Christ, living and reigning within him. . . . But there is no way more certain or concise than what we derive from a contempt of the present life and meditation on a heavenly immortality. . . . We should learn to bear penury with tranquility and patience, as well as to enjoy abundance with moderation. He who commands us to use this world as though we used it not, prohibits not only all intemperance in

⁵⁴See Vol. I, pp. 532 ff.

eating and drinking, and excessive delicacy, ambition, pride, haughtiness, and fastidiousness in our furniture, our habitations, and our apparel, but every care and affection which would either seduce or disturb us from thoughts of the heavenly life, and attention to the improvement of our souls." Believers should therefore "indulge themselves as little as possible." They "should perpetually and resolutely exert themselves to retrench all superfluities and to restrain luxury." They should remember that they will have to give an account of their stewardship. "Let it be remembered by whom this account is demanded; that it is by him who has so highly recommended abstinence, sobriety, frugality, and modesty; who abhors profusion, pride, ostentation, and vanity; who approves of no other management of his blessings than such as is connected with charity; who has with his own mouth already condemned all those pleasures which seduce the heart from chastity and purity."

THE NECESSITY FOR A CALVINIST CHURCH

Calvin thought that fallen and depraved man, whether the elect or the reprobate, could not be expected to be obedient and show forth the glory of God without the help of a church. God did not choose to act without a church. In fact Calvin held (as did the medieval Church) that there could be no salvation outside the church. "There is no other way of entrance into life, unless we are conceived by her [the church], born of her, nourished at her breast, and continually preserved under her care and government till we are divested of this mortal flesh and 'become like the angels.' For our infirmity will not admit of our dismissal from her school; we must continue under her instruction and discipline to the end of our lives. It is also to be remembered that out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins, or any salvation." It is the duty of the church not only to teach "the saving doctrine of Christ" but to discipline its members. For "discipline forms the ligaments which connect the members together and keep each in his proper place. Whoever, therefore, either desires the abolition of all discipline or obstructs its restoration . . . certainly promotes the entire dissolution of the church. For what will be the consequence, if every man be at liberty to follow his own inclinations? But such would be the case unless the preaching of the doctrine were accompanied with private admonitions, reproofs, and other means to enforce the doctrine and prevent it from being altogether ineffectual. Discipline, therefore, serves as a bridle to curb and restrain the refractory, who resist the doctrine of Christ; or as a spur to stimulate the inactive; and sometimes as a father's rod with which those who have grievously fallen may be chastised in mercy, and with the gentleness of the Spirit of Christ." Everyone therefore "should study to admonish his brother whenever occasion shall require." Especially too should the pastors and presbyters "be vigilant in the discharge of this duty. For the doctrine then obtains its full authority and pro-

duces its due effect, when the minister . . . has the right and means of enforcing it upon them whom he observes to be inattentive, or not obedient to the doctrine." If the pastor fails to bring the sinner around, the latter is to be "summoned before the tribunal of the church, *i.e.*, the assembly of elders." If this does not work, the sinner "as a despiser of the church" will have to be excommunicated, "excluded from the society of believers." It is necessary to excommunicate so that those who lead "scandalous and flagitious lives, may not, to the dishonor of God, be numbered among Christ's [saved] as if his holy church were a conspiracy of wicked and abandoned men. . . . The good may not be corrupted as is often the case by constant association with the wicked." Those who are excommunicated, "confounded with the shame of their turpitude, may be led to repentance. Thus it is even conducive to their own benefit for their iniquity to be punished, that the stroke of the rod may arouse to a confession of their guilt, those who would only be rendered more obstinate by indulgence."

THE ORGANIZATION AND RITUAL OF THE CHURCH

If Calvin accepted Luther's justification by faith and made good works the sign of election,⁵⁵ he likewise accepted the priesthood of all believers. The Calvinist Church was not the monopoly of a clergy who dispensed the grace of God. Like the Lutheran it swept away the whole hierarchy of the medieval Church. The Lutheran pastor was ultimately the choice of the state authorities, while the Calvinist minister was the choice of all the pastors of a community and also the choice of the congregation the pastor was to serve. "We find," the *Institutes* say, "that it is a legitimate ministry according to the Word of God when those who appear suitable persons are appointed with the consent and approbation of the people; but that other pastors ought to preside over the election to guard the multitude from falling into any improprieties through inconstancy, intrigue, or confusion." In the administration of the affairs of the congregation the ministers are to be assisted by the elders, "who preside over the discipline" and "watch over the life of each individual." They are to be divided among the wards of the city so that they can "keep their eyes everywhere." Deacons supervise the assistance for the poor. The *Institutes* provide that the pastors "by the Word of God . . . may venture to do all things with confidence; may constrain all the strength, glory, wisdom, and pride of the world to obey and submit to His majesty; supported by His power, may govern all mankind from the highest to the lowest, may build up the house of Christ and subvert the house of Satan, may feed the sheep, and drive away the wolves, may instruct and exhort the docile; may reprove, rebuke and restrain the rebellious and obstinate; may bind and loose; may discharge their lightnings and

⁵⁵See pp. 95 f.

thunders, if necessary, but all in the Word of God." Such a church permitted for its ritual, as well as its organization and belief, only what Scriptures permitted. It had little use for music and much for the sermon. Its Almighty God needed no saints to plead with him. Calvin, like Luther, was scornful of the cult of saints and relics. The papists, he said, "have the blood of Christ in one hundred places, liquid, coagulated, or mixed with water. They have the piece of boiled fish which Peter offered Jesus after the resurrection. It must have been wondrously well salted if it has kept for such a long series of ages. They formerly had St. Peter's brain, but it turned out upon examination to be pumice stone. The crown of thorns must have been planted again to grow twigs for relics. They have enough of the Virgin's milk so that if she had been a cow she could not have given as much in her whole life. Had she been of the race of giants she would not have had a shirt as long as the one they possess. John the Baptist's ashes, supposed to have been scattered by the winds, have been caught and preserved at various places, while six churches have the finger with which he pointed to Christ. St. Anne has two bodies, three hands, and an extra arm, and there are a hundred wagon loads of lesser saints. One runs the risk of worshipping the bones of a thief, a dog, or an ass."⁵⁶

THE CHURCH MUST INSTRUCT THE STATE

Such an organization of the church, built upon the congregation of the elect or the community of saints, had to instruct the magistrate and prince. For no matter how separate in organization the church might be from the state, it had to instruct the state in its chief tasks: to adhere to sacred doctrine and uphold the church. "This civil government is designed, as long as we live in this world, to cherish and support the external worship of God, to preserve the pure doctrine of religion, [and] to defend the constitution of the church." "No government can be happily constituted unless its first object be the promotion of piety, and all laws are preposterous which neglect the claims of God and merely provide for the interests of men . . . Christian princes and magistrates ought to be ashamed of their indolence, if they do not make it [religion] the object of their most serious care." "A pious magistrate will not wish to exempt himself from the common subjection of the children of God, which in no small degree consists in submitting to the church, when it judges by the Word of God." "Great kings ought not to think it any dishonor to prostrate themselves as suppliants before Christ, the King of

⁵⁶G. E. Harkness, *Calvin*, Chap. v, pp. 90 ff. Luther made sport of the relic cult in a similar way. He refers to the relics of the archbishop of Mainz as containing three flames from Moses' bush on Mount Sinai, two feathers and an egg of the Holy Ghost, a great big piece of the shout of the children of Israel with which they cast down the walls of Jericho, five fair, clear strings of the harp of David, a whole pound of the wind which blew for Elijah in the cave on Horeb, and half a feather of St. Gabriel, the archangel. P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, pp. 397-398.

Kings, nor ought they to be displeased at being judged by the church. As they hear scarcely anything in their courts but mere flatteries, it is the more highly necessary for them to receive correction from the Lord by the mouth of the ministers; they ought even to wish not to be spared by the pastors, that they may be spared by the Lord."

IT IS SOMETIMES NECESSARY TO RESIST THE STATE

Under ordinary circumstances it is the duty of the citizen to obey the prince as long as he does not act contrary to God's law. "If," the *Institutes* say, "we are inhumanly harassed by a cruel prince; if we are rapaciously plundered by an avaricious or luxurious one; if we are neglected by an indolent one; or if we are persecuted on account of piety by an impious and sacrilegious one;—let us first call to mind our transgressions against God, which he undoubtedly chastises by these scourges. . . . Let us, in the next place, consider that it is not our province to remedy these evils, and that nothing remains for us, but to implore the aid of the Lord, in whose hand are the hearts of kings and the revolutions of kingdoms."⁵⁷ But this duty is not binding if the prince violate God's law. "But in the obedience which we have shown to be due to the authority of the governors it is always necessary to make one exception . . . that it does not seduce us from obedience to him, to whose will the desire of all kings ought to be subject. . . . The Lord . . . is the King of Kings, who when he has opened his sacred mouth is to be heard alone, above all, for all, and before all; in the next place we are subject to those men who preside over us, but no other wise than in him. If they command anything against him, it ought not to have the least attention; nor, in this case, ought we to pay any regard to that dignity attached to the magistrates; to which no injury is done when it is subjected to the unrivalled and supreme power of God . . . as if earthly power were diminished by being subordinated to its other, before whom even the principalities of heaven tremble with awe." "Earthly princes lay aside all their power when they rise up against God and are unworthy to be reckoned in the number of mankind. We ought rather to spit on their heads than to obey them when they are so restive and wish to rob God of his rights." When the rulers "rise against God they must be put down and held of no more account than worn-out shoes. . . . When princes forbid the service and worship of God, when they command their subjects to pollute themselves with idolatry and want them to consent to and participate in all the abominations that are contrary to the service of God, they are not worthy to be regarded as princes or to have any authority attributed to them. . . . When we disobey princes to obey him [God] we do not do wrong; for we ought to have no respect for persons when it is a question of God's honor." In case God's law is violated by the prince it is the obligation

⁵⁷*Institutes*, trans. John Allen, II, 660.

of responsible magistrates or estates to do the resistance and not the people as a whole. "For though the correction of tyrannical domination is the vengeance of God, we are not, therefore, to conclude that it is committed to us who have received no other command than to obey and suffer. . . . For if there be in the present day, any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people and the moderation of the power of kings, such as were in ancient times [for example, the Roman tribunes]; or with power such as perhaps is now possessed by the three estates in every kingdom when they are assembled; I am so far from prohibiting them in the discharge of their duty to oppose the violence or cruelty of kings that I affirm that if they connive at kings in their oppression of their people, such forbearance involves the most nefarious perfidy, because they fraudulently betray the liberty of the people, of which they know that they have been appointed protectors by the ordination of God."

CALVIN IN GENEVA

Calvin was able to carry out his views in the little Swiss city of Geneva, to which he was diverted on a journey in 1536. The city had freed itself from the secular overlordship of the duke of Savoy and the spiritual lordship of its bishop. Under the leadership of a tempestuous red-headed French reformer named William Farel, it was trying to settle down in the new faith. Farel importuned Calvin to remain in Geneva to help him, and he agreed. But in two years their system became so obnoxious to the unregenerate that both had to leave. Calvin was invited to return in 1541, on his own terms; and henceforth until his death he strove relentlessly to transform Geneva into the theocracy contemplated in the *Institutes*. In this he succeeded far better than the medieval Church with Europe. The *Institutes* became the law of Geneva, and all overt opposition to Calvin was rooted out. The city became a refuge for persecuted Protestants in Europe who could subscribe to Calvinism and the center of an international movement directed personally by Calvin. Here, then, one may observe the workings of a theocratic system in a community of sixteen to seventeen thousand people. "It can hardly be denied that he [Calvin] imposed upon Geneva a system of discipline and a yoke of inhibitions calculated to thwart individualism, to hamper or frustrate all intellectual effort, to stereotype at once manners and opinions, to make art impossible and to fill life with fear instead of beauty."⁸⁸

THE DISCIPLINARY INSTITUTIONS

The disciplinary machinery necessary to enforce the Word of God was outlined in the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*. They provided for the organization of the pastors into a "Venerable Company," meeting regularly

⁸⁸J. W. Allen, *Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 69.

to keep its members in line and to supervise the conduct of others. The actual enforcement of the discipline for the city as a whole was entrusted to the "Consistory," a court composed of pastors and elders appointed by the council of the city. Individuals were sent before the Consistory by the elders of the local congregations, or they could be summoned by the Consistory itself. What went on at the Consistory can be gathered from some of the cases considered at its tenth meeting, on 16 February, 1542, a year after Calvin's return.⁵⁹ A woman was summoned for kneeling on the grave of her husband and crying, "May he rest in peace," obviously a continuation of a popish practice. Another was reprimanded for trying to cure her husband "by tying round his neck a walnut into which she had placed a spider." Jacques Pichard had the misfortune to go to sleep during the sermon and to awake in some confusion before it was over, calling his neighbor a baboon and making noises with his feet. He explained that he had a pain in his leg, but he was sent before the Council since the offense was too serious for the Consistory to punish. Étienne Buffet was summoned "for having said that neither God nor the devil would hinder him from beating his wife." He was sent to jail. Claude de la Rivière unfortunately could not control his temper when a fox escaped him on a hunting trip. He cursed God and his Son for letting the fox escape and was sent to jail for three days on bread and water and forbidden to hunt henceforth. Three young laborers were sent to jail on bread and water for daring to indulge in the intemperance of eating three dozen pastries. The existence of this court encouraged the work of the sneak and informer. Calvin was almost always present at its meetings.

THE WORKINGS OF THE DISCIPLINE

The men and women of Geneva did not easily exchange the confessional for the Consistory. It was some time before Calvin was able to put down the opposition. He had difficulty with the rector of the Academy, Sebastian Castellio, who took the Song of Solomon for an obscene poem. In March, 1545, came the first of many arrests for insulting Calvin. In the spring of 1546 a member of the Genevan Council, Ameaux, was arrested for having said to friends at supper that Calvin was a bad man and preached false doctrine. His wife had already been sentenced to life imprisonment and chained to the cell wall for adulteries which, to the astonished and scandalized Consistory, she justified on religious grounds. Ameaux was obliged to go around Geneva in a shirt, carrying a torch, and kneeling at regular intervals to implore the mercy of God. In the same year Calvin sent two officials of the city to jail (one the president of the Consistory) for violating the law by dancing at a wedding party. When he had the inns turned into what were called "abbeys," in which all "un-

⁵⁹R. N. Carew Hunt, *Calvin*, pp. 148-149.

seemly conversation, questionable songs, [and] illicit amusements" were forbidden and everybody obliged to go to bed by nine o'clock (except spies), he increased his enemies. In June he had the Council stop plays "until a more suitable time."⁶⁰

THE RESISTANCE OF THE FAVRE FAMILY

The opposition was finally directed by the Favres, one of Geneva's old families. The head of this family got into difficulty in early 1547 for fornicating with a servant. He was called before the Consistory and excommunicated by one of the ministers. His son Gaspard ventured to play "games outside St. Gervais during the service." When Calvin told him in the Consistory, "We are set above you here," he answered, "Yes, I know you are above everyone." He was put into solitary confinement the next day. His sister, Mrs. Perrin, got into repeated trouble for dancing and calling the preachers great pigs and swine.

THE CASE OF JACQUES GRUET

In June, 1546, a placard put on the pulpit of Calvin's church, St. Pierre, called one of the ministers a "great paunch" and warned that "when the people have had enough they take their revenge." A certain Jacques Gruet was arrested on suspicion, and after letters in his house had been found critical of Calvin he was indicted by the Council "on twenty-five counts, to which the ingenuity of Calvin added a further forty-seven." He finally admitted on the rack that he had written the placard. He was tortured twice more to reveal his accomplices, for the Council believed there was a general conspiracy. "As his wrists were being bound for the third time, he broke down. He would confess everything. But he had nothing to tell his judges and could only mutter incoherently." Favre was present and shouted angrily, "If the bishops of the old days had behaved as the ministers do now they would never have been endured." Calvin was impatient over the Council's delay in coming to a decision. Gruet was confronted with the rack on two more occasions. "But he was in a condition of such complete prostration that he could only beg his torturers to make an end." He was subsequently beheaded, and though he was not the most stable or rational citizen of Geneva, "his execution was none the less a miscarriage of justice."⁶¹

MICHAEL SERVETUS

The case of Michael Servetus, "the most notorious heresy trial of the sixteenth century," helped further to terrorize the opposition. It reveals as well the surprising lengths to which sixteenth-century Protestantism was willing to go in imitating the Inquisition.⁶² Servetus was a Spaniard seri-

⁶⁰Hunt, pp. 168 f.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 173, 174, 175.

⁶²See R. H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus*, upon which this account leans.

ously interested in theological problems, a student of the medical faculty at Paris, and a humanist editor of classical texts. He was something of a Neoplatonist, an Anabaptist, and a scholar wishing to see Christianity based upon the Scriptures. He was also a difficult person. His opinions he put into two books: one, *Concerning the Errors of the Trinity*, and another, on the *Restitution of Christianity*. He engaged in controversy with Calvin and sent him a copy of his *Restitution*, which Calvin never returned. In fact Calvin was responsible for his being arrested and charged with heresy before the local Catholic Inquisition while physician of the archbishop of Vienne. He escaped, however, and made his way, of all places, to Geneva, being burned in effigy at Lyons after his escape. He had previously offered to come to Geneva to discuss his opinions with Calvin, who on that occasion had written to Farel, "If he should come here he will never go away alive if I have power to prevent it." While intending to spend only one night in Geneva, he could not abstain, or was afraid to in a city such as Geneva, from going to hear Calvin preach. Here he was recognized by some residents of Lyons, who reported his presence. Calvin had him immediately arrested and charged in forty articles with heresy (1553).

THE VIEWS OF SERVETUS

Servetus believed that there is one "God the Father and His Christ, the Lord Jesus. Not one word is found in the whole Bible about the Trinity nor about its persons, nor about the essence, nor the unity of substance, nor of the one nature of the several beings, nor about any of the rest of their ravings and logic chopping." Indeed, he felt that when at Nicaea the early Church adopted the doctrine of the Trinity, it began to decline. In publishing an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, he had incorporated the opinion of earlier editors on the questioned fertility of Palestine. Rather than a land of promise flowing with milk and honey, he described it as "barren, sterile and without charm, so that you may call it in the vernacular the 'promised land' only in the sense that it was promised, not that it had any promise." He thought that the baptism of infants was an "invention of the devil, an infernal falsity for the destruction of all Christianity." While children might not be without original sin, God would not consider sins as mortal if committed before the age of twenty. Indeed, Servetus thought that in imitation of Jesus baptism should be postponed until the thirtieth year. Early in his career he had felt it "a serious matter to kill men because they are in error on some question of scriptural interpretation, when we know that the very elect may be led astray."⁶³

THE TRIAL OF SERVETUS

At his trial Servetus was denied counsel on the theory that he could lie well enough without one, and Calvin was regularly present, directing the

⁶³Quoted in Bainton, *Hunted Heretic*, pp. 24, 62.

attack against the archheretic. In reporting on Servetus' treatment of Palestine, Calvin says that "the dirty dog wiped his snout and said in a word there was nothing wrong with it." Calvin thought that Servetus' comments upon the Bible were soiled with "futile trifles and impious ravings." When Servetus said that children could not commit a mortal sin, Calvin replied, "He is worthy that the little chickens, all sweet and innocent as he makes them, should dig out his eyes a hundred thousand times." In the course of the trial Servetus protested that "the lice eat me alive. My clothes are torn and I have nothing for a change, neither jacket nor shirt, but a bad one." He later protested in respect to the Council's order that he be given the opportunity to keep clean, "nothing has been done, and I am in a worse state than before. The cold greatly distresses me, because of my colic and rupture, causing other complaints which I should be ashamed to describe." At another point he protested that "a matter of doctrine should not be subject to criminal prosecution." Indeed, Servetus was not a citizen of Geneva. There was no law in Geneva requiring death for heresy. The Council had to use the Justinian Code to get at him. Calvin, he told the Council, was a "sorcerer . . . and should be not only condemned but exterminated and driven from this city and his goods should be adjudged to me in recompense for mine." When the trial was over and the documents drawn up, they were submitted to the Protestant Swiss cities for judgment. All without exception condemned Servetus. The reply of Basel was typical. Servetus "exceeds all the old heretics since he vomits their combined errors from one impudent and blasphemous mouth. . . . Like an excited snake he hisses curses and contumely against Calvin, the most sincere servant of God." For his views against the Trinity and infant baptism Servetus was condemned, on 27 October, 1553, "to be bound and taken to Champel, and there attached to a stake and burned with your book to ashes." When Servetus received this sentence, in the words of Calvin, "at first he was stunned and then sighed so as to be heard throughout all the room; then he moaned like a madman and had no more composure than a demoniac. At length his cries so increased that he continually beat his breast and bellowed in Spanish, 'Misericordia! Misericordia!'"⁶⁴

THE EXECUTION OF SERVETUS

At his execution "Servetus was led to a pile of wood still green. A crown of straw and leaves sprinkled with sulphur was placed upon his head. His body was attached to the stake with an iron chain. His book was tied to his arm. A stout rope was wound four or five times about his neck. He asked that it should not be further twisted. When the executioner brought the fire before his face he gave such a shriek that all the people were horror-stricken. As he lingered, some threw on

⁶⁴Bainton, pp. 185, 100, 204, 209.

wood. In a fearful wail he cried, 'O Jesus, Son of the Eternal God, have pity on me.' At the end of half an hour he died."⁶⁵

CALVIN'S VIEWS ON THE EXECUTION

About his part in Servetus' execution Calvin had no qualms. He wrote concerning the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy on the stoning of false prophets: "This law at first sight appears to be too severe. For merely having spoken should one be so punished? But if anybody slanders a mortal man he is punished, and shall we permit a blasphemer of the living God to go unscathed? If a prince is injured death appears to be insufficient for vengeance. And now when God, the sovereign emperor, is reviled by a word, is nothing to be done? God's glory and our salvation are so conjoined that a traitor to God is also an enemy of the human race and worse than a murderer because he brings poor souls to perdition. Some object that since the offense consists only in words, there is no need for such severity. But we muzzle dogs, and shall we leave men free to open their mouths as they please? Those who object are like dogs and swine. They murmur that they will go to America where nobody will bother them."⁶⁶ "God makes plain that the false prophet is to be stoned without mercy. We are to crush beneath our heel all affections of nature when his honor is involved. The father should not spare his child, nor the brother his brother, nor the husband his own wife, or the friend who is dearer to him than life."⁶⁷

THE LAST DAYS OF CALVIN

Servetus' execution smoothed the way for a complete victory of Calvin over his enemies. From 1554 until his death in 1564 he was master of the city. Not only did executions and exiles help to get rid of the refractory but there poured into Geneva refugees from other lands, especially France, who helped to transform the city into a company of saints. In his later years Calvin was able to reform the Academy in the city and found a Calvinistic university. He could write to his colleagues in the city, "I know I have suppressed three thousand tumults in Geneva . . . I have taught faithfully and God has given me grace to write. I have done it with the utmost fidelity and have not to my knowledge corrupted or twisted a single passage of the Scriptures." He died on 27 May, 1564, the theocrat of Geneva and the director of a revolutionary, international Calvinism.

THE CHARACTER OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

Richard Hooker (1554-1600), one of the leading lights of the Church of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, wrote a book (*The*

⁶⁵Bainton, p. 211. The account is from "an anonymous source hostile to Calvin."

⁶⁶Servetus spoke of longing to flee *ad novas insulas* (to the new islands).

⁶⁷R. H. Bainton, *Travail of Religious Liberty*, p. 70.

Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity) discussing among other things the relation of church and state. He uses other words to describe what we have called the tradition of theocracy. He points out that "it was not thought fit in the Jews' commonwealth that the exercise of supremacy ecclesiastical should be denied unto him to whom the exercise of chieftly civil did appertain; and therefore their Kings were invested with both." This is what we have called secular or royal theocracy, although there was a time after the Exile when the chief priest of the Jewish Temple directed the state. The situation then resembled what we have called ecclesiastical theocracy. Hooker puts it this way, "In those commonwealths where the bishop of Rome haveth sway, one society is both the church and the commonwealth, but the bishop of Rome doth divide the body into two diverse bodies, and doth not suffer the Church to depend upon the power of any civil prince or potentate." He then explains that England imitated the early Jewish theocracy. "Our estate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient people, which people was not part of them the commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God, but the selfsame people whole and entire were both under one chief Governor, on whose supreme authority they did all depend." In other words, "power in causes ecclesiastical is by the laws of this realm annexed unto the crown." The change from what Hooker describes as the situation under the bishop of Rome to what he describes as the situation under Elizabeth is what is meant by the reformation in England. It thus resembled the Lutheran reformation in subjecting the church to the state. After 1559 it had to contend with Calvinism introduced by refugees returning to England from the Continent. It was opposed to Calvinism, which separated the state from the church and made it dependent upon the church. There is another way in which the English reformation differed from the continental reformations. Lutheranism and Calvinism were bound by strict creeds which ruled out all possible dissention. Anglicanism, however, phrased its statements of belief so vaguely that each of the various shades of Protestant belief could find its view expressed in them. There was no English Luther or Calvin. Anglicanism originated with the English crown, by whom, with the aid of English reformers and people, it was carried out.

HENRY VIII

The Tudor King Henry VIII (1509-1547) began the series of changes that produced the Anglican Church. This dynasty emerged from the Wars of the Roses with the obligation to establish order and security, and it used absolutism to do this. It had inherited also the ancient policy of keeping the English church as free as possible from the interference of Rome, and subject to the crown. The particular situation which led Henry to transfer the headship of the English church from the pope to the English king was his need of an heir. Henry was married to Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of Charles V, the king of Spain and Holy Roman

emperor. It was in fact his own disease which caused her children to "be still-born or to die soon after birth," but at that time it was presumed that Catherine was responsible, and accordingly Henry sought from the pope an annulment of his marriage. This Catherine resisted with the support of the pope, who was at the moment at the mercy of Charles V. Under the circumstances Henry decided to get the annulment in his own way. He prepared the way with a series of antipapal steps that culminated in the appointment of Thomas Cranmer as the archbishop of Canterbury, a man with Lutheran leanings and favorable to the annulment of Henry's marriage. Then, in 1534, Parliament passed an Act of Succession which annulled Henry's marriage to Catherine and made Anne Boleyn queen and their daughter Elizabeth the heiress to the throne. In November of the same year Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which said that "the king's majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be and shall be reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England called Anglicana Ecclesia."⁶⁸ Subsequently Henry proclaimed in the Ten Articles the necessary beliefs of his subjects, which were essentially Catholic except for the omission of the doctrine of purgatory. The clergy are instructed ("Injunctions to the Clergy") to preach against "the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome," to cease praising images and relics, and to place in the choir of every church a Bible in Latin and English for everyone to read."⁶⁹ In 1536 and the three years following, all monasteries in England were dissolved and their large properties vested in the crown. This was the extent of Henry's changes. They involved essentially only a change in the headship of the church, from pope to king. The king was as willing to execute his chancellor, the Catholic and humanist Sir Thomas More, for refusing to take an oath to the king as head of the Church of England as he was to condemn others for Protestant views.

ENGLISH REFORMATION AFTER HENRY VIII

Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI (1547-1553), a child of nine, for whom first his uncle, the duke of Somerset, was regent, and after Somerset, the duke of Northumberland. Under Somerset the English church absorbed Lutheran views, and under Northumberland Zwinglian and Calvinistic ones. Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer and a new statement of belief in the Forty-Two Articles contained these innovations, and new Acts of Uniformity obliged the church to comply. Under Mary (1553-1558), the wife of Philip II of Spain, English Protestantism swung from left to right, and the English church was reunited to Rome at the cost of some three hundred Protestant martyrs, including Archbishop Cranmer. Mary's successor Elizabeth (1558-1603) was interested chiefly in a stabilization of the religious situation rather than in any special creedal definition. She turned back to Protestantism, however, aiming

⁶⁸Quoted in Bainton, *Reformation of the 16th Century*, p. 191.

⁶⁹R. Muir, *Short History of the British Commonwealth*, p. 257.

to establish a system avoiding all extremity. The Oath of Supremacy required "the renunciation of foreign jurisdiction, but not specifically of the Bishop of Rome." The queen preferred to be called the supreme governor rather than the supreme head of the Church of England. The Thirty-Nine Articles (1563), containing the doctrine of the new settlement, were not precise, and the spirit of compromise was carried on also in a new edition of the Book of Common Prayer. "The studied ambiguities of the Elizabethan settlement"⁷⁰ made it unnecessary to execute Englishmen on religious grounds for the first seventeen years of Elizabeth's reign. Afterward the Calvinistic Puritans became a problem. "I see many over bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of the blessed will as lawyers do with human testaments. The presumption is so great that I may not suffer it nor tolerate new fangleness."

THE ISSUE OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

Lutheranism and Calvinism were both international. Long before it was determined whether a Lutheran Church would be permitted to establish itself in Germany, Lutheranism had spread northward into the Scandinavian countries. It was not until 1555 that the religious question was settled in Germany. Before that time, after Luther's break with church and empire, the foundation of a German Lutheran Church rested less upon the truth of what Luther taught than upon the attitudes of the German princes and the emperor. The princes who became Lutheran were not influenced simply by religious motives. Support of the new Lutheranism might mean a notable increase in power if the new church were made a state church, and if princes were permitted to confiscate the property of the old church. These considerations increased the princes' zeal for the gospel. They were, as always, suspicious of any increase in the power of the emperor and would also oppose any attempt of a "Spanish" ruler to weaken their local independence.

Luther had hoped that his reform would be taken up by all the German states and thus be a truly national one: a religious unity compensating for the lack of a political unity. But it was clear by 1546 that this was not to be the case. Germany was to be split into a Lutheran north and a Catholic south. The ultimate choice would have to be territorial and not national.

THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG, 1555

It has been said that the ultimate success of the reformation in Germany rested upon the foreign policy of Charles V. As an international monarch, and the inheritor of an earlier Spanish reform, he looked upon himself as the patron of a vigorous and reformed European Catholicism. In his stand against the Lutheran heresy, however, he had to be careful not to

⁷⁰Bainton, *Reformation*, p. 209.

jeopardize the European position of his house by losing the support of the German Diet. The papacy resisted his efforts to bring about reform within the Church. His position in western Europe was contested by France, and in eastern Europe by the Turks. A policy of suppression of heresy in Germany was not, therefore, always a good policy. He appeared in Germany for the first time after 1521 at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, where the Lutherans were permitted to state their position in the *Confession of Augsburg*. But no agreement on the religious question could be worked out. Indeed, after this diet the Protestant princes and cities organized themselves into the Schmalkaldic League, ready to defend Lutheranism by force if necessary. The German reformation thus became a religious war, which was also a civil war between Catholic and Lutheran princes, and between Lutheran princes and Charles V. The military struggle did not come to a head until after Luther's death (1546). What threatened for a while to be an imperial victory and an extermination of Lutheranism then resulted, after a Lutheran offensive, in a settlement negotiated at the Diet of Augsburg in 1555 between the princes themselves and Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V. Here the question of the reform was settled on the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, that is to say, the prince or town council had the right to determine what was to be the religion of the principality or city. Those who were unwilling to abide by the prince's choice were to be given the opportunity to emigrate to a territory of their religious choice. The Peace of Augsburg recognized the right of Lutheranism to exist on this basis, but such a right was extended to no other reformed creed, neither Zwinglianism nor Calvinism. It also permitted land confiscated by Protestant princes up to 1552 to be retained. These and other provisions did not make for a satisfactory settlement; rather they contributed to the outbreak of a second religious war, the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), after which Calvinism also was tolerated in the empire.

LUTHERANISM IN SCANDINAVIA

In the Scandinavian countries, however, Catholicism disappeared before Lutheranism for political and economic, as well as religious, motives. A national Swedish Lutheran Church was in the making as early as 1527, and from Sweden Lutheranism spread into Finland. A national Danish Lutheran Church was founded in 1536, and from here Lutheranism spread into Norway and Iceland.

CALVINISM IN FRANCE: THE HUGUENOTS

Calvin led the French reform from Geneva. He welcomed persecuted refugees from France and sent teachers and preachers into France to serve the growing number of his followers. As an increasing Protestant minority, allied with the provincial nobility and townsmen in resisting centralizing and absolutistic policies of the Valois monarchy, the French

Calvinists, or Huguenots, presented a special problem. The French monarchy, having won its battle over feudalism by the end of the Middle Ages, was developing as a national state. By the same time it had acquired control over the church, which was called Gallican, that is, national. France was beginning to be a national secular theocracy, a divine-right national monarchy controlling church as well as state. She supported the conventional theory for the strong state of the sixteenth century: one king or prince, one faith, and one law (*un roi, une foi, une loi*). Calvinism was theocratic in nature, and Calvin supported resistance to a state which obstructed the spread of the Word of God. The settlement of the Lutheran question in Germany was upheld on the theory that more than one religion disrupts a state, an opinion to which the French monarchy held fast. Its attempts to destroy Calvinism resulted in continuous civil wars between Catholic and Protestant leagues and finally in the Catholic attempt to destroy Huguenot leaders in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (23 August, 1572). The monarchy under these circumstances became the victim of faction, and only the growth of a party determined to put it above religious disputes (the *Politiques*) put an end to the wars. When the Valois line came to an end in 1589 Henry IV, the first Bourbon king of France and a Huguenot, turned to Catholicism for the sake of a stable state. He abandoned the notion that France should have only one faith by tolerating the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes (1598). They were guaranteed private worship everywhere and public worship in some three thousand castles and towns. To guarantee their toleration they were given control over two hundred fortified towns.

CALVINISM IN THE LOW COUNTRIES AND SCOTLAND

Calvinism spread likewise into the Low Countries, where, together with Lutheranism and Anabaptism, it lodged in the hearts of the Dutch. In accordance with Calvin's teaching, here as well as in France, it stimulated revolt against a Catholic prince. Under the leadership of William of Orange, the revolt led to a Dutch proclamation of independence from Spain in 1581. Calvinism spread likewise into Scotland, where under the guidance of John Knox, a veritable firebrand, it succeeded in transforming the Scottish nation.

THE REFORMATION AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HUMANISM AND ASCETICISM

It remains to conclude this chapter by asking what were the effects of the Reformation upon the persistent conflict in western history between humanism and asceticism, and further upon the general development of the western tradition. The reformations of Luther and Calvin were a revival of the Christian ascetic point of view after its decline in the later Middle Ages. To these men life in an afterworld was still most important. Life upon this earth required submission to the discipline of an

omnipotent God in preparation for the life to come. Neither had any great respect for man except as a vehicle of God's will and power. Each made the individual a victim of God's inscrutable choice as to whether to save or damn. Neither was willing to trust in what the humanist called reason, except perhaps in their own reasons for their own interpretations of Scriptures. They talked more about faith than reason, and not faith in man but faith in God. Holding, as they did, such illimitable notions about God's omnipotence and omniscience they could not help but think in theocratic, authoritarian terms. Luther was willing to make the prince, assisted by the pastor, the divine agent in bringing man to his heavenly home. Calvin, on the contrary, preferred to give the pastor, assisted by the prince, this sacred role. Their theocracies were local or national rather than international. The Lutherans (and Anglicans) were perpetuating on a smaller territorial or national scale the tradition of secular theocracy, while the Calvinists were perpetuating on a smaller territorial or national scale the tradition of ecclesiastical theocracy.

THE COUNTER REFORMATION

The reaction of the major reformed churches upon the older medieval Church helped to strengthen the revived theocratic and ascetic outlook. This reaction of the Catholic (or Roman) Church (for after the Protestant revolt the universal medieval Church became more particular and local), is usually called the Counter Reformation, a further example of the inability and unwillingness of the older church to adapt to a new situation.

THE PAPACY AND THE REFORMATION

By certain modifications of its organization and dogma in the fifteenth century the Church might have warded off the Protestant Reformation. By similar concessions as late as 1541, the Church might have preserved the unity of western Christendom. The papacy, however, was unwilling to learn from either the conciliar movement or the Protestant Reformation. It knew very well that there were bishops who still resented its supremacy and thought it without divine foundation. It knew very well that there were powerful circles in the hierarchy who still thought in terms of the supremacy of a council. It knew also that the Catholic monarchs and princes of Europe were still bent on keeping the pope from interfering in the internal affairs of their churches. All these voices would come to the fore if another council were to be summoned to deal with the Protestant problem. Many people saw in the summoning of a general council the only chance to solve the religious diversity. Charles V wanted a council to make the concessions which would facilitate his relations with the Lutherans. Yet the papacy resisted until the last moment. To it the preservation of the peculiar character of the papacy was more important than a reform.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

At last, it summoned the representatives of the Church to Trent (Council of Trent, 1545-7, 1551-2, 1562-3). It was very careful to organize the Council so that nothing unwelcome or surprising could happen. The earlier councils had gotten out of hand because they voted as nations and not as individuals, thus minimizing the influence of the more numerous Italian bishops. At Trent, however, the decision was taken to vote by individuals. The papacy provided that a preponderance of Italian bishops was present at all sessions, whose expenses it paid or helped to pay, and whose favor it kept by gifts and promises of future appointments. Papal legates, moreover, presided over the sessions and permitted nothing to be decided until after full consultation with Rome. A French bishop complained that the Holy Spirit came to Trent in the papal mail bags. Moreover, representatives of the new Jesuit order, sworn to uphold the interests of the papacy, helped to steer discussions into the right channels. Thus the Council of Trent did nothing to conciliate Protestant opinion, and together with the intransigence of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin made inevitable the perpetration and exacerbation of the religious split in Europe. Thus both the organization and theology of the Church were preserved unchanged. Theocracy and asceticism prevailed as of old. Some few reforms were undertaken. Bishops were to reside in their dioceses, and they were to be permitted but one apiece. Seminaries were to be established in each diocese to combat the ignorance of the clergy. Care was to be taken so that no benefices went to children or laymen, and the financial abuses connected with indulgences were to be abolished. Otherwise the Reformation left the organization and dogma of the Church as the conciliar movement had left it. The papacy abandoned its enthusiastic support of Renaissance art, dressed properly its nude classical statuary, and returned to ancient instruments of repression to stem the Protestant advance.

THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

Pope Paul III (1534-1549), the pope who summoned Trent, was the last of the Renaissance and the first of the Counter Reformation popes. It was during his pontificate that the new Jesuit order (the Society of Jesus) was formed, the Inquisition revived and reorganized, and censorship of the press utilized to meet the Protestant danger. The Jesuits were but one of numerous monastic orders founded in the first half of the sixteenth century to promote a revival of mysticism or to help the Church meet its problems. Among these were the Capuchins, a branch of the Franciscans inspired by the original spirit of its founder. Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the Spanish founder of the Jesuits, illustrates the Spanish character of the Counter Reformation and its devotion to papal power. The task of the new order was to check the advance of the Reformation in Europe by a system of education that would capture

talented youth. It was also to arouse Catholic leaders by a circumspect use of the confessional, and by diplomatic and advisory services to royal and princely families. It was finally to recover the losses suffered in Europe by an extensive missionary campaign into lands but recently discovered and explored. All these things it did well. It was a potent force in stopping the progress of the Reformation in such areas as Cologne, Bavaria, Austria, and Poland. Its system of schools offered an education which combined the classics and science in a way to do no harm to the beliefs of the Church. In a Plan of Studies drawn up for the order in 1599, the professor of Sacred Scripture was to explain sacred literature "according to the true and literal meaning, in order to strengthen true faith in God and the establishment of sound morals." "If the canons of popes or Councils, especially General Councils, indicate the literal meaning of any passage, he shall defend this as literal; he shall not add any other literal meanings, unless led by unusually strong conjectures. If they set forth, according to custom, any meaning with a view to strengthening any dogma of faith, he shall teach this meaning as certain, whether literal or mystic." "He shall not differ in his interpretation from the holy Fathers." The professor of Scholastic Theology shall have as his duty "to join a well-founded subtlety in disputation with an orthodox faith and devotion in such a way that the former shall especially serve the latter." "All members of our order shall follow the teaching of St. Thomas in scholastic theology." The professor of Philosophy is to emphasize Aristotle, but "he shall not read without careful selection or bring into class interpreters of Aristotle who are out of harmony with the Christian religion and he will take care that his students do not become influenced by them."⁷¹ At Loyola's death the Jesuits were organized in twelve provinces in Europe with sixty-five residences for 1500 members, and they were also in Japan, Brazil, Abyssinia, and the Congo.

THE REVIVAL OF THE INQUISITION

The Inquisition of the sixteenth century was a revival and reorganization of an old medieval Inquisition that had declined in the fifteenth century.⁷² Ferdinand and Isabella had reformed it to deal with Christian Jews and Moors who had relapsed. When Protestantism spread to Spain, it dealt with Lutheran and other heretics. From Spain it was extended to such Spanish dependencies as the Belgian Netherlands, Sicily, Portugal, Mexico, and Peru. Pope Paul III set up a Roman inquisition in 1542, which was extended to Milan, Naples, and Venice. Their use of medieval persecution helped to terrorize Spaniards and Italians and keep Spain and Italy in the Church. North of the Alps it had no influence at this time and may here have hindered rather than helped the Catholic cause.⁷³

⁷¹Quoted in F. Le Van Baumer, *Main Currents of Western Thought*, pp. 213-214.

⁷²See Vol. I, pp. 611 f.

⁷³See A. J. Grant, *A History of Europe from 1494 to 1610*, p. 285.

THE "INDEX"

Censorship of the press aided the Inquisition in preserving southern Europe for Rome. To be sure, the Church and all states, whether Catholic or Protestant, practised censorship before the Reformation. The Council of Trent called for more careful censorship, and the Roman inquisition undertook to burn the works of the outstanding heretics as well as those of such men as Erasmus. An *Index of Prohibited Books* was published by Pope Paul IV in 1559. It was further elaborated by the *Tridentine Index* in 1564, the work of a commission of the Council of Trent. Pope Pius V appointed a Congregation of the Index to keep the lists of prohibited books up to date, and its work is still being done. It published also lists of books that needed only to be expurgated to be read. Many of Europe's leading writers, thinkers, and scientists soon got on, and continue to get on, the Index. Even the reports of papal commissions on how to reform the Church got on the Index. But without denying that they are instruments of ignorance it may be questioned how many intelligent and alert people are kept from reading good books by such efforts.

THE REFORMATION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN UNITY

Can it be said that the Protestant Reformation exercised no more positive influence upon a developing western tradition than to promote and intensify the spirit of the ascetic and the theocrat? From a short-run point of view, it is difficult to become excited over its beneficent and liberating effects. It split the religious unity of the West into two hostile groups, Catholic and Protestant, as in an earlier century (1054) the unity of the Christian world had been broken into an eastern Greek and western Latin church. It was unable to keep the Protestant world itself from breaking into hostile groups, initiating a disintegration of its outlook many leaders feared. It would be a bold man who today would venture to enumerate all the varieties of Protestant Christianity, and there can be little doubt that this progressive dissolution of the Christian world has minimized the influence of Christianity upon modern life. The ever-present spectacle of divisive bigotry in fanatical minds has not been edifying or convincing. Today the dissolution has gone so far that the leaders of Protestant Christianity realize the need to reunite if Christianity is to regain its lost influence upon the western world, not to mention a more positive influence upon the whole world. But the variety is so stubborn and bewildering that to unite the Protestant world seems almost too difficult or impossible. This is not to refer to the difficulty of uniting the Protestant and Catholic, and the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox worlds. It was not only that in some vague way the unity of western Christianity was rent asunder. It was the town, the territory, and the nation that was split into these angry and censorious groups. This mutual suspicion and animosity was carried into every detail of private and public life.

THE REFORMATION AND RELIGIOUS WAR

The Middle Ages had been used to the crusade or religious war—war against the pagan, against the infidel, and against the heretic. It had become accustomed to seeing these ostensibly religious wars coupled with motives not religious. In the sixteenth century religious wars were continued by the Church and secular Catholic powers in the form of Catholic against Protestant (to the Catholic, a heretic). They were extended to include Protestant against Protestant (Lutherans against Anabaptists, for example). Religious wars were also civil wars, destroying the vitality of nations with the death of citizens. Lutheranism was established in Germany after a civil religious war. Zwinglianism was established in Switzerland after a similar struggle. The expansion of Calvinism into France and Holland caused civil religious wars in these countries. These wars continued into the seventeenth century.⁷⁴ To many the supposed necessity of slaughtering each other in the name of Christian truth was a repudiation of Christianity.

THE REFORMATION AND TOLERANCE

The Reformation began as a rejection of the authority of the medieval Church. This authority had been based upon Scriptures and what the Church called tradition, meaning the interpretation of the Fathers of the Church, the councils, and the popes themselves. Protestantism rejected the tradition of the Church. Authority rested upon the text of the sacred Scriptures, the very literal words of the Old and New Testament. Such a limitation of authority is called bibliolatry, the worship of a book, the Bible. The Old and New Testaments are not always clear in their meaning. They need to be explained. Luther and Calvin rejected the interpretation of Scriptures by the medieval Church and substituted their own interpretations; were willing to use instruments of oppression to guarantee the authority of their own. This a long succession of Protestant leaders has been willing to do. Theirs is a form of authoritarianism not much different from the old. The authority of one Christian interpretation is succeeded by the authority of another; the dogma of one institution is succeeded by the dogma of an individual supported by another institution.

THE REFORMATION, THE STATE, AND THE ARTS

This estimate of the Reformation is not enhanced by considering the support it gave to the power of the absolute state, when it submitted to political authority in religious affairs and permitted the state to confiscate the property of the older church. The unappreciative and bigoted attitude of Calvinism and others of the sects toward the creative literary, musical, and artistic work of the Renaissance is also discouraging. From

⁷⁴See pp. 123 f.

this short-run point of view, therefore, we should have to say that the influence of the Reformation upon the development of the western tradition was unfortunate. It created the limited outlook of the Protestant ascetic and theocrat, who destroyed in a bloody fashion the Christian unity of the West and made it unlikelier than ever that the western world would ever become really Christian.

THE REFORMATION AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM

Obviously, however, this is a circumscribed interpretation. From a long rather than a short point of view, the Reformation, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, and in spite of the very intentions of its leaders, was in many respects a positive rather than negative influence upon the West. This positive influence may be seen in the ways in which Protestantism reinforced the tradition of Christian humanism.⁷⁵ When the medieval Church took a less rigid view of man's predestination than Augustine or his Protestant imitators, when it at least preferred to work out a rational interpretation of its dogma (Saint Thomas Aquinas) than to leave this altogether to the sporadic intuition of the mystic, it was supporting this tradition. When the Church was willing to associate itself with the artistic, literary and even philosophic tradition of antiquity in so far as this could be done to support the Christian view, it was strengthening this tradition. Its architecture, literature, learning, and ritual bear witness also to this larger outlook. Erasmus we have called the best example of a Christian humanist of the Renaissance. He preferred an undogmatic Christianity emphasizing the "philosophy of Christ" in the Sermon on the Mount. With this philosophy he was quite willing to associate the loftiest ethical thought of antiquity.

THE REFORMATION AND REASON

Protestantism did not wipe out this tradition. Beyond Lutheranism and Calvinism it was not necessarily deterministic (predestinarian). In the case of Lutheranism and Calvinism, moreover, man was called upon to act as if his fate had *not* been determined by God, or, if it had, to assume that God had made the correct choice and to act as if saved. Protestantism, no less than Catholicism, required reason to build up new theologies. Theologies, if they are good, are essentially logical structures. They all require corollaries to be accepted by faith. Deductions from these corollaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, require the use of reason. Luther might scream about reason being the "devil's bride," and Calvin argue that Scriptures need no rational support; but to make predestination and justification by faith compatible, Luther had to reason. Anyone who reads Calvin's *Institutes* knows what a monumental piece of logic it is, and how similar its reasonings are to those of Catholic theologians.

⁷⁵See Vol. I, pp. 790 f.

Even if it could be maintained that Luther and Calvin were irrationalists, the long-term implications of the Protestant movement required that man think and choose in religious matters as he had not been obliged to think and choose for ages. After all, in the Middle Ages there was by and large no choice. The Reformation proliferated Protestant outlooks, all pretending to be an authoritative rendering of Scripture. Who was right, the Church or Luther, or Luther or Calvin? To answer that question the individual himself had to go to the Scriptures and determine for himself what they meant, and which among the many interpretations that were being made was the correct or better one. This could not be done without the use of reason. In spite of all their dogmatism, Luther and Calvin required that the individual come to his own conclusion, as they themselves had come to their own conclusions. Indeed, the Reformation ultimately obliged men to make a choice between a religious and a nonreligious answer to the mystery of existence. For it set up competing theologies, all claiming to be the authoritative meaning of the revealed Word of God. As long as it was assumed that God's truth had only one meaning, this was a little absurd. And when, to vindicate these competing, absolute Christian theologies, men resorted to mutual slaughter, there were inevitably men who felt obliged to reject the religious and go to a secular philosophy or to the new science to work out an interpretation of life. All of this demanded more than the normal amount of rational activity on the part of western man. In this sense the Reformation, in spite of itself, promoted rational discussion and rational choice, and thus promoted the rational aspects of humanism.

THE REFORMATION AND SCEPTICISM AND TOLERANCE

In the long run it promoted also scepticism and tolerance, both of which belonged to the humanistic outlook of antiquity.⁷⁶ When many men claim to have the one and only answer it cannot be surprising that other men should question the absolute validity of any particular answer. This is ultimately to suggest that there is no system of absolute, revealed truth, and to promote scepticism of any attempt to say that there is. Nobody in the sixteenth century acted as if he thought anyone had an absolute answer but himself. When he learned that he could not eradicate by force or other means those who did not agree, and when these persecutions threatened to ruin western civilization, it occurred to many men that it was better to tolerate divergent opinions than for one to try to exterminate the other. Thus it may be said that the Reformation forced upon western Europe the necessity to be tolerant. This recognition, however, was preceded by a controversy over the question of tolerance which led to the assertion on the part of some that, contrary to what had hitherto been the opinion and practice, Christianity

⁷⁶See Vol. I, pp. 91 ff.

was incompatible with inquisitions, crusades, and persecutions. The only good Christian was a tolerant one, preferring persuasion to force. Thus the Reformation was responsible for a Christian theory of toleration before Europe, after practical experience with persecution and religious wars, had decided upon toleration. Scepticism and tolerance in the search for a point of view are ingredients of intellectual liberty or freedom. The Reformation is thus related to the development of these precious ingredients in western life.

THE EARLY THEORY OF TOLERANCE: CASTELLIO

The matter is so important that it needs further detail. Calvin, Zwingli, and Luther were willing, like the medieval Church, to use force against heretics: against Anabaptists, for example, or men like Servetus. Calvin's burning of Servetus let loose controversy. He and his successor Beza thought it blasphemous to say that men should be permitted to go to hell in their own way. This support of the methods of the Inquisition was attacked by three men, Sebastian Castellio, David Joris, and Bernardino Ochino, who were thus the first developers of the western theory of tolerance⁷⁷ carried to completion by Milton and Locke.⁷⁸ Castellio was a Frenchman who directed the Genevan Academy until he dared to disagree with Calvin's interpretation of Scripture. He then went to Basel to teach Greek in its university and, after the burning of Servetus, published a book called *Concerning Heretics: Whether They Are to Be Persecuted*. When answered by Calvin and Beza, he continued the attack in other works and wrote finally a treatise on the *Art of Doubting*. In the *Concerning Heretics* he says, "because of us [the Gospel] is made a reproach unto the heathen, for when they see us attacking one another with the fury of beasts, and the weak oppressed by the strong, these heathen feel horror and detestation for the Gospel, as if it made men such, and they abominate even Christ himself, as if he commanded men to do such things. We rather degenerate into Turks and Jews than convert them into Christians. Who would wish to be a Christian when he saw that those who confessed the name of Christ were destroyed by Christians themselves with fire, water, and the sword without mercy and more cruelly treated than brigands and murderers? Who would not think Christ a Moloch, or some such God, if he wished that men should be immolated to him and burned alive? Who would wish to serve Christ on condition that a difference of opinion on a controversial point with those in authority would be punished by burning alive at the command of Christ . . . even though from the midst of the flames he should call with a loud voice upon Christ, and should cry out that he believed in Him? Imagine Christ, the judge of all, present. Imagine Him pronouncing the sentence and applying the torch. Who would not hold

⁷⁷See Bainton, *The Travail of Religious Liberty*, for chapters on these men.

⁷⁸See pp. 66 ff., 172 ff.

Christ for a Satan? What more could Satan do than burn those who call upon the name of Christ?"⁷⁹ "Religion resides not in the body but in the heart, which cannot be reached by the sword of kings and princes. The Church can no more be constructed by persecution and violence than a wall can be built by cannon blasts. Therefore, to kill a man is not to defend a doctrine. It is simply to kill a man."

Reason to him is not the devil's bride; "she is, so to speak, the Daughter of God." "Reason is a kind of superior and eternal word of truth, always speaking." In the *Art of Doubting* he says, "There are, I know, persons who insist that we should believe even against reason. It is, however, the worst of all errors, and it is laid upon me to fight it. I may not be able to exterminate the monster, but I hope to give it such a blow that it will know it has been hit. Let no one think that he is doing wrong in using his mental faculties. It is our proper way of arriving at the truth."⁸⁰ In the *Concerning Heretics* he appeals to the Christ which the reformers found anew in Scriptures. "O Creator and King of the World, dost thou see these things [that is, persecution]? Art thou become so changed, so cruel, so contrary to thyself? When thou wast on earth none was more mild, more clement, more patient of injury. As a sheep before the shearer thou wast dumb. When scourged, spat upon, mocked, crowned with thorns and crucified shamefully among thieves, thou didst pray for them who did Thee this wrong. Art thou now so changed? I beg thee in the name of thy Father, dost thou now command that those who do not understand thy precepts as the mighty demand be drowned in water, cut with lashes to the entrails, sprinkled with salt, dismembered by the sword, burned at a slow fire, and otherwise tortured in every manner and as long as possible? Dost thou, O Christ, command and approve of these things? Are they Thy vicars who make these sacrifices? Art Thou present when they summon Thee, and dost Thou eat human flesh? If Thou, Christ, dost these things or if Thou commandest that they be done, what hast Thou left for the devil . . . ? O blasphemies and shameful audacity of men, who care to attribute to Christ that which they do by the command and at the instigation of Satan!"⁸¹

DAVID JORIS

David Joris was a Dutch Anabaptist whom persecution drove to Basel in 1543. Like many radical Protestants of his day, he interpreted Christianity not through a book or a creed but through the illumination given by the Holy Spirit. "The faith of Jesus Christ is in no word spoken with the tongue, but in the eternal, true, pure and divine work and spiritual

⁷⁹Trans. R. H. Bainton, in *Records of Civilization* (Columbia University Press), pp. 133-134.

⁸⁰Quoted in R. M. Jones's chapter on Castellio in *Spiritual Reformers*, p. 98.

⁸¹Trans. Bainton, in *Records of Civilization*, p. 134.

nature of God against all flesh and is intelligible to him who has received it." "Faith does not consist in any special articles or spoken words, but in the true, eternal living God and his Christ!" The true church of God does not persecute but has suffered persecution. The subjects of religious disputes are uncertain and in any case unimportant. "What makes men so bitter against one another? The cause is a false heart and a proud spirit. No one ought to take offense at another, despise and judge, let alone persecute and kill in the name of Christ." "He who has the most love, grace, peace, and mercy has the best faith." When Servetus was burnt, Joris protested in a Dutch work.

BERNARDINO OCHINO

Bernardino Ochino, a Sienese, became the head of the Capuchins before turning to Protestantism with the hope that a reconciliation might be made between Rome and Luther. After leaving Italy he preached to Italian refugees in Geneva, knew Castellio in Basel, spent some time in Edward VI's England, and upon Mary's accession returned to the Continent. He arrived in Geneva on the day of Servetus' execution and protested it there. In numerous writings he ridiculed the dissension among the Protestants and argued for religious liberty. From the dissensions of the Protestants he argued that "they do not have the true gospel because Paul said that God is not a God of division but of peace. These dissensions show that they are anti-Christian and diabolical, for Christ prayed that his disciples might be one." He thought that no one should be punished for a belief in Christian nonessentials; and what these were it was up to the individual to decide. Driven from city to city as a heretic, he finally took refuge with an Anabaptist in Moravia and was prevented by death from continuing to Hungary, where "under the suzerainty of the Turks religious liberty prevailed among Christians."⁸²

THE REFORMATION AND THE CLASSICS, ART, AND TYRANNY

In other respects also Protestantism may be said to have strengthened the tradition of Christian humanism in the West. It too needed the disciplines of classical languages and literature in order to be scholarly in its own faith. Anglicanism and Lutheranism, if not Calvinism, were quite ready to use the arts in the Christian service. If Protestantism in some of its forms supported the absolute prince, it, together with Catholicism, was quite willing to sanction rebellion against, and even assassination of, a tyrant who denied and prohibited what each regarded as the Word of God.⁸³ Luther and Calvin thought there were constitutional limitations to tyranny. Anglicanism was instituted by absolute kings together with their parliaments.

⁸²R. H. Bainton, *Travail of Religious Liberty*, p. 176.

⁸³See pp. 113 f.

In spite of its pronouncements, and in spite of its denial of the relationship of religion to social and economic reform, Protestant asceticism was more worldly than its predecessor. It is noteworthy that many of the new monastic orders of the Catholic Church were closely related to the solution of social problems. Protestantism abandoned the celibacy of the clergy and the institution of the monastery—important characteristics of medieval asceticism. It thus abandoned that extremity of the older view that opposed the flesh to the spirit and held up virginity as superior to marriage, even though making a sacrament of the latter. This did not mean that Protestantism abandoned the ascetic ideal. It adhered to what has been called an earthly rather than an otherworldly asceticism. For Luther, the former monk, the home replaced the monastery. Within the family, at least, Christianity could be made vital.⁸⁴

The Reformation was, after all, a liberating movement. It liberated a large part of Europe from the spiritual monopoly of the medieval Church and, in so doing, set the example for others to free themselves from similar monopolies. To be sure, it broke the unity of Christian Europe; but since that unity could not be had in terms of Erasmian Christianity but in those of the authoritarian medieval Church, it was inevitable and better that that unity be broken. It is possible to make a fetish of unity. No unity is worth the permanent sacrifice of human freedoms. The destruction of the monopoly of the theocratic medieval Church had ultimately to rest upon freedom to interpret the Scriptures as the individual saw fit. This original emphasis strengthened the tradition of Christian individualism and equality. The introduction into the West of competitive Christianities has kept each more efficient. It has prevented the Christian churches from declining again to the point where the Church was at the end of the Middle Ages. Religious divisions have forced communities to tolerate each other's views, and have thus been an experience in democratic living. Religious warfare finally demonstrated its own futility with its horrors and may thus have been a step in the demonstration of the futility of all warfare which aims to impose a point of view. The Reformation was essentially a religious movement; it substituted Protestant systems of salvation for the Catholic one. It is impossible for the historian to point out whether these new systems have worked better in serving the purposes of religion. But they, as well as Catholicism, have produced heroic figures who have honored their God and have been able recently to resist the new tyrannies of the twentieth century. Whatever else it may have been, the Reformation eventually became the means of deepening and widening the stream of Christian humanism. It was necessary if Christianity was to have another chance of making the western world really Christian.

⁸⁴For the relation of Protestantism to the development of capitalism, see pp. 202 ff.

SCIENCE IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Humanism and Early Modern Science

THE IMPORTANCE OF SCIENCE. A distinguished mathematician and philosopher has referred to the beginnings of modern science in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as "the quiet commencement of the most intimate change which the human race had yet encountered." He says further that "since a babe was born in a manger, it may be doubted whether so great a thing has happened with so little stir."¹ This suggests that in the development of the West science has been as important as Christianity.

DEFINITION OF SCIENCE

In defining science, Professor Whitehead says that it is "a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts."² Former President Conant of Harvard, a chemist, has defined it as "a speculative enterprise . . . an interconnected series of concepts and conceptual schemes that have developed as a result of experimentation and observation and are fruitful of further experimentation and observation."³ This chapter asks whether the history of early

¹A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New American Library), p. 2.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³J. B. Conant, *Science and Common Sense*, p. 25.

modern science can be related to the conflict between humanism and asceticism.⁴

SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM

In a book called *Science and the Moral Life*, an American philosopher has tried to give meaning to the term "scientific humanism" as a contemporary creed. This meaning may be considered a point of departure for the use of the term as a historical movement. Professor Max Otto says that scientific humanism is a "form of naturalism." By naturalism he means that men and women are not to be considered as "isolated or insulated creatures in nature." They are a part of "the great complexity of things, living and non-living, which is commonly spoken of as the world." If the scientific method can be successfully used to get at the truth of the way the natural world works, it can likewise be used to study the human being. The scientific humanist, Professor Otto says, is "wholeheartedly committed to the use of the scientific method" in the treatment of "moral and social problems of every kind."⁵

In the mind of this professor devotion to the scientific method does not mean detachment from the world. The scientific humanist must share in the "quest of a good life in a good world." What must be authoritative for him are (1) "man's unremitting search for a livable life" and (2) "the stubborn conditioning facts of human nature and the natural and social environment." In seeking to promote this quest he does not give "to religion final authority in the realm of value and to science final authority in the realm of fact." "A good life in a good world" depends upon "the best kind of objective thinking whether the question is one of fact or of value." Scientific humanism must seek to unite the scientific and the religious spirit in a common enterprise. It does "not pretend that every experience of life can be forced into a test tube or that every interest can be weighed on a scales." There is "something in everything [that] always escapes the technique of measurement."⁶

Professor Otto suggests, therefore, that the scientific humanist relies as far as possible upon the scientific method for a solution of all problems. He must be interested in problems concerning the promotion of the good life in this world. His quest for truth must be supported by the desire for reform, and he cannot hope that the scientific method will explain all problems of the human mind and heart. There are mysterious incomensurables.

FRANCIS BACON

Professor Otto's point of view reflects the contemporary phase of the growth of science, a phase following the unsuccessful attempt of scientific

⁴See George Sarton, *Science and the New Humanism*.

⁵(New American Library), p. 153.

⁶Otto, pp. 167, 169.

materialism alone to bring about an early earthly Utopia, and protesting when science seems to make man only a hopeless victim of scientific law, the mechanical automaton tending the machine, and the possible target for atomic weapons. What was the nature of scientific humanism when the new methods of science began to fascinate the western mind? It can be sought in the works of the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626), one of the first to be enthusiastic about the new scientific method. As a young man, Bacon dreamed of a complete reorganization of all learning in accordance with scientific principles. In his *New Organon* (*Novum Organum*, 1620) he outlined the principles of the new inductive method that were intended to supplant the principles of the outworn logic (deductive) of Aristotle (the "old" *Organon*). Bacon was interested in the promotion of "natural philosophy," that is, natural science, which he does not want corrupted by "superstition and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion." "Man," he says, "being the servant and interpreter of nature, can do and understand so much and so much only as he has observed in fact or in thought of the course of nature. Beyond this he neither knows anything nor can do anything." This "beyond," the world of the "divine mysteries," is to be accepted on faith. The realms of natural philosophy and divine mystery, that is, of science and religion, are to be kept separate, for in "mixtures of theology with philosophy only the received doctrines of philosophy are included, while new ones, albeit changes for the better are all but expelled and exterminated."⁷

BACON, THE DEFENDER OF THE NEW SCIENCE AGAINST ARISTOTLE

Bacon, like many a classical humanist, had little patience with the method of scholastic, Aristotelian logic. It was Aristotle "who corrupted natural philosophy by his logic, fashioning the world out of categories." "The logic now in use," he thought, "serves rather to fix and give stability to the errors which have their foundation in commonly received notions than to help the search after truth. So it does more harm than good." "The syllogism consists of propositions, propositions consist of words, words are symbols of notions. Therefore if the notions themselves (which is the root of the matter) are confused and overhastily abstracted from the facts, there can be no firmness in the superstructure. Our only hope therefore lies in a true induction." He rejected the authority not only of Aristotle and the scholastic logicians but of all ancient writers, not because of their "wits or faculties," but because of their "ways and methods." The Greeks, he thought, "have that which is characteristic of boys; they are prompt to prattle, but cannot generate; for their wisdom abounds in words but is barren of works." They had no history and no knowledge of the world, "which is the worst thing that can be, especially for those who rest all on experience. They had, that is, no history, worthy

⁷The quotations of Bacon's *Novum Organum* are from *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, ed. E. A. Burtt (The Modern Library), pp. 24-123.

CHRONOLOGY — Science in the 16th and 17th Centuries

	Mathematicians and Physical Scientists	Biological Scientists	Scientific Philosophers and Organizations
1450	Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)	Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519)	
1500	Copernicus (1473–1543) Paracelsus (1493–1541) William Gilbert (1540–1603) Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) Simon Stevin (1548–1620) John Napier (1550–1617) Galileo (1564–1642) Johannes Kepler (1571–1630)	Michael Servetus (1511–1553) Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564)	Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) Francis Bacon (1561–1626)
1600	Gérard Desargues (1593–1662) René Descartes (1596–1650) Pierre Fermat (1601–1665) Otto von Guericke (1602–1686) Torricelli (1608–1647) Robert Boyle (1622–1691) Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) Christian Huygens (1629–1695) Isaac Newton (1642–1727) Leibnitz (1646–1716)	William Harvey (1578–1657) John Ray (1627?–1705) Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723)	Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648) Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) John Locke (1632–1704) Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) Florentine Academy of Ex- periment (1657–1667) Royal Society (1662) Académie des Sciences (1666)
1700		Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729–1799)	Berlin Academy (1700) Russian Academy (1724)

to be called history, that went back a thousand years; but only fables and rumors of antiquity. Of the regions and districts of the world they knew but a small portion." They knew nothing of the "provinces of the New World, even by hearsay or any well-founded rumor."⁸

Bacon thus concluded that men had retarded their progress in the sciences by an enchanting reverence for antiquity. He not only attacked the reverence for the ancient world that had been so marked a characteristic of the Renaissance and Reformation. He turned reverence for antiquity into an exaltation of the present. For antiquity means age and the Greeks were the youth of the race. The present was the product of time, the antiquity to be admired. "For the old age of the world is to be accounted the true antiquity and this is the attribute of our own times, not of that earlier age of the world in which the ancients lived. . . . From our age, if it but knew its own strength and chose to essay and exert it, much more might fairly be expected than from the ancient times, inasmuch as it is a more advanced age of the world, and stored and stocked with infinite experiments and observations. . . . For rightly is truth called the daughter of time, not of authority." Bacon thus begins the struggle which in literature is to be carried on at the close of his century in the battle between Ancients and Moderns.⁹

BACON AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF INDUCTION

Bacon, having no trust in medieval scholastic or ancient classical authority, would use induction in establishing new truth. The distinction between the old deductive and new inductive methods he makes clear in the *New Organon*. "There are," he says, "and can be only two ways of searching into and discovering truth. The one flies from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms, and from these principles, the truth of which it takes for settled and immovable, proceeds to judgment and to the discovery of middle axioms [deductive]. And in this way is now in fashion. The other [inductive] derives axioms from the senses and particulars, rising by a gradual and unbroken ascent, so that it arrives at the most general axioms last of all. This is the true way, but as yet untried." In another place he says that "What the sciences stand in need of is a form of induction which shall analyze experience and take it to pieces, and by a due process of exclusion and rejection lead to an inevitable conclusion." Bacon, had, however, no great trust in the senses. "It is a great error to assert that the sense is the measure of things." He wanted "to provide help for the sense, substitutes to supply its failures, rectifications to correct its errors; and this [he endeavored] to accomplish not so much by instruments as by experiments." Again he speaks of "commencing . . . with experience duly ordered and digested . . . and from it educing axioms, and from established axioms again new experi-

⁸Ed. E. A. Burtt, pp. 43, 24, 30.

⁹See pp. 58 f.

ments." "My directions for the interpretation of nature embrace two generic divisions: the one how to educe and form axioms from experience; the other how to deduce and derive new experiments from axioms."¹⁰ Both induction and deduction are necessary to the scientific method.

SCIENCE OF USE TO MAN

The new truth is to be sought by the new method not simply for the sake of truth alone but because it will give man control over nature and enable him to harness nature for his own good: help him to enrich and dignify his existence. Knowledge is to be sought not "for pleasure of the mind, or for contention, or for superiority to others, or for profit, or fame, or power, or any of these inferior things, but for the benefit and use of life." The trouble with Greek science, Bacon unjustly remarks, was that from it there cannot "be adduced a single experiment which tends to relieve and benefit the condition of man." "My purpose . . . is to try whether I cannot in very fact lay more firmly the foundations and extend more widely the limits, of the power and greatness of man." "The benefits of discoveries may extend to the whole race of man." It is a wonderful human ambition "if a man endeavor to establish and extend the power and dominion of the human race itself over the universe. . . . Now the empire of man over things depends wholly on the arts and science. For we cannot command nature except by obeying her." He wants therefore to render "the human understanding a match for things and nature."¹¹

The scientific humanism of Francis Bacon would, by relying upon new inductive and experimental methods, free man's mind from the shackles of ancient and medieval authority. It would do this in order to discover new truths about nature that would make man its master and enable him to improve his condition upon earth. This aim is certainly fundamental in Professor Otto's discussion of scientific humanism.

THE REVIVAL OF ANCIENT SCIENCE DURING THE RENAISSANCE

The early growth of science strengthened the humanistic tradition in other ways. The Renaissance, by reviving a knowledge of antiquity, revealed its humanistic outlook. It has been shown earlier how Greek mathematics, medicine, and science were related to the tradition of classical humanism.¹² The Renaissance was not limited to the revival of the literature, art, and philosophy of antiquity. It restored its mathematics, medicine, and science as well. To be sure, some of this learning had already come to the West in Latin translations from the Arabic,¹³ but at this time the original Greek manuscripts were recovered. While the authority of

¹⁰Ed. E. A. Burtt, p. 94.

¹¹Ibid., p. 113.

¹²See Vol. I, pp. 153 ff.

¹³See Vol. I, pp. 650 ff.

this learning often became, as Bacon thought, an obstacle to the pursuit of truth, Greek mathematics, medicine, and science were a stimulus as well. They had to be assimilated before further advance could be made. When the early humanists and scientists complained about the folly of trusting the ancients, they did not always understand how much they owed to them.

THE WITCH HUNT

It is well to remember that the early age of science was also an age of religious passion. Because of the witchcraft mania a "century of genius" (seventeenth) has been also described as "the darkest century of superstition."¹⁴ What a large, humane task the new science had to perform is revealed by this awful story of the attempt to get rid of the supposed human devotees of the devil and his minions, these witches and sorcerers, whom fanatical, perverted, and fearful minds thought to be thwarting the will of God. It may be mentioned at this point as a reminder of the untamed passions and cruelty and the unrelieved ignorance and superstition that underlie great ages of intellectual advance.

Similar phenomena in contemporary life make it clear that periods of great tensivity and strain such as the Reformation and Counter Reformation lead to irrational attempts to find the scapegoat. The Reformation increased the authority of the literal word of a Bible that declared that a witch should not be permitted to live.¹⁵ It brought decade upon decade of religious war, culminating in the unbelievable destruction of the Thirty Years' War in Germany. In Germany the witch mania reached its height.

The courts of the Roman and Spanish inquisitions, long experienced in ferreting out heresy and in detecting imaginary crimes of diseased minds, acted finally as a restraint upon the witch hunt in Italy and Spain. Besides Germany, the panic was at its worst in France, England, and Scandinavia. In these areas torture, a long-sanctioned method of both ecclesiastical and secular courts, was used to extort from innocent men, women, and children confessions of their guilt. Professional witch-hunters such as the Englishman Matthew Hopkins stirred up the madness. Scottish preachers put boxes in their churches to hold the accusations of those who were afraid to be identified publicly. "Torture was used, not only to gain confessions, but to procure the names of the confederates of the witches and their fellow participants in the Sabbath dances."¹⁶ The character of the panic may be illustrated by some German details.

In the villages belonging to the monastery of St. Maximin of Trier 306 persons were executed for witchcraft during the years 1587-1593. In the bishopric of Würzburg there were nine hundred "innocent victims during

¹⁴Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*, I, 425. I am relying chiefly on this work in the following paragraphs.

¹⁵See pp. 143 ff.

¹⁶Smith, I, 437.

the years 1683–89. Children of three and four confessed sexual intercourse with devils; boys and girls of nine or ten years were burnt alive.” At Bamberg “one bishop put to death no less than six hundred, among them some girls of eight, nine, and ten years old.” In the German town of Nordlingen four people were burned on 15 January, 1591. One of these had been on the rack twenty-two times, fourteen times without having had a single confession extorted from her. During the fifteenth torture she broke down and answered yes to all questions put to her. Another had been accused of having been seen by some women at the witches’ Sabbath dance. She was tortured by crushing her thumbs and flattening down her shin bones. At her fourth examination she was drawn up and down on the strappado until she confessed that she had joined the devil and received from him a salve with which she had killed many people. She wrote to her husband, “I was obliged to say it. They tortured me so dreadfully, but I am as innocent as God in heaven. If I knew the least little trifle about such things I should wish that God would shut me out of heaven. Oh, thou my beloved treasure, how my heart is breaking. Oh, woe for my poor orphans! Oh, treasure of your innocent Magdelen, they are taking me from you by violence. My God, how can I bear it?”¹⁷ After further torture on the rack to get her to name other persons attending the witches’ Sabbath, she was burned with the two that she named.

On another occasion at Nordlingen Maria Hollin, the landlady of the Crown Inn, was accused of having been seen at witch dances. She was put in prison in October, 1593, and “subjected to no less than 56 bouts of most agonizing torturings.” At the end of the fourth she said, “Would to God—may He forgive me for such talk—that I was a witch, so that I might have something to confess.” Further torture revealed that “cats had come into her room and eaten eggs and other articles of food. She had given them fly-powder. Whether they had died of it she did not know, but they had not come back any more.” After the ninth examination she confessed that the devil had come to her in the guise of a handsome young man with goat’s feet. “She couldn’t resist signing a compact with him.” She withdrew this confession, however, saying she had only heard these things from others. After the fifty-sixth torture she was kept in prison for six months and then released for lack of further evidence, after being obliged to sign a statement to the effect that the proceedings against her had been perfectly just.¹⁸

Preserved Smith states that “Protestant lands contributed nearer one half than one quarter or one third [previously estimated] of the total number of victims. I should estimate the number of persons executed as witches in Great Britain as not more than one thousand all told. Doubt-

¹⁷Smith, I, 442. Smith gives further statistics here.

¹⁸This material is from J. Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, XVI, 481–483. Cf. Arthur Miller’s play *The Crucible* for an account of the panic at Salem; also Aldous Huxley’s *The Devils of Loudun*.

less the numbers were much larger in France, and still larger in Germany; nevertheless, that in the latter country as many as 100,000 suffered death on this charge [a previous estimate] is hard to believe. But the truth is dreadful enough. When we consider the fantastic nature of the imputed crime, the utterly base and depraved nature of the mythology involved, the elements of hysteria and mob panic, the unimaginable tortures inflicted and endured, and the large numbers of victims sacrificed, we must admit that no plague so ghastly as the witch hunt has ever afflicted our race." (p. 450)

MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE

To turn now from the irrationality of witchcraft to the rationality of mathematics and science is a relief. "The science of pure mathematics, in its modern developments," it has been suggested, "may claim with the possible exception of music to be the most original creation of the human spirit."¹⁹ If so, it could not be omitted from the history of human accomplishment. Mathematics is also the key to science, whose ideal has long been the reduction of material phenomena to equations, or at least to quantitative measurement.

In imitation philosophers began to geometrize, and writers to demand that the clarity of mathematics be made a universal standard. "For so many years now," says one of them, "I have been treading the broad, well-lit thoroughfares of geometry, that it pains me to think of the dark and narrow alley-ways of religion. . . . I must insist, everywhere and always, that a thing should be evident or at least possible."²⁰

PERSPECTIVE AND PROJECTIVE GEOMETRY

Before 1600 western Europe was schooled in Greek and Arabic mathematics: a Greek mathematics which had produced Euclid's geometry, and an Arabic mathematics which had taken over Hindu (Arabic) numerals and gone beyond arithmetic to the abstraction of algebra by substituting letters for numbers. The turn to realistic painting during the Renaissance led artists to the mathematics of foreshortening and perspective. They wrote treatises on the geometry of painting to teach how to reproduce the three-dimensional quality of nature. Leonardo began such a treatise with the remark, "Let no one who is not a mathematician read my works."²¹ In his writings Dürer argued that perspective should be drawn carefully in accordance with mathematical principles. This early concern of western painting with the relationship of mathematical abstraction to reality has led in our own day to an abstract painting unconcerned with reality. In the seventeenth century attention to perspective led to a new

¹⁹Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, p. 20.

²⁰Quoted in Paul Hazard, *The European Mind*, p. 27.

²¹M. Kline, *Mathematics in Western Culture*, p. 133. "Painting and Perspective" should interest students.

volumes bounded by surfaces, and numerous other quantities not otherwise obtainable."²⁴

NOTATION AND METHODS OF CALCULATION

While these new fields were being added to mathematics, improvements were made in notation and methods of calculation. Such conveniences as the symbols $<$ (less than), $>$ (greater than), \times (times), $\sqrt{}$ (square root), $=$, $+$, $-$ were invented and adopted. The Dutchman Simon Stevin devised rules for operating with decimal fractions (1585), "teaching with unheard-of ease how to perform all calculations necessary among men by whole numbers without fractions." The Scotsman John Napier (1550-1617) introduced logarithms in a book (1614) which claimed that they "eliminated all difficulties inhering in the earlier methods of mathematical calculation, and [are] so adapted for relieving the weakness of the memory that by [their] aid we can in the space of one hour solve more mathematical problems concerning sines, tangents and secants than could before this have been solved in a whole day."²⁵ The slide rule came in about 1622, the invention of the Englishman William Oughtred, and Pascal patented the first adding machine in 1645.

THE OVERTHROW OF GALEN, PTOLEMY, AND ARISTOTLE

Before modern anatomy, physiology, and medicine could build solid foundations for their sciences, the theories and information of Galen had to be corrected. Before astronomy could get on its way, the whole geocentric theory of Ptolemy had to be overturned; and before modern physics could make its impressive start, Aristotle's physics had to be discredited.

LEONARDO DA VINCI AS AN INVENTOR

One of the artists greatly concerned about perspective, and the importance of mathematics in the accumulation of knowledge, was the great Florentine painter Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519). He was one of those supremely gifted, restless, curious, and experimental minds interested in everything and seeking speedy satisfaction for its curiosity. He poured drawings and comments into notebooks that have been published only recently, which raises the question of how influential they might have been in Leonardo's own day. They display a mind of scientific and inventive calibre, and were meant to be worked up into formal treatises on painting, the nature, weight, and motion of water, the flight of birds, motion, impacts, weight, energy, the elements of machinery, human anatomy, and the anatomy of the horse. Leonardo did put together treatises on the flight of birds, and on the nature, weight, and motion of water. The treatise on painting was the work of his students. His notebooks contain

²⁴Kline, p. 223.

²⁵Smith, I, 92, 96.

drawings of every kind of mill, every form of pump, and sketches of all the operations connected with the building of canals: excavation, pumping, dredging, lock construction, and bridges. There are also drawings of machinery for making textiles and constructing buildings. He even planned to get rich with a machine for polishing needles and to increase his fame with a flying machine.²⁶

LEONARDO AND ANATOMY

As a means to make his art more effective, Leonardo studied anatomy. To do an equestrian statue for Duke Ludovico Sforza of Milan, he felt it necessary to dissect a horse. To render the human body in his paintings more realistic he dissected the human body. He dissected to discover for himself, not to verify Galen. He says that to discover the true nature of the veins "I have dissected more than ten human bodies." The difficulties of such a task he recognized. "If you have love for such a thing [dissection] you will perhaps be prevented by your stomach, and if this does not prevent you, you may perhaps be prevented by the fear of passing the night-time in company with bodies quartered and flayed and fearful to look upon. And if this does not prevent you, perhaps you will lack the good draftsmanship that should be such drawing, and if you have the draftsmanship, it may not be accompanied by perspective. And if it is so accompanied you may lack the principles of geometrical demonstration and the principles for the calculation of the forces and power of muscles; or perhaps you may lack the patience, so that you will not be diligent." His dissections of animals, combined with his knowledge of human anatomy, made him a student of comparative anatomy. His notebooks, for example, contain drawings of the arm, skeleton, and biceps muscle of a man and an ape. His studies on the flight of birds, preparatory to carrying out a desire to invent a flying machine, led him to conclude that "a bird is a machine working according to mathematical law."²⁷ He was a close student of botany. Aside from his particular importance in the special fields of his scientific concern, Leonardo is an early representative of the kind of experimental temperament which in the seventeenth century was to transform man's view of the universe. He is also a reminder of the close association existing between the artist and science in the modern world.

ANDREAS VESALIUS

If Leonardo is not to be regarded as the founder of modern anatomy, then the Flemish professor Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) must be. After

²⁶A. P. Usher, "Leonardo, Engineer and Inventor," *The History of Mechanical Inventions*, lists among Leonardo's inventions in applied mechanics, hydraulics, and military engineering: use of pendulum to drive pumps, hydraulic press, breech-loading cannon and steam cannon, anti-friction roller bearing, improvements on lathe, drills, apparatus to measure wind and water pressure, wheelbarrow, lamp chimney, and parachute (pp. 183 ff.).

²⁷J. P. McMurrich, *Leonardo da Vinci, the Anatomist*, pp. 84, 242.

studying at Louvain and Paris he came to Padua, a renowned medical center, where he became a professor of anatomy in 1537. The conventional methods of teaching anatomy were not such as to inspire for long this independent spirit. It was not that anatomy was not based on human dissection. This had been the case for centuries in such medieval universities as Montpellier, Bologna, and Padua. But the dissection was done by a barber and not by the anatomist. While the professor of anatomy sat in his pulpit reading and expounding Galen, the barber cut up the cadaver on a table below. The purpose of dissection was not to discover the composition of the body but to illustrate Galen. Galen himself had done some dissection, but it had often enough been performed upon apes. In revolt against this method Vesalius undertook to do his own dissection, and in 1543 in a book on human anatomy (*On the Structure of the Human Body*) published his results and put the study of anatomy on a new foundation. In it he expresses his contempt for the way dissections (or anatomies) were performed. "An anatomy [is] a detestable ceremony in which certain persons are accustomed to perform a dissection of the human body while others narrate the history of the parts; these latter from a lofty pulpit and with egregious arrogance sing like magpies of things whereof they have no experience, but rather commit to memory from the books of others . . . the former are so unskilled in languages that they are unable to describe to the spectators what they have dissected."²⁸ The book was beautifully illustrated with drawings of a Venetian painter; the woodcut, copper engraving, and the printing press thus making available the combined work of the scientist and artist as never before. In his last chapter Vesalius describes the methods of dissection and the tools he used, essentially those of contemporary anatomists. In the book are incorporated the many discoveries Vesalius had made in his own work and in correction of the errors of Galen. He left many errors still to be corrected. In spite of its quality this book was received with such enmity by his colleagues that its author abandoned the career of anatomical research for that of private physician to emperor Charles V.

VESALIUS AND THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD

A proper study of the human body could not be made until it was understood exactly how the blood flowed through the body. Galen made the liver the center of the system. Here the blood was made, supplied with "natural spirits," and carried by the veins to the rest of the body. Most of the blood returned to the liver via the right ventricle of the heart. A part of this blood seeped through a porous wall of the heart called the septum and entered the left ventricle. There it was mixed with the air coming from the lungs to form a substance called the "vital spirits." The arteries conveyed these vital spirits to the brain and other parts of the

²⁸Quoted in McMurrich, p. 20.

body. The brain converted the "vital spirits" into "animal spirits," which the hollow nerves carried throughout the body. Vesalius was able to point out that "the septum of the heart is as thick, dense, and compact as is the rest of the heart. So I do not see how even the smallest particle can pass from the right to the left ventricle through the septum." He even came close to an understanding of how the blood does circulate with his remark that "the extreme ramifications of these veins inosculate with each other, and in many places appear to unite and be continuous."²⁹

WILLIAM HARVEY

What Vesalius missed was finally understood by the English physician William Harvey (1578-1657). Before he wrote, however, Michael Servetus, Calvin's victim, had pointed out in a book with which he was burned (1553) that blood did not seep from the right to the left ventricle of the heart through the septum. "This communication does not take place through the septum of the heart, as is generally believed, but a special device drives the fine blood from the right ventricle through a long passage in the lungs. . . . At length, completely mingled with the air, it is drawn in by the left ventricle during its dilation, and is fit to be vital spirit."³⁰ Servetus thus established the pulmonary, or lesser, circulation of the blood described more adequately by a Padua professor, Colombo, in 1559. William Harvey was a student at Padua of Hieronymus Fabricius, who in 1574 had discovered the valves of the veins that help to return the blood to the heart without backflow. He journeyed home to England and became a lecturer in anatomy at the Royal College of Physicians. He had the spirit of Vesalius: "I propose both to learn and to teach anatomy, not from books, but from dissections; not from the positions of philosophers, but from the fabric of nature."³¹

As a result of dissection and experimentation Harvey was able to accumulate enough evidence to deduce a proper understanding of the flow of blood from the veins to the heart and through the arteries away from the heart.³² He published his epoch-making book *On the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals* in 1628, purposing "to contemplate the motion of the heart and arteries, not only in man, but in all animals that have hearts." Having come to conceive of the heart as a pumping machine, "I frequently and seriously bethought me and long resolved in my mind what might be the quantity of blood which was transmitted, in how short a time its passage might be effected, and the like; and not finding it possible that this could be supplied by the juices of the digested aliment without the veins on the one hand becoming drained, and the arteries on the

²⁹See A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology and Philosophy in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, I, 410.

³⁰Wolf, I, 410-411.

³¹W. P. P. Wightman, *The Growth of Scientific Ideas*, p. 340.

³²See H. Butterfield, "The Study of the Heart Down to William Harvey," *Origins of Modern Science*.

other getting ruptured through the excessive charge of blood, unless the blood should somehow find its way from the arteries into the veins and so return to the right side of the heart; I began to think whether there might not be a *motion as it were in a circle*.”³³ Harvey thus had to guess at what Malpighi saw through a microscope later (1661)—the capillaries connecting the arteries with the veins. He never saw what the Dutch biologist Anton van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) saw through his microscope, a Dutch invention, when he looked through it at the tail of a tadpole in 1688. “A sight presented itself more delightful than any mine eyes have ever beheld, for here I discovered more than fifty circulations of the blood in different places, while the animal lay quiet in the water. For I saw not only that in many places the blood was conveyed through exceedingly minute vessels from the middle of the tail toward the edges, but that each of the vessels had a curve or turning, and carried the blood back toward the middle of the tail, in order to be conveyed again to the heart. Hereby it plainly appeared to me that the blood-vessels which I now saw in the animal, and which bear the names of arteries and veins are in fact one and the same; that is to say, that they are properly termed arteries so long as they convey the blood to the furthest extremities of its vessels, and veins when they bring it back to the heart. And thus it appears that an artery and a vein are one and the same vessel prolonged or extended.”³⁴ But Harvey had given physiology a scientific foundation by destroying the authority of Galen on a crucial point, and he was taken for a fool and suffered a loss in his medical practice for having done so.

THE NEW ASTRONOMY

As in the fields of anatomy and physiology, so in astronomy a radical change took place in the sixteenth century. It was the result of the same process: the questioning of ancient authority, the offering of a new hypothesis, and the testing of the hypothesis by observation and experiment with the use of new instruments. The change was from the notion of a geocentric to that of a heliocentric universe. The ancient authority was Ptolemy’s *Almagest*.³⁵ The men who did the observing and experimenting were Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton. The great new instrument was the telescope.

THE PTOLEMAIC UNIVERSE

Ptolemy’s *Almagest* was a summary of the work done by many generations of Greek astronomers. It described a finite and global universe divided into two parts, the sublunary and celestial. The sublunary, the changeable world of the four elements, contained at its center the round and immovable earth. Surrounding the elements of earth and water were,

³³Quoted in Wightman, p. 344.

³⁴Wolf, I, 421.

³⁵See Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.

first the air and then the purest of all the elements, fire. The celestial part of the Ptolemaic universe was composed of the eight impenetrable and crystalline spheres that carried the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars about the earth. They moved at different speeds from east to west, and the friction between them created the music of the spheres. Beyond the celestial spheres of the universe was the *primum mobile*, "the first mover." It revolved once every twenty-four hours from west to east, causing with this movement the contrary movement of the celestial spheres beneath it. "It is the direct cause of all heavenly movement, and—since the planetary spheres have so great an influence on earth—the indirect cause of all earthly movement as well; it is the circumference of the circle of which the earth is the center." It was this Ptolemaic universe which Christianity made its own, giving to the celestial spheres special angels as governors and making of the eternal and infinite empyrean heaven, beyond the created universe of the sublunary and celestial spheres, "the abode of God, and, after the Last Judgment, the dwelling of the blessed."³⁶

Greek astronomy was not altogether geocentric.³⁷ Some thought that the planets (including the earth) revolved about a central fire; others that they revolved about the sun, which together with its satellites revolved about the earth. Aristarchus' system had been altogether heliocentric. Nor was the actual geometrical representation of the workings of the universe in the *Almagest* so simple as the above description would indicate. Rather it was "unthinkably complex," the result of the "perverted ingenuity" of the Greeks. In order to explain the detailed movements of the heavens, the Greeks resorted to epicycles, circular orbits of planets about centers which themselves move in concentric circles about the earth. And in order to explain the more complex movements of the heavens as they were better observed, the epicycles had to be increased finally to seventy-seven. When someone tried to explain this system to Alphonso X of Castile in 1252, he protested that "Had God consulted him at the creation, the universe would have been on a better and simpler plan."³⁸

COPERNICUS

Copernicus (1473–1543) proposed to give it this simplicity by reviving the heliocentric theory of Aristarchus. He was born at Thorn in East Prussia and received his early education at the University of Cracow. In preparation for a clerical career he went to Italy, studying law at the University of Bologna and pursuing medicine, mathematics, Greek, and canon law at Padua and Ferrara. He returned to Prussia in 1506 as a canon of Frauenburg, the cathedral church of the bishopric of Ermeland, and spent the rest of a busy life there, devoting his spare time to astronomy. Like

³⁶T. Spencer, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man*, pp. 7, 8, 9.

³⁷See Vol. I, p. 152.

³⁸Wightman, p. 92.

all the early scientists of the modern world, he was an endowed amateur, endowed by the Church, the basis of whose interpretation of the cosmos he finally upset. Copernicus became aware of the dissatisfaction with Ptolemy in astronomical circles in Italy, and here too he became acquainted with the writings of Greek astronomers then being published. He knew that they had suggested alternatives to the geocentric universe, and he was stimulated by this independence to do likewise. As he put it in his famous book *Concerning the Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies*, published in 1543, the year of publication of another eye-opening book, Vesalius' textbook on anatomy: "Taking occasion thence [from the Greeks] I too began to reflect upon the Earth's capacity for motion. And though the idea appeared absurd, yet I knew that others before me had been allowed freedom to imagine what circles they pleased in order to represent the phenomena of the heavenly bodies, and therefore deemed that it would readily be granted to me also to try whether, by assuming the earth to have a certain motion, demonstrations more valid than those of others could be found for the revolution of the heavenly spheres." By putting the sun at the center of the universe and having the earth, rotating on its axis, join the other planets in revolutions about the sun, Copernicus found that he could reduce the seventy-seven epicycles of the ancients to twenty-one. He therefore concluded that "in the midst of all dwells the sun. For who could set this luminary in another or better place in this most glorious temple than whence he could at one and the same time lighten the whole? And so, as if seated upon a royal throne, the Sun rules the family of the planets as they circle around him."³⁹ Except for substituting the sun for the earth, Copernicus left the Christian Ptolemaic universe standing. The movement of the earth and planets about the sun were still considered circular and the relation of the created universe to the *primum mobile* and the empyrean heaven left untouched. Actually, as the result of a preface to Copernicus's book, written by a Lutheran pastor who arranged for its publication at Nürnberg, Copernicus's notions of the heliocentric universe were given to the public as a mere hypothesis, though it is difficult to believe that he so regarded them. At that, they frightened many minds. Luther exclaimed that "A new astrol- oger is risen who presumeth to prove that the earth moveth and goeth about. . . . This fool will turn the whole art of Astronomie upside down but the Scripture sheweth and teacheth him another lesson, where Joshua commanded the Sun to stand still and not the earth." Calvin pointed to the first verse of the 93rd Psalm: "The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty; the Lord is clothed with strength, wherewith he hath girded him- self: *The world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved,*" and wondered "who will venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?" This is a nice juxtaposition of the new authorities of the Reformation and science, the Scriptures and mathematics. For Copernicus

³⁹Wolf, I, 15, 16.

had no telescope; he was not an especially careful observer of the heavens. The heliocentric universe was mathematically simpler and therefore explained things better. It needed to be confirmed by observation and further deduction before it could be accepted by the learned world. Fundamental ideas that have been held for centuries are not easily displaced.

TYCHO BRAHE AND KEPLER

Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), the leading astronomer of the generation after Copernicus, was willing to admit that the planets but not the earth might revolve about the sun. Not only was the earth's movement contrary to Scripture but the earth was too sluggish to move, and the effects of its movement could not be observed. The sun and its planetary satellites revolved about the earth. Copernicus was not, however, refuted, and celestial events indicated that traditional astronomical ideas would have to be modified. If God had ceased creation on the seventh day and the celestial universe knew no change, how explain the new star which shone brightly in the heavens in 1573–1574? If the crystalline spheres which carried the planets and fixed stars about the earth were impenetrable, how explain the comet of 1577, which appeared to move through the heavens irrespective of the spheres?⁴⁰ The work of Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), himself a Copernican, brought added support to those who felt the inadequacy of the older views. Kepler removed certain inadequacies of the Copernican scheme by proving that the movement of the planets was not circular, as Copernicus had supposed, but elliptical, and he was able to show that there was some special force of attraction in the sun, for the planets moved faster when approaching it. He also possessed one of those extraordinary minds that could divine the mathematical relations of the universe, for his "third law" stated that "the squares of the times which the several planets take to complete their orbits relative to the stars are proportional to the cubes of the respective mean distances of the planets from the sun." "This orb no longer, after Kepler, ruled the heavens, but was shown up as one of the lesser planets, 'of a most contemptible smallness,' as Kepler put it." His discovery of natural "laws" moreover paved "the way for a thoroughgoing determinism, which has more or less dominated scientific thought ever since."⁴¹

GALILEO

It was Galileo (1564–1642) who supplied the data that confirmed in the minds of the mathematicians and scientists the heliocentric theory. He was able to do this by his use of the telescope. The telescope was a Dutch invention and probably goes back to the lens grinder Jan Lipperhey's accidental glance through two convex lenses.⁴² It was Galileo who

⁴⁰Cf. Butterfield, pp. 46–47.

⁴¹Wightman, pp. 52, 54, 50.

⁴²Wightman, p. 55.

realized the importance of the new instrument for astronomy. He writes that when a first report that "a Dutchman had constructed a telescope" had been confirmed, he determined "to inquire into the principle of the telescope, and then to consider the means by which [he] might compass invention of a similar instrument." "A little while after I succeeded." "I prepared a tube, at first of lead, in the ends of which I fitted two glass lenses, both plane on one side, but on the other side one spherically convex, and the other concave."⁴³ Galileo's telescope was a slender tube some three or four feet in length with a lens about two and one-quarter inches in diameter. It had an area of about eighty times that of the pupil of the eye. This increase in light-collecting power was sufficient to reveal nearly half a million stars as compared with the few thousand stars previously within range. He wrote to Kepler in June, 1610, after a glance through his new instrument, "I am quite beside myself with wonder and I am infinitely grateful to God that it has pleased Him to permit me to discover such great marvels as were unknown to all the preceding centuries. That the Moon is a body resembling the Earth, of this I felt certain already before. I have also observed a multitude of fixed stars that had never been seen before and which are more than ten times as numerous as those which are visible to the naked eye. And I know now what the Milky Way is." Perhaps the universe was not finite, as the Greeks taught! But other sights were more wonderful still. Looking at Jupiter in January, 1610, Galileo "noticed a circumstance which I had never been able to notice before, owing to want of power in my other telescope, namely that three little stars, small but very bright, were near the planet." On the following night he found the three stars in a different position. He waited to confirm his hopes that he had found a new little planetary system with "intense longing." By the 12th he was able to conclude "unhesitatingly, that there are three stars in the heavens moving about Jupiter, as Venus and Mercury round the Sun." On the 13th he discovered a fourth.⁴⁴ Here was a planetary system not having the earth as its center. Galileo saw also that Venus passed through phases similar to those of the moon, a phenomenon that could only be explained by the Copernican system. He was thus confirmed in his belief in the heliocentric universe. In his excitement he tried to get other professors at his university (Padua) to look through his telescope. He wrote to Kepler about the results. "I wish, my dear Kepler, that we could have a good laugh together at the extraordinary stupidity of the mob. What do you think of the foremost philosophers of this university? In spite of my oft-repeated efforts and invitations they have refused with the obstinacy of a glutted adder to look at the planets or the Moon through my glass [telescope]." After the death of one of these professors he remarked, "He did not choose to see my celestial trifles while he was on earth; perhaps he will do so now that he has gone to

⁴³Wightman, p. 55.

⁴⁴Wightman, p. 58.

heaven." Galileo published the results of his observations in 1610 (*The Sidereal Messenger*).

SIR ISAAC NEWTON

If they did not convince the learned world that Copernicus was right, another famous work, "the greatest single monument of human learning," Sir Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (*Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, 1687) brought the final, irrefutable proof. Newton had brought to a conclusion the work of many predecessors on the theory of gravitation. By "the greatest sweep of human imagination from the fall of an apple to the revelation of an invisible star,"⁴⁵ that is, by applying the formula for the force of gravity of one object upon another (the product of their masses divided by the square of their distance)⁴⁶ to the movement of the heavens, Newton could explain Kepler's laws and Galileo's observations in a concrete fashion and reduce the whole heliocentric universe to precise mathematical order.

GALILEO AND THE CHURCH

Before Newton had published his book the Catholic Church had taken steps to insure that in so far as Galileo was concerned the heliocentric theory was not to be spread abroad as a confirmed hypothesis. Galileo was well aware that "Kepler and the rest of the school of Copernicus . . . [were] regarded by the philosophers of our times, who philosophise on paper, with an universal agreement, as men of no intellect, and little better than absolute fools."⁴⁷ He knew very well that he was among these "fools," and that the philosophers would be supported by the Church for what was a challenge to the authority of Scriptures and to the notion that the universe's chief reason for existence was to save man. The Copernican theory suggested that "man had lost his birthright as the creature for whose sake all existed." He "had been reduced to the position of a puny and local spectator of infinite forces unresponsive to his wishes and unmindful of his purposes."⁴⁸ The new science did not propose to be limited by the assumption that the Bible was an authoritative work on science. Kepler was aware that "there are very many [men] who are so devoted to Holiness that [they] dissent from the Judgment of Copernicus, fearing to give the Lye to the Holy Ghost speaking in the Scriptures if they should say that the Earth moveth, and the Sun stands still." But to him "in Theology the weight of Authority, but in Philosophy the weight of Reason is to be considered." "To me more sacred than all these [the opinions of the saints] is Truth." Galileo thought that in the "Discussion

⁴⁵Butterfield, "History of the Modern Theory of Gravitation," *Origins of Modern Science*, p. 111.

⁴⁶Wightman, p. 76, shows that this was not originally the idea of Newton.

⁴⁷Wightman, p. 59.

⁴⁸Smith, I, 39.

of Natural Problems, we ought not to begin at the authority of places of Scripture; but at Sensible Experiments and Necessary Demonstrations." For God does no "less admirably discover himself unto us in Nature's Actions than in the Scriptures' Sacred Dictions. . . . The Glory and the Greatnesse of Almighty God is admirably discerned in all his works, and divinely read in the *Open Book* of Heaven."⁴⁹

GALILEO AND THE INQUISITION

On 26 February, 1616, Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition and "warned to forsake the opinion he had hitherto held that the sun is the center of the sphere and immovable and that the earth moves." He agreed to do so. On 5 March the Congregation of the Index condemned Copernicus's book, "lest such an opinion should creep further to the destruction of Catholic truth." Galileo was then publicly quiet until 1632, when he received permission to publish his *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems of the Universe*,⁵⁰ on the promise that impartiality was to be maintained between Ptolemy and Copernicus. It was obvious, however, that such impartiality was not maintained. Leading figures in the learned world hailed the book as a masterpiece in defense of Copernicus. A commission appointed by the pope to examine the *Dialogue* declared that the heliocentric theory was not treated as a theory and that Galileo had secured permission to publish under false pretenses. Galileo was cited to answer before the Roman inquisition. He appeared five times before it in 1633. He had no intention or desire to become a martyr to science, and offered to rewrite his book, saying more in support of Ptolemy and indicating that he had always held to him. But the Inquisition wanted him to recant formally before it, and threatened him with torture if he did not. Galileo, knowing that the world of science would understand that his recantation was forced, decided to recant. Since, he said in his recantation, "I have been . . . vehemently suspected of heresy . . . [and] wishing to remove from the minds of your Eminences, and of all faithful Christians, this strong suspicion reasonably conceived against me, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies."⁵¹ The story has it that as Galileo arose from his recantation he muttered to himself, "Nevertheless it [the earth] does move" (*Eppur si muove*), but the tale is unconfirmed. That Galileo did not change his opinions is revealed by his calling a Jesuit supporter of Ptolemy "an ignoramus, an elephant, a fool, a dunce, a malignant, a big animal, an ignorant eunuch and a rascal." He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment and to a penance consisting of frequent repetition of the penitential Psalms. He was not imprisoned, however, but permitted to live

⁴⁹T. Campanella, "Defence of Galileo," trans. and ed. Grant McColley, *Smith (College) Studies in History*, XXII, Nos. 3-4, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

⁵⁰I am following chiefly the account of Smith, I, 49-55.

⁵¹F. S. Taylor, *Galileo and Freedom of Thought*, p. 169.

under supervision at Florence in his villa at Arceti until his death as a blind old man in about 1642. The publicity of the conflict between the Church and the Copernican hypothesis probably helped to speed the victory of the latter. But it was not until 1835 that the Index of Prohibited Books omitted the works of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo.⁵²

THE NEW ASTRONOMY AND AN ORDERLY UNIVERSE

The axiom of all axioms of the scientist is the belief, substantiated by long centuries of observation and experiment, that nature is orderly and functions in accordance with laws which can be expressed mathematically. Such a belief destroys the faith that nature is directed by supernatural forces. The belief in an orderly nature long antedates the scientific work of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but this work was a mighty confirmation of this belief.

WILLIAM GILBERT

The ancient Greek whose physical doctrine had to be destroyed before a modern physics could develop was, of course, Aristotle. Galileo had so great an original share in this task also that he has long been regarded as one of the founders, if not the chief, of modern experimental science. Among other contenders for this honor is the English physician William Gilbert (1540-1603). Gilbert was one of the earliest Englishmen to hold to Copernicus. Putting most of the western world in its place, he remarked that Ptolemaic astronomy was "now only believed by idiots." While well aware of the debt of the modern world to the Greeks, he did not think that they could any longer be taken as authorities in science. "Wherefore we but seldom quote ancient Greek authors in our support because neither by using Greek arguments nor Greek words can truth be demonstrated." It had to be shown by experiment. In a book on the magnet (*De Magnete*, 1600), based almost wholly on his own experiments, Gilbert proved the earth to be a large magnet and founded magnetism as a branch of physics. His work in static electricity (*electric* is his word) opened up this marvelous world to the student of nature.⁵³

Galileo turned to physics after his confirmation of the heliocentric theory and put the results of his experiments in a book, *Discourses and Mathematical Demonstrations concerning Two New Sciences*, published at Leyden in Holland in 1638 when his inquisitorial supervisors refused him permission to publish in Italy. The two new sciences referred to are mechanics and dynamics. In venturing into these fields he had to disprove such Aristotelian notions as that nature abhorred a vacuum, that objects fall with a speed proportional to their weights, and that there is such a quality as lightness, causing things to rise, comparable to heaviness, caus-

⁵²Smith, I, 58.

⁵³See F. R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, pp. 215-220, for Gilbert.

ing things to fall. The results of experiments on moving objects (falling, rolling down inclined planes, swinging on a pendulum) resulted in laws of motion and special formulas deduced from them and verified by experiment. Objects of unequal weight fall at the same speed in a vacuum. Pendulums of unequal weight swing at the same speed. They rise as high as they fall, friction being taken into consideration. "The speed of a falling body, starting at zero increases all the time at an even rate." "The space covered by a falling body is proportionate to the square of time taken." Expressed mathematically, the $d = 16t^2$, d being the distance the body falls, and t the time.

NEWTON AND LAWS OF MOTION

Newton, we have seen, brought together Kepler's and Galileo's work on astronomy and physics, restating it in three laws of motion, capped with his own law of gravitation ($F = kMm/r^2$) and the infinitesimal calculus. These three laws of motion are phrased as follows: (1) "A body undisturbed by forces will continue indefinitely at a constant speed and in a straight line"; (2) "If a force cause a body to gain or lose velocity, then the force, expressed in some suitable unit, is equal to the product of the mass of the body and its acceleration ($F = Ma$); (3) "To every action there is always opposed an equal reaction: or the mutual actions of two bodies upon each other are always equal, and directed to contrary parts." Newton was moreover a pioneer in the study of light and color, conceiving light as a corpuscular emission and hence liable to the laws of motion. He also succeeded in breaking up white light into its component colors with a prism. These experiments were to him "the oddest, if not the most considerable detection, which had hitherto been made in the operations of nature." Huygens first conceived of light as moving in waves instead of corpuscles. Descartes and Snell first formulated the law of refraction. In his *Principia* Newton says, after referring to his deduction from the law of gravity of "the motions of the planets, the comets, the moon and the sea, . . . I wish we could derive the rest of the phenomena of nature by the same kind of reasoning from mechanical principles; for I am induced by many reasons to suspect that they may all depend upon certain forces by which the particles of bodies, by some causes hitherto unknown, are either mutually impelled towards each other, and cohere in regular figures, or are repelled and recede from each other."⁵⁴ This was a suggestion his successors have since acted upon. Nature was reduced to moving particles, mass in motion.

Before the seventeenth century the scientist could not conceive of the weight of air or the creation of a vacuum. At the end of the century, as a result of the work of Galileo's pupil Torricelli, of von Guericke, the mayor of Magdeburg (1602-1686), and of Robert Boyle, the brilliant

⁵⁴Quoted in Kline, *Mathematics in Western Culture*, p. 206.

Irish amateur (1627-1691), the character of atmospheric pressure was understood, the barometer and air pump invented, and most of the properties of a vacuum discovered.⁵⁵

PARACELSUS AND CHEMISTRY

Other fields of science did not display the same dramatic advances in the seventeenth century as astronomy and physics. Chemistry could not make much headway until it had freed itself from alchemy and come to some conclusions about what chemical elements, mixtures, and compounds were. The sixteenth-century German physician Paracelsus tried to overthrow not only Galen and Avicenna (he is reported to have burned them) but alchemy itself, and to associate the study of chemistry with pharmacy and medicine. He tried to supplant Aristotle's ideas about the elements with his own. Aristotle supported the Greek tradition⁵⁶ that there were four elements: earth, water, air, and fire, and that these elements carried pairs of qualities. The earth was cold and dry, water cold and wet, air wet and hot, and fire dry and hot. Matter could be regarded as comprised in varying degrees of these elements and qualities. It was Paracelsus' notion that matter was composed of mercury, sulphur, and salt. Mercury was the "volatile, brilliant and metallic" element in matter, sulphur the combustible element, and salt the remaining ash of matter when burnt. If these three were properly balanced in a man's body, he was well; if unbalanced, he was ill; and medical treatment for disease obviously consisted in attempts to restore the balance.

ROBERT BOYLE

The man who put chemistry on a scientific footing was Robert Boyle, "the father of Chemistry and the uncle of the Earl of Cork," as his epitaph has it. In 1661 he published a book called *The Sceptical Chymist*, "which holds the same place in the history of chemistry as does Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus* in the history of astronomy." The book is in the form of a dialogue between supporters of Aristotle, Paracelsus, and Boyle himself (the sceptical chymist). Boyle is happy that his fellow panelists "are resolved on this occasion to insist rather on experiments than on syllogisms. For I, and no doubt you, have long observed that those dialectical subtleties that the schoolmen too often employ about physiological mysteries are wont much more to declare the wit of him that uses them, than increase the knowledge or remove the doubts of sober lovers of truth." They agree to argue about "those primitive and simple bodies of which the mixt ones are said to be composed and into which they are ultimately resolved." The definition of an element ar-

⁵⁵Martha Ornstein, *Role of Scientific Societies in the Seventeenth Century*, Chap. i, compares the general status of science at the beginning and end of the 17th century. I am leaning heavily on this material for the following paragraphs.

⁵⁶See Vol. I, pp. 118 ff.

rived at in the discourse is "a body . . . perfectly homogeneous" and not capable of being "further resolvable into any number of distinct substances how small soever." By clarifying what was also to be meant by chemical mixture and compound, "Boyle made chemistry possible."⁵⁷ His own work in the laboratory with gases led to Boyle's law (the product of volume and pressure are constant at constant temperature).⁵⁸

BOTANY AND ZOOLOGY

By 1700 the preparatory work had also been done in making possible a science of botany and zoology. The animals and plants of the newly discovered worlds beyond the seas gave impetus to this study, but it was the use of the microscope and the dissection of animals that were the transforming procedures. It was Malpighi who, by developing microscopic technique, "laid the basis of minute anatomy in plants and animals." The Dutch maker of microscopes Anton van Leeuwenhoek turned the attention of scientists to the minute life contained in a drop of water. In 1674 he describes how in a drop of water from a lake he saw "green streaks, spirally wound serpentwise. . . . Among these there were besides very many little animalcules whereof some were roundish, while others a bit bigger consisted of an oval. On these last I saw two little legs near the head and two little fins at the hindmost end of the body . . . others were again green in the middle and before and behind white . . . and I judge that some of these little creatures were about 1,000 times smaller than the smallest ones I have ever seen upon the rind of a cheese, in wheaten flour, mould and the like." Leeuwenhoek was the first to see bacteria. "This was for me among all the marvels I have discovered in nature the most marvellous of all . . . no more pleasant sight has ever come before my eyes than these many thousands of living creatures all alive in a little drop of water." He discovered the spermatozoon in human and animal semen. It was Lazzaro Spallanzani, "one of the founders of experimental biology," who in experiments centering about the question of spontaneous generation discovered the effect of heat on "animalcules" in various solutions and thus laid the groundwork for questions of sterilization and food preservation. The microscope moreover made possible the earliest attempts at a satisfactory classification of plants and animals. In this field the English blacksmith's son, John Ray, was a pioneer. His *Methodus Plantarum* (1682) contains his many contributions to the classification of plants. His *Historia Plantarum* contains over six thousand "carefully described definitive species, gleaned, after severe pruning of repetitions, from all the well-known authorities, and checked wherever possible by personal inspection of the growing plant—an ideal, the pursuit of which led him and his collaborators over the greater part

⁵⁷Wightman, *Scientific Ideas*, pp. 167, 170, 174.

⁵⁸Former President Conant of Harvard (*Science and Common Sense*, p. 90) thinks that "Robert Boyle is the real father of experimental science."

of western Europe.”⁵⁹ His work on plants was balanced by similar painstaking work on animals (*Historia Insectorum*).

THE LABORATORY AND OBSERVATORY

The spectacular results of the new science would have been impossible, of course, without the telescope, microscope, and vacuum pump. These were not the only instruments leading away from a qualitative to a quantitative concept of knowledge. Galileo's work on the pendulum led to his pulse-measuring machine, and also to the pendulum clock and the balance-wheel clock (Huygens). Work on a device for measuring heat (thermometer) was begun, although no completely satisfactory results were achieved in the seventeenth century. Torricelli and Pascal were responsible for the barometer. Not only the method and important tools but a place where physical investigations might be carried out—the laboratory in the modern sense—were products of this period. At first it was the bedroom or kitchen of the amateur scientist that was often used as a place for experimentation. Newton's optical researches were made in his lodgings, but Robert Boyle tested the compressibility of gases in tubes along the stairs of his house. Before the end of the seventeenth century such informal domestic workshops were in a few instances supplanted by laboratories supplied with instruments of measurement and other facilities for research work. By 1700 the chemical, as distinct from the alchemical, together with the physical laboratory existed in embryonic form. This century created also the modern astronomical, as distinct from the astrological, observatory equipped with the new telescopes. It multiplied the establishment of botanical gardens and insisted upon the provision of some anatomical theaters.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES

Knowledge is a social product. Its expansion and accumulation depend upon the communication of ideas. The extent to which, and the speed with which, new ideas are communicated determines in part the advancement of science, for one idea suggests another, and the continual testing of new ideas keeps science sound and leads to the discarding of unproved hypotheses. In so far as the quality of social existence depends upon the results of science, the extent and speed of the communication of scientific ideas are thus deterministic. It was therefore necessary for science to perfect the instruments and institutions for the propagation of its new ideas. When we think of science today we think not only of the individual scientist working in the laboratory but also of the immediate announcement of the new idea in books, in articles in scientific journals, and in personal communications in correspondence or through conferences and lectures at local, regional, national, or international gatherings. The improvement of science and the expansion of knowledge are thus in

⁵⁹Wightman, pp. 359-360, 371-372.

the last analysis at their best when international co-operation in these matters is most highly organized. The beginnings of this organization, if we omit the monastery and the university, occurred in the seventeenth century with the organization of new scientific societies.⁶⁰ It might be supposed that a national and international institution already existed for this purpose in the universities. Although men like Vesalius, Galileo, and Newton were university professors, the universities as institutions did not respond quickly enough to the new movement for scientists not to feel the need of a special institution, the professional scientific society.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND OTHER SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES

Italy was the home of the first scientific society, the Florentine Academy of Experiment (*Accademia del Cimento*, 1657-1667), which published and spread abroad the results of the experiments it conducted in its laboratories. A copy of its proceedings was sent, for example, to the young and vigorous Royal Society of England in 1668. This organization of professionals and amateurs had started both in London and Oxford with informal meetings for the exchange of ideas. "Our business," wrote one of the London members, Dr. John Wallis, a mathematician, "was to discourse and consider philosophical enquiries and such as related thereunto; as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Staticks, Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and natural experiments; with the state of these studies as then cultivated at home and abroad. We then discussed of the circulation of the blood, the valves in the veins . . . the Copernican hypothesis, the nature of new comets and new stars . . . the improvement of telescopes and grinding of glasses for that purpose, the weight of air, the possibility or impossibility of vacuities and nature's abhorrence thereof . . . the descent of heavy bodies and the degrees of acceleration therein. . . ." The two groups, coalescing in London in 1660 at Gresham College, where those interested in science forgathered to hear lectures, organized themselves into a society for the promotion of physico-mathematical experimental learning and were recognized by royal charter in 1662. "At Gresham College," the poet wrote, "a learned nott

Unparalleled designs have layed
To make themselves a corporation
And know all things by demonstration.

.

Oxford and Cambridge are our laughter,
Their learning is but pedantry.
These new collegiates do assure us
Aristotle's an ass to Epicurus."⁶¹

⁶⁰See Ornstein for an authoritative account.

⁶¹Quoted in Ornstein, p. 102.

The first president of the society was Lord Brouncker, a mathematician. Robert Boyle, the chemist, Wren, the architect, and John Evelyn, the diarist, were on the Council. The society sometimes ate together, as for example on 15 April, 1682, when they consumed a meal prepared in Denis Papin's "digestor," an early pressure cooker. "This philosophical supper caused much mirth among us and exceedingly pleased all the company."⁶²

The activities engaged in by the society were wide in scope, including not only the conducting of experiments but the initiating of inquiries into the "natural history and physical condition of foreign countries" and the "history of shipping and clothing and dyeing." They set up a museum where one could see "an ostrich whose young were always born alive; an herb which grew in the stomach of a thrush, and the skin of a moor, tanned with the beard and hair white, but more worthy of observation than all the rest is a clock whose movements are derived from the vicinity of a loadstone and it is so adjusted as to discover the distance of countries at sea by longitude."⁶³ The second secretary of the society was required to establish intercommunication with the scientists of other nations so that no important experiment or publication would escape its attention. Such things as "advancing the manufacture of tapestry, silk-making, melting of lead ore with pit coal . . . making trials of English earths to see if they will not do for perfecting of the potter's art" and comparing "soils and clays for making better bricks and tiles" were not beyond its concern. It published also the results of its activities in *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which it was once remarked, "If all the books in the world except the *Philosophical Transactions* were destroyed it is safe to say that the foundations of physical science would remain unshaken and that the vast intellectual progress of the last two centuries would largely, though incompletely, be recorded."⁶⁴ The French *Académie des Sciences* (1666), a royal foundation, the Berlin Academy (1700), the inspiration of Leibnitz, devoted to history and philosophy as well as to science, and the Russian Academy (1724) complete the list of new national institutions for the advancement of science in all of its many ramifications.

NEW ENTHUSIASM FOR SCIENCE

The success of the new science led to great enthusiasm among its devotees and to proposals for a revision of the prevailing system of education that would destroy not only the remnants of scholasticism but the study of ancient languages and literature, substituting an education that was useful instead of cultural, scientific instead of literary, and demo-

⁶²Evelyn, quoted in Conant, p. 108.

⁶³Quoted in Conant, p. 115.

⁶⁴T. H. Huxley, *ibid.*, p. 126.

cratic instead of aristocratic.⁶⁵ This is the beginning of a controversy that has been hard fought to date. Campanella, one of Galileo's disciples, said that science had given a new dignity to man, who is "a second God, the first God's own miracle, for man commands the depths, mounts to heaven without wings, counts its moving bodies and measures their nature. . . . He knows the nature of the stars . . . and determines their laws, like a god. He has given to paper the art of speech, and to brass he has given a tongue to tell time." Leibnitz boasted that "We have raised up a truly philosophical age, in which the deepest recesses of nature are laid open, in which splendid arts, noble aids to convenient living, a supply of innumerable instruments and machines, and even the hidden secrets of our bodies are discovered." Dryden, the English poet, proclaimed, "In these last hundred years . . . almost a new Nature has been revealed to us, more errors of the schools have been detected, more useful experiments in philosophy have been made, more noble secrets in optics, medicine, anatomy and astronomy have been discovered than in all these doting and credulous ages from Aristotle to us."⁶⁶

SCIENCE AND THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

Enthusiasts for the new science in England, among them ardent Puritans, wished to reform the educational system. The study of Latin and Greek emphasized an ancient authority which science was repudiating, a useless knowledge to grace the minds of the indolent. To one, these languages were of value only in so far as they transmitted "Reall Truths in Science." The literary aspects of language study, "which speak nothing of Reality in Science," are to be left to such as "delight in vanities more than Truths." Foreign languages are to be studied only "as far as their experience in the observation of things doth go, and no further." To an ardent Englishman, not only should English be cultivated instead but the world encouraged to learn English as it then learned Latin. "Thereby a more easie and short way may be had to the attaining of all sorts of knowledge: and that thereby after the example of the Romans we may labour to propagate it amongst other nations, that they may rather be induced to learn ours than we theirs, which would be of vast advantage to the Commonwealth, in foreign Negotiations, Trading, Conquest, and Acquisitions." Citizens of other nations were talking and writing similarly. Indeed, the seventeenth century was the last in which Latin was used as the international language of learning, the century of the final and complete triumph of the vernaculars—particularly one of them, French—over Latin.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

If the main emphasis could be put on practical scientific learning, then—it seemed—a new world would soon come. "Where have we anything

⁶⁵See R. F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns, A Study of the Background of the Battle of the Books*.

⁶⁶The quotations are from Smith, *A History of Modern Culture*, I, 147-150.

to do with Chemistry, which hath snatcht the keys of Nature from the other sects of philosophy, by her multiplied experiences? Where have we constant reading upon either quick or dead anatomies, or ocular demonstrations of herbs? Where any manual demonstrations of Mathematicall Theorems or Instruments. . . . Where an examination of all the old Tenets? Review of the old Experiments and traditions which gall so many junior beliefs and serve for nothing else but for idle priests to make their Sermons more gaudy?" Another wants the youth to be taught by "manual operation and ocular experiment, that so they may not be sayers but doers, not idle speculators, but painful operators, that so they may not be sophisters and philosophers, but sophists indeed, true Natural Magicians, that walk not in the external circumference but in the center of nature's hidden secrets, which can never come to pass unless they have Laboratories as well as libraries and work in the fire better than build Castles in the Air." Could such things be done, then "you shall see the Taper of a learned piety burne among us, I hope like an immortall lampe fed with refined and sublimest knowledge, whilst all those false lights of ignorance, humane forgery and superstition shall vanish away. . . . You shall see Nature traced through all her Turnings, to a clear demonstration of her first cause, and every day bring forth variety of experiments either to the reliefe, astonishment, or delight of men; you shall then see us freed from all these fabulous illusions and impostures which have hitherto beset either Tradition or Cures; and Nature which now disguises her selfe into so many shapes forced into an open veracity and pure nakedness. You shall see the number of Arts daily increased and those we know already wonderfully promoted. . . . You shall have the ways of education made smooth and your children with a pleasant successe possessed of all the treasures of reall knowledge ere they could have thought they had entered the gates." In a *History of the Royal Society* by Thomas Sprat (1667) this chorus of praise for science rose to a climax. Whatever losses the old education might suffer by a new concentration on science will be compensated when "the Beautiful Bosom of Nature will be Expos'd to our view: we shall enter into its Garden and taste of its Fruits and satisfy ourselves with its plenty."⁶⁷

THE DEFENSE OF THE CLASSICS AND ATTACK ON SCIENCE

Those who questioned this enthusiasm denied that the old classical learning was useless and only the new useful and beneficial. Utility had to do with more than mere material advantage, else brewers, smiths, and veterinarians were more to be admired than any learned man. Man's real happiness was spiritual and not material. Those who try to promote it are his real benefactors and not those who, like the scientists, put happiness upon a sensual, physical, and materialistic basis. Science takes God

⁶⁷R. F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, pp. 237-238.

away from man, and therewith his hope in an immortal life. It is amoral, interested only in the measurement of things. If men reject the ancients, barbarism and ignorance will result. It is no improvement if they substitute "tending furnaces or raking in the entrails of man or beast." Dr. Henry Stubbe was one who did not like the scientific emphasis upon the vocational and utilitarian over the cultural. He doubted very much whether "the making of cider, the planting of orchards, the grinding of optic glasses, and magnetic and agricultural curiosities" were more valuable than the logic and moral philosophy taught in the universities. Science did not bring that wisdom which taught one how to govern human affairs.

BOYLE'S DEFENSE OF SCIENCE

Robert Boyle defended the practical advantages of science in *The Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy*. Science was not to teach a man "to discourse of nature, but not at all to master Her [nor] to entertain his Understanding without at all increasing his Power." "I shall not dare to think myself a true Naturalist till my skill can make my Garden yield better Herbs and Flowers, or my Orchard better Fruit or my fields better Corn or my Dairy better cheese than theirs that are strangers to Physiology." Scientists and scholars could learn from tradesmen and mechanics who, without elegant language and fine clothes, were more "diligent, industrious, inventive and familiar with material things than scholars." "I learned more of the nature of stones by conversing with two or three masons and stone-cutters than ever I did from Pliny or Aristotle and his commentators."⁶⁸

Science and Philosophy

THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE UPON PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Did the attitude referred to as scientific humanism, that is, the advocacy of the use of the new scientific method to understand nature and improve the lot of man, have any influence upon philosophy and religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? In other words, did the liberation of the scientists from ancient authority through accumulation of a new mathematically interpreted knowledge of nature impress the philosophers or theologians? Did they feel the necessity of beginning all over again when scientists revealed that ancient philosophy and Catholic or Protestant theology could in some respects not be trusted? In the main the answer is yes. Since some of the new scientists were also philosophers, they could hardly, unless possessing compartmental minds, divorce the methods of their science from philosophy. Nor, as philosophers, could they ignore

⁶⁸Jones, p. 212.

the factual and theoretical results of science. As theologians or as men interested in stemming the further dissolution of Christianity they could not ignore the implications of science for religion. This was in fact the third major adjustment in the intellectual history of the West. The first came with the translations from Arabic into Latin⁶⁹ which produced the scholasticism of the thirteenth century; the second, with the full reintroduction of ancient civilization which produced the Christian humanism of the Renaissance. The third, the reaction to an expanded mathematics and a new science, produced rationalism and empiricism in philosophy and deism in religion. In the eighteenth century, it brought scepticism and materialism into philosophy and atheism into religion. This meant, among the learned and educated at least, a further decline of the Christian point of view. The new rationalism in philosophy can be found in the works of Descartes and Thomas Hobbes, the empiricism in John Locke, and the deism in Lord Herbert of Cherbury and his successors.

DESCARTES

René Descartes has already been called one of the creative mathematicians of the seventeenth century,⁷⁰ and this inventor of analytic geometry betrays in his philosophy the rationalism of a supreme geometrician. His philosophy (Cartesianism) does more; it makes the demand that a fresh approach be made to the acquisition of knowledge, now that the authority of the ancients and Christianity in scientific matters had been abolished. One had to ask again whether it was possible to come to terms with reality and know anything at all, that is, one had to start with a complete scepticism. What, to begin with, could they accept as true and real? Descartes' answer can be found in his *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences* (1637) and *The Principles of Philosophy*. In the former he says that in search of a "reformation of my own opinions," "I thought I could not do better than resolve at once to sweep them wholly away, that I might afterwards be in a position to admit either others more correct, or even perhaps the same when they had undergone the scrutiny of Reason." Begin, therefore, by believing nothing. Descartes decided first "never to accept anything for true which I did not clearly know to be such; that is to say, carefully to avoid precipitancy and prejudice, and to comprise nothing more in my judgment than what was presented to my mind so clearly and distinctly as to exclude all ground of doubt." Pursuing thus the approach of the mathematician, Descartes finally concluded as "the first principle of the philosophy of which [he] was in search" that he could not doubt the fact that he was doubting everything, and that therefore he at least could accept himself as a thinking being. As he puts it, "I observed that whilst I thus wished to think that all was false, it was absolutely necessary that I,

⁶⁹See Vol. I, pp. 650 ff.

⁷⁰See p. 146.

who thus thought, should be somewhat; and I observed that this truth, *I think, hence I am*, was so certain and of such evidence that no ground of doubt, however extravagant, could be alleged by the Sceptics capable of shaking it, I concluded that I might, without scruple accept it.”⁷¹

From the reality of his thinking self Descartes went on to prove the existence of God. The approach he makes is essentially that of Saint Anselm:⁷² the notion that because you can think of a Perfect Being such a Being exists. Since it was greater perfection “to know than to doubt” Descartes concluded that “my being was not wholly perfect,” and when he asked himself “whence I had learned to think of something more perfect than myself . . . I clearly recognized that I must hold this notion from some Nature which in reality was more perfect.” This Nature “possessed within itself all the perfections of which I could form any idea: that is to say in a single word, . . . God.” “I found that the existence of the [Perfect] Being was comprised in the idea in the same way that the equality of its three angles to two right angles is comprised in the idea of a triangle . . . and that consequently it is at least as certain that God, who is this Perfect Being, is, or exists, as any demonstration of Geometry can be.”⁷³

In addition to the thinking self, or mind, and to God, the Perfect Being, there is also something external to both of them called matter, the idea of which we get from “objects existing out of our minds.” In permitting us to get this idea “God cannot deceive us for this is repugnant to his nature,” and therefore “we must unhesitatingly conclude that there exists a certain object extended in length, breadth and thickness, and possessing all those properties which we clearly apprehend to belong to what is extended. And this extended substance is what we call body or matter.”⁷⁴ Body or matter does not consist, as we might think, in its “being hard, or ponderous, or coloured, or that which affects our senses in any other way but simply in its being a substance extended in length, breadth, and depth.” All the properties belonging to this extended substance called matter “are reducible to its capacity of being divided and moved according to its parts”; that is, they depend on motion. The external world of reality consists then of matter in motion. Over and against it is opposed the other world of the “thinking I” and the “Perfect Being.” Professional philosophers call such a view dualism. The geometer and physicist have in this case produced another version of the old, old dualism, Persian and Christian, between body and soul, matter and spirit, flesh and mind.

Descartes reminds us “that we ought to beware lest in our presumption we imagine that the ends which God proposed to himself in the creation

⁷¹Ed. F. Le Van Baumer, *Main Currents of Western Thought*, pp. 294-295.

⁷²See Vol. I, p. 645.

⁷³Baumer, p. 295.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 315.

of the world are understood by us" or "that all things were created by God for us only." "For although, as far as regards morals, it may be a pious thought to believe that God made all things for us, seeing we may thus be incited to greater gratitude and love toward him; and although it is even in some sense true, because there is no created thing of which we cannot make some use, if it be only that of exercising our mind in considering it, and honouring God on account of it, it is yet by no means probable that all things were created for us in this way that God had no other end in their creation; and this supposition would be plainly ridiculous and inept in physical reasoning, for we do not doubt but that many things exist, or formerly existed and have now ceased to be, which were never seen or known by man, and were never of use to him." Here are the shades of the God of Augustine and Calvin who does what he wills for his own good pleasure.

In another mood Descartes speaks as a scientific humanist of "the law by which we are bound to promote, as far as in us lies, the general good of mankind." He supports a "Practical" philosophy "by means of which, knowing the force and action of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all the other bodies that surround us, as distinctly as we know the various crafts of our artisans, we might also apply them in the same way to all the uses to which they are adapted, and thus render ourselves the lords and possessors of nature." We should then be able "to enjoy without any trouble the fruits of the earth, and all its comforts but also and especially for the preservation of health."⁷⁵

THOMAS HOBBS

Cartesianism became the philosophy of French classicism in the seventeenth century.⁷⁶ It was taken up by those men in England who wished, while adopting the attitude of the new science, to preserve the claims of religion. It was another form of scholasticism. Descartes was a seventeenth-century Saint Thomas, trying to blend his learning with his religion. His philosophy was popular in France at a moment when French absolutism reached its height. In this respect the rationalism of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) was similar, for it was fitted into a larger framework of thought calculated to support absolute monarchy.⁷⁷

Hobbes's outlook is ostensibly both mechanical and materialistic. In his most important work, *The Leviathan*, he says that "The universe, that is the whole mass of all things that are, is corporeal, that is to say, body, and hath the dimensions of magnitude, namely length, breadth, and depth;

⁷⁵Baumer, p. 296

⁷⁶See pp. 168 ff.

⁷⁷The political views of Hobbes will be considered in the following chapter. The excerpts are taken from ed. E. H. Burt, *English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, pp. 129-234.

also, every part of the body is likewise body, and hath like dimensions, and consequently every part of the universe is body, and that which is not body is no part of the universe: and because the universe is all, that which is no part of it is nothing, and consequently nowhere.”⁷⁸ This will be recognized as Descartes’ “matter in extension.” It is this “matter in extension” which explains our thoughts. These thoughts are “everyone a representation or appearance, of some quality or other accident of a body without us, which is commonly called an object. Which object worketh on the eyes, ears, and other parts of a man’s body, and by diversity of working produceth diversity of appearances.” “There is no conception in a man’s mind which hath not at first, totally or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense.” This sense “consisteth as to the eye, in a light, or color figured; to the ear, in a sound; to the nostril, in an odor; to the tongue and palate, in a savor; and to the rest of the body, in heat, cold, hardness, softness and such other qualities as we discern by feeling. All which qualities, called sensible, are, in the object which causeth them, but so many several motions of the matter, by which it presseth our organs diversely. Neither in us that are pressed are they anything else but divers motions; for motion produceth nothing but motion.” Thought, then, like everything else in the universe, is the product of matter in motion.

There is thus not the dichotomy between the thinking ego and matter, soul and body, in Hobbes that has been noted in Descartes. “Soul as an ‘immaterial substance,’ having no location or motion, [is] one of the insignificant sounds [in a nominalist sense],”⁷⁹ and must consequently go.” The orthodox teaching of an immortality of the soul was not accurate. Heaven and hell were “states of felicity or of misery,” and “their probable location [is] on this earth.” Together with the soul, Hobbes rejects the notion of free will as one of the soul’s “faculties.” “‘Free Will’ he classes amongst the meaningless terms ‘whereby we conceive nothing but the sound.’” Hobbes’s outlook thus was as mechanistic as the mechanism of “natural law” itself. It has been paraphrased as “Fear and reverence Nature no longer; she is no mystery, for she ‘worketh by motion,’ and Geometry, which is the mother of the sciences, and indeed the only science God has yet vouchsafed to us—Geometry can chart these motions. Feel then as if you lived in a world which can be measured, weighed and mastered; and confront it with due audacity.”⁸⁰

Such a view seems incompatible with any kind of religion, Christian or otherwise. Yet Hobbes was so devoted to the principles of absolute government that he thought that political obedience involved allegiance to the religion of the state. “For the points of doctrine concerning the kingdoms of God have so great influence on the kingdom of man, as not to be deter-

⁷⁸B. Willey’s chapter on Hobbes in *The Seventeenth Century Background* (Double-day Anchor Books) starts off with this quotation, p. 99.

⁷⁹See Vol. I, pp. 643 ff.

⁸⁰Willey, pp. 106, 112, 101.

mined but by them that under God have the sovereign power." Yet Hobbes, "while leaving the outer shell of the orthodox structure to all appearance unaltered . . . is really at work rebuilding the interior with entirely new materials." His God is the god of Aristotle and Saint Thomas: "a first and eternal cause of all things," to be seen in "the visible things in this world and their admirable order," and not the Christian God. Indeed, for Hobbes, "the word God is really little but a symbol of the philosopher's fatigue."⁸¹ The customary attributes of God are not necessarily to be taken as philosophically true. They are only an indication of the degree to which we honor him, and "those attitudes which the sovereign ordaineth, in the worship of God, for signs of honour, ought to be taken and used for such, by private men in their public worship."⁸²

JOHN LOCKE

The philosopher who had most influence upon the thought of the eighteenth century, both in England and on the Continent, was John Locke (1632-1704).⁸³ The professional philosopher regards him as the systematizer of empiricism, that is, of a system of philosophy whose theory of knowledge rests upon sense experience and sense experience alone. This is again the approach of the scientist. It attributes knowledge not to something given by authority or revealed by divinity but to what is built up by the individual from his accumulation of sense experience. Such a view obliged Locke to consider the limitations as well as the potentialities of human knowledge and to wish to temper dogmatism. He was deeply concerned with the activities of the new science. He knew Boyle well, and from 1668 on he was a Fellow of the Royal Society. His scientific learning, when combined with his deep knowledge of antiquity, brought together in his thought features pertaining to Christian and scientific humanism. When put together with his political thought they make Locke a very special representative of vital trends in the western tradition.

His philosophy is summarized in *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690).⁸⁴ He says, to begin with, that he wants "to inquire into the original certainty and extent of human knowledge, together with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent. It is important to search out the bounds between opinion and knowledge, and examine by what measures, in things whereof we have no certain knowledge, we ought to regulate our assent, and moderate our persuasions." Locke uses the word idea to "stand for whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks" or "whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking." He does not think that we are born with any ideas. "Let us

⁸¹The phrase is Willey's.

⁸²Willey, pp. 118-119.

⁸³Locke's political thought will be considered in the following chapter.

⁸⁴I am using the edition of E. A. Burt, *English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, pp. 238-403.

. . . suppose," he begins, "the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas, how comes it to be furnished?" Locke answers immediately with "one word, experience." This experience has its source in sensation or reflection, in the "observation, employed either about external sensible objects or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves." Through the senses we get such ideas as "yellow, white, heat, cold, soft, hard, bitter, sweet, and all those which we call sensible qualities." The internal operation or reflection of our minds upon these ideas takes the form of "perception, thinking, doubting, believing, reasoning, knowing, willing." These together with sensation send ideas into the understanding.

Locke thought that "the simple ideas we receive from sensation and reflection are the boundaries of our thoughts; beyond which the mind, whatever efforts it would make, is not able to advance one jot; nor can it make any discoveries, when it would pry into the nature and hidden causes of those ideas." We know, he suggests, when we can perceive agreement or disagreement of two ideas. This perception can happen in various ways. It can happen intuitively when "the mind is at no pains of proving or examining, but perceives the truth, as the eye doth light, only by being directed toward it." "This kind of knowledge is the clearest and most certain that human frailty is capable of." When the agreement or disagreement of two ideas cannot be seen at once and needs proof it is then called demonstrative knowledge by Locke. Intuitive and demonstrative knowledge "are the degrees of our knowledge"; "whatever comes short of these . . . is but faith or opinion, but not knowledge, at least in all general truths." There is another kind of knowledge called sensitive, the knowledge "of the existence of particular external objects by that perception and consciousness we have of the actual entrance of ideas from them."

Locke goes on further to say that "we have knowledge of our own existence by intuition; of the existence of God by demonstration; and of other things by sensation." "Nothing can be more evident to us than our own existence." This is Cartesian. The knowledge of God is as certain to Locke as mathematical certainty. The proof he uses is similar to that of Anselm, Aquinas, and Descartes. Man has intuitive knowledge of his own existence. He himself must come from somewhere, for "bare nothing can no more produce any real being than it can be equal to two right angles. . . . It is [therefore] an evident demonstration that from eternity there has been something, since what was not from eternity, had a beginning, and what had a beginning must be produced by something else." "There is an eternal, most powerful, and most knowing Being; which whether anyone will please to call God, it matters not." Locke is not willing to doubt that our senses give us a kind of knowledge of the reality of objects external to us, even though our sensations are only mental. "I think nobody can in earnest be so sceptical as to be uncertain of

the existence of those things which he sees and feels." Should there be such as to doubt whether our sensations give us any knowledge but of a dream world, "if our dreamer pleases to try whether the glowing heat of a glass furnace be barely a wandering imagination in a drowsy man's fancy, by putting his hand into it, he may perhaps be awakened into a certainty greater than he could wish, that it is something more than bare imagination." Yet in the last analysis this external world which sends sensations into my brain is "but probability, not knowledge." Still, "he that in the ordinary affairs of life would admit of nothing but direct plain demonstration, would be sure of nothing in this world but of perishing quickly."

In view of the infinitude of what we can have no intuitive or demonstrative knowledge of, and of the magnitude of what we can know only as probable, "we should do well to commiserate our mutual ignorance, and endeavor to remove it in all the gentle and fair ways of information, and not instantly treat others ill, as obstinate and perverse, because they will not renounce their own, and receive our opinions, or at least those we would force upon them, when it is more than probable, that we are no less obstinate in not embracing some of theirs. For where is the man that has incontrovertible evidence of the truth of all that he holds, or of the falsehood of all he condemns; or can say that he has examined to the bottom all his own, or other men's opinions! The necessity of believing, without knowledge, nay often upon very slight grounds, in this fleeting state of action and blindness we are in, should make us more busy and careful to inform ourselves, than constrain others."

LOCKE AND RELIGION

Like Descartes and Hobbes, Locke had no desire to impugn the Christian tradition. Revelation was a thing in which one must have faith. "Only we must be sure that it be a divine revelation, and that we understand it right." As for faith, Locke thought that it could not properly be opposed to reason, for "faith is nothing but a form of assent of the mind; which if it be regulated, as is our duty, cannot be accorded to anything but upon good reason; and so cannot be opposite to it." In any case we may not accept revelations that are contrary to reason, for "there would be left no difference between truth and falsehood, no measures of credible and incredible in the world, if doubtful propositions shall take place before self-evident; and what we certainly know give way to what we may possibly be mistaken in." "To this crying up of faith, in opposition to reason, we may, I think, in good measure ascribe those absurdities that fill almost all the religions which possess and divide mankind." It is because men have been led not to consult reason in religious matters that they have "let loose their fancies and natural superstition; and have been by them led into so strange opinions, and extravagant practices in religion that a considerate man cannot but stand amazed at their follies, and judge them so far from

being acceptable to the great and wise God, that he cannot avoid thinking them ridiculous, and offensive to a sober good man. So that in effect religion, which should most distinguish us from beasts and ought most peculiarly to elevate us, as rational creatures, above brutes, is that wherein men often appear most irrational and more senseless than beasts themselves. 'Credo, quia impossibile est' [I believe because it is impossible—Tertullian] might in a good man pass for a sally of zeal; but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by." "Reason must be our last judge and guide in everything."

SPINOZA AND GIORDANO BRUNO

A further and final example of the influence of science upon philosophy can be seen in the writings of the Jewish lensgrinder of Amsterdam, Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). One of the sources of what Jewish elders regarded as his heretical opinions was the teachings of the Italian Dominican, Giordano Bruno. Bruno had first gotten into difficulty with the authorities of his monastery in Naples for the "indiscreet attempt to conceal certain writings of Erasmus in the convent privy." In travels throughout Europe he had been both arrested for scepticism at Geneva, hired as a lecturer at Wittenberg, and put in the jail of the Inquisition at Venice for contending, among other things, that "the single rule of not doing unto others what we would not have done unto us" is sufficient for right living. His imagination had been fired by the Copernican hypothesis. To him it transformed the finite into an infinite universe and made the stars the central suns of solar systems other than ours. He arrived ultimately at the conception that all knowledge was relative and preached doctrines concerning the identity of nature and God. He was finally imprisoned by the Roman inquisition and burned at the stake in 1600. "I ought not to recant, and I will not recant," he told his judges. "Perhaps you who pronounced my sentence are in greater fear than I who receive it."⁸⁵

SPINOZA AND THE DUALISM OF DESCARTES

Spinoza criticized such Christian conduct. "I have often wondered," he said, "that persons who make boast of professing the Christian religion—namely love, joy, peace, temperance, and charity to all men—should quarrel with such rancorous animosity, and display daily toward one another such bitter hatred, that this, rather than the virtues which they profess, is the readiest criterion of their faith."⁸⁶ Spinoza also felt that mathematics was the only sound approach to knowledge. He reduced Descartes' *Principles of Philosophy* to a series of propositions, and his own most distinguished book, the *Ethics*, was "demonstrated in the geometrical manner." As a close student of Descartes he was concerned with the unbridgeable dualism between mind and matter. Hobbes had transformed this dualism

⁸⁵H. F. West, *Rebel Thought*, p. 109.

⁸⁶Quoted in Durant's *Story of Philosophy*, p. 187.

into a monism by the assertion that all reality was material. Spinoza's solution of the difficulty in the *Ethics* was a religious monism which reduced all reality to spirit, while at the same time striving to preserve the results of science. He did this with the rather extraordinary identification of nature and the universe with God. Such an identification, infusing the divine into all nature, is pantheism: God permeating everything.

This makes it possible for Spinoza to argue that God is not a free cause of anything, but is bound by the laws of the nature which he is. "It follows solely from the perfection of God, that God never can decree or never could have decreed anything but what is; that God did not exist before his decrees, and would not exist without them." "Nothing, then, comes to pass in nature in contravention to her universal laws, nay, everything agrees with them and follows from them, for whatsoever comes to pass, comes to pass according to laws and rules which involve eternal necessity and truth." "The rules of nature are the decrees of God." Since the rules are omnipotent and infinite, there is no need to resort to miracles for an explanation of events. "Miracles are only intelligible as in relation to human opinions, and merely mean events of which the natural cause cannot be explained by a reference to any ordinary occurrence, either by us, or at any rate by the writer and narrator of the miracle." Spinoza feels obliged to attack the prevalent notion that "God himself directs all things to a definite goal (for it is said that God made all things for man, and man that he might worship him.)" When people cannot explain the end for which God has created certain things, they lay "down as an axiom, that God's judgments far transcend human understanding." Such a doctrine, Spinoza thinks, "might well have sufficed to conceal the truth from the human race for all eternity, if mathematics had not furnished another standard of verity in considering solely the essence and properties of figures without regard to the final causes." "Nature has no particular goal in view." "Final causes are mere human figments." "This doctrine of final causes would do away with 'the perfection of God; for, if God acts for an object, he necessarily desires something which he lacks.'"⁸⁷

Spinoza also disputes with those who treat man as if he were outside the world of nature, a separate sphere unto himself with "absolute control over his actions determined solely by himself," and with "some mysterious flaw . . . which they bemoan, deride, despise, or, as usually happens, abuse." These people will not like it when "I [Spinoza] attempt to treat of human vice and folly geometrically." "Nothing comes to pass in nature, which can be set down to a flaw therein; for nature is always the same . . . [her] laws and ordinances whereby all things come to pass . . . are everywhere and always the same; so that there should be one and the same method of understanding the nature of all things whatsoever, namely, through nature's universal laws and rules. Thus the passions of hatred,

⁸⁷The quotations are from the excerpts in Baumer, pp. 318 ff.

anger, envy, and so on, considered in themselves, follow from this same necessity and efficacy of nature; they answer to certain definite causes, through which they are understood, and possess certain properties as worthy of being known as the properties of anything else . . . I shall, therefore, treat of the nature and strength of the emotions according to the same method, as I employed heretofore in my investigation concerning God and the mind. I shall consider human actions and desires in exactly the same manner, as though I were concerned with lines, planes, and solids."

THE RELIGION OF THE SCIENTISTS

The scientific humanists did not wish, any more than the classical humanists, to reject Christianity, or at least a religious overview of the universe. This was the normal attitude of the scientists themselves even though, in studying their religious convictions, one sometimes gets the impression that they were interested in God primarily to get the mechanistic universe in motion. If the world of nature functioned according to "natural law," God was the creator and manipulator of these "laws." Nature's laws were God's laws. If these laws could be expressed in mathematical terms, then God was the Great Mathematician. If this universe were a vast system of mechanics, then God was the Great Engineer. If the universe were watch-like in its mechanical perfection, then God was the Great Watchmaker, who had only to set the machine in motion and keep it going. There was no need for further interference.

ROBERT BOYLE AND GOD

Robert Boyle, for example, was not "wont to think a man the worse naturalist for not being an atheist." He agreed with Descartes "that the origin of motion in matter is from God; and not only so, but that thinking it very unfit to be believed that matter barely put into motion, and then left to itself, should casually constitute this beautiful and orderly world; I think also further, that the wise Author of things did, by establishing the laws of motion among bodies, and by guiding the first motions of the small parts of matter, bring them to convene after the manner requisite to compose the world, and especially did contrive those curious and elaborate engines, the bodies of living creatures, endowing most of them with a power of propagating their species." Boyle admits that the most "potent Author, and Opificer of the world, hath not abandoned a masterpiece so worthy of him, but does still maintain and preserve it, so regulating the stupendously swift motions of the great globes, and other vast masses of mundane matter, that they do not, by any notable irregularity, disorder the grand system of the universe and reduce it to chaos."⁸⁸ God's interference is not often necessary, for the universe is "like a rare clock . . . where all things are so skillfully combined that the engine being once set

⁸⁸Wolf, *Science and Technology in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, I, 669.

a-moving all things proceed, according to the artificer's first design." Scientists of the seventeenth century still needed this hypothesis, however slightly Christian it might be, but as scientists they were far more interested in the mechanism of the watch than in the Watchmaker. "He must be a very dull inquirer, who, demanding an account of the phenomena of a watch, shall rest satisfied with being told, that it is an engine made by a watch-maker; though nothing be thereby declared of the structure and co-operation of the spring, wheels, balance, and other parts of the engine, and the manner how they act on one another, so as to co-operate to make the needle point out the true hour of the day." Boyle does not care so much how the mechanism is started as how it works.

NEWTON AND GOD

Newton, in his *Optics*, remarks that "the main Business of Natural Philosophy is to argue from phenomena without feigning Hypotheses, and to deduce Causes from Effects, till we come to the very first Cause, which certainly is not mechanical." "It seems probable to me that God in the Beginning formed Matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, moveable Particles, of such Sizes and Figures, and with such other Properties, and in such proportion to Space, as most conduced to the End for which he formed them." "All material things seem to have been composed of the hard and solid Particles above mentioned, variously associated in the first Creation by the Counsel of an intelligent Agent . . . who being in all places, is more able by his Will to move the Bodies within his boundless uniform Sensorium, and thereby to form and reform the Parts of the Universe, than we are by our Will to move the Parts of our own Bodies."⁸⁹ But Newton, as a scientist, is not interested in much more than the very orderliness of the universe.

DEISM

The conflict between religions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created an interest in comparative religion. This interest was fostered by the expansion of western Europe into new worlds⁹⁰ and the discovery of new non-Christian religions that seemed to be as satisfactory in their way as Christianity. The work of the scientists and philosophers led to much questioning of the specific content of the Christian outlook, if not of the ultimate divine origins of the universe. Men began to examine critically its Scriptures and its dogma, and to reject such things as miracles. During the Renaissance Christian humanists such as Erasmus tried to simplify Christianity by reducing it to the "philosophy of Christ." The disgraceful religious disputes and wars of the early modern age, a developing knowledge of the world that made insistence upon Christianity as the only true religion seem provincial, and the criticism of religious super-

⁸⁹Baumer, pp. 322, 324

⁹⁰See p. 189.

naturalism by scientists and philosophers led men to try to work out the principles of a universal, natural, or scientific religion which would compose the disputes, avoid the wars, encompass all regional religions, and reflect the results and criticism of the new science. The result of this attempt to reconstruct religion was the view called deism, the work primarily of Englishmen in the seventeenth century. Deism spread to France in the eighteenth century, where it dissolved finally into scepticism, atheism, and the revolutionary attempt to set up the worship of the Supreme Being.

LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY

The founder of the deistic movement was Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648).⁹¹ He wished to establish the simple creed of a universal religion which would reflect the common notions of mankind and be received by them with universal consent. "Universal consent," he writes in a work *On Truth*, "should be regarded, in my view, as the first and sovereign Theology and Philosophy, and to this end divine providence greatly assists, for it has, in these last centuries, so largely revealed what was unknown to the earlier ones, that it seems there remains nothing worthy to be known which has not been declared to us." After reflecting upon the results of his study of comparative religion, Lord Herbert put down five universal religious truths, established by common consent:

1. "That there is a Supreme Power." Among his attributes is infinity, this proved "by the infinity of space, which God surpasses as comprising all things, for the common notion teaches us that God is above and beyond all things."
2. "That this Sovereign Power must be worshipped. . . . Religion is the distinguishing characteristic of mankind."
3. "That the good ordering or disposition of the faculties of man constitutes the principal or best part of divine worship, and that this has always been believed." This is to say that God demands good conduct and not the performance of ceremonies as his worship.
4. "That all vices and crimes should be expiated and effaced by repentance."
5. "That there are rewards and punishments after this life." Lord Herbert summarizes, "Thus it appears that the common notions which recognize a sovereign Author of all things, which bid us honour him, lead holy lives, repent of our crimes, and expect reward or punishment after death, come from God, and are imprinted in the whole human race, and that those which presume plurality of Gods, which allow sin to remain unrepented of, and which waver as to the eternal state of the soul, are not common notions, nor truths. All religion is not good, . . . and we are not

⁹¹See Basil Willey, "Rational Theology," *op. cit.*; and J. H. Randall, "The Religion of Reason," *The Making of the Modern Mind*.

claiming that a man can be saved in all sorts of religions—for how can it be that he who believes more than he need, and does less than he ought, can be saved? But we gladly believe that in every religion, and even in each conscience, whether by grace or by nature, a man has means sufficient to render himself acceptable to God.” These common notions alone should be called catholic; they constitute a “Church outside of which there is no salvation—nay, all the praises attributed to ‘The Church’ belong to it, and each of the other Churches is by so much the less true, and the more subject to error, as it is further separated from this.”⁹²

Lord Herbert’s deism started a religious controversy of over a century’s duration,⁹³ it being argued whether deism alone constituted an effective religion. Was not revelation necessary to confirm natural religion, and sacraments and ceremonies necessary to minister unto human religious needs? The best representative of the orthodox ascetic (Catholic) outlook among the mathematicians and scientists of the seventeenth century was the great French mathematician Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). The employment of reason is a limited approach to the truth, he thought. “We know truth, not only by the reason, but also by the heart, and it is from this last that we know first principles . . . and reason must lean necessarily on this instinctive knowledge of the heart, and must found on it every process. We feel principles, we infer propositions, both with certainty, though by different ways. It is useless and absurd for reason to demand from the heart proofs of first principles before it will admit them, as it would be for the heart to ask from reason a feeling of all the propositions demonstrated before accepting them.” “Would to God . . . that we never needed reason, and that we knew everything by instinct and feeling!” “Those to whom God has given Religion by an instinctive feeling are very blessed, and justly convinced. But to those who have it not we can give it only by reasoning, waiting for the time when God shall impress it on their hearts, without which faith is human only, and useless for salvation.”⁹⁴

Conclusion: Science and Humanism

THE RATIONAL APPROACH OF SCIENCE

The new science strengthened the western humanistic tradition. As an intellectual movement it was liberating. It emphasized a rational approach to the solution of scientific and other problems. Its results, to be sure, were not always achieved by rational methods, for the scientist had (and still has) special intuitions and hunches that he willingly followed. His rationalism consisted in the use of the controlled experiment and the de-

⁹²Willey, pp. 132 ff.

⁹³See Chap. v, pp. 275 ff.

⁹⁴Baumer, pp. 326–328.

ductive logic of mathematics. Thus the new science brought powerful support to the notion that reason was man's best way of solving his problems.

THE NEW SCIENCE ANTIASCETIC

The early modern scientist did not employ his methods to understand the other world or to prepare man for it. He was a student of this world and, as in Bacon's case, often proposed to use his knowledge to enhance the quality of man's life upon it. This is a secular, worldly, and not an ascetic outlook. The results of early science were so spectacular that they gave grounds for a new hope. The application of scientific method to social, economic, and political fields would hasten the establishment of man's kingdom of earth. In these senses science was not only humanistic; it produced positive anti-ascetic propaganda. Not all scientists were content with Bacon to put science and religion into separate compartments. The number of those increased who wished to make the Christian God a scientific or mathematical God, and to make Christianity a natural or scientific religion. They were often willing to join hands with some Christian humanists in emphasizing the rational, undogmatic approach to the problem of religion. Continued success in solving scientific problems often led them subsequently to believe that they had the answers for all problems whether scientific or not. The old conflict between humanism and asceticism was intensified and took on the character of a controversy between science and religion.

ANTIHUMANISTIC SCIENCE

It is, however, quite false to suggest that the new science is to be understood only in the terms of a scientific humanism. For it has by now become clear that many of the implications of the growth of science are antihumanistic. A major problem of the contemporary world is how the results of science are to be used:⁹⁵ that is, to benefit man, as Bacon insisted, or exploit and destroy him? The scientist has not held exclusively to the Baconian creed. He has not insisted, nor has mankind, that science be limited to what will benefit man. The results of science have been used to enhance man's greed and to facilitate his exploitation of his fellow man. They have been used to aid man to destroy his kind in warfare. The speediest applications of science are often to the weapons of war. Recent advances in nuclear physics have produced atomic, hydrogen, and similar weapons and stimulated an international competition in their production. If war breaks out, and if, as seems most likely, it is atomic, it will destroy or ruin most of the civilizations of this earth. Those Japanese who survived the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II do not regard modern science as very humanistic. The use of atomic energy for

⁹⁵See Vol. I, "Introduction."

what is called peaceful rather than military purposes is as yet in a very early stage. Before it gets too far, the earth may be reduced to such a state as to make talk about the peaceful uses of atomic energy seem absurd. The military applications of the results of science now make it easier for the tyrant or dictator to maintain his sway. Thus, considering the whole history of science it may be quite properly asked whether its uses have been humanistic or antihumanistic, useful or harmful, responsible or irresponsible to man.

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE

There are other ways in which science has been destructive of man's sense of dignity and importance. Early modern science had to do with the shifting of man's view from a geocentric to a heliocentric universe. All the results of astronomy since that day have tended to expand this universe into infinite space. To an ordinary mind the magnitudes of the sun, stars, and planets, and the distances between them, are preposterous and meaningless. The stunning beauty of a starry night may waken wonder in the heart of the observer. But if he tries to relate his little earth to this stupendous vastness, his heart may well be constricted with awe and terror of the unknown. It is so difficult under these circumstances to make anything he says, thinks, or does, matter.

MAN AND NATURAL LAW

Early science reduced the functioning of nature to "laws," "natural laws," expressed in mathematical terms. There was nothing to suggest that man was exempt from these inexorable "laws." He too was a part of nature. Here was a form of scientific predestinarianism. If it was not Augustine's, Luther's, or Calvin's God who decided man's fate, it was Nature's "laws," and these laws often consigned him to a hell on earth. Early science revived the atomic theory of the Greeks. Nature was to be explained in terms of particles or masses of matter in various kinds of motion. The letters and figures of a mathematical equation explained this motion and reduced the beauties of the external world to the stark and (it would seem to many) incomprehensible beauty of mathematics. Man was not exempt from this interpretation of nature as matter in motion. The great dignity of rational man and his wonderful potentiality were reduced to the meaning of an equation. Here was a scientific materialism governing man.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Science threatened also to destroy western man's traditional religion. When the French astronomer Laplace showed Napoleon his work on celestial mechanics (*Mécanique Céleste*), a work which described the completely mechanical functioning of the universe, Napoleon complained that

there was no mention of God in the work. Laplace answered, "I have no need for that hypothesis." Scientific materialism had no need for the personal God of Christian tradition. It substituted for him God the mathematician, or Nature, or got along without any God at all. It criticized the substance of Christian dogma, magic, miracles, and superstition. Science had its own hopes to substitute for those of traditional Christianity. For many this proved to be inadequate, leaving bewilderment, confusion, and despair in the place of certainty.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY

In spite of these considerations, however, the major emphasis of science was humanistic. It might dwarf, minimize, predetermine, and mechanize man, but its results were the works of man. It was a mere man (Copernicus) who had dared to challenge the authority of an astronomical system thousands of years old. It was another mere man (Newton) whose imagination was capacious enough to join sun and earth, planets and stars in a universal law of gravitation. The results of science were an indication of man's rational powers and potentialities. The humanistic tradition has always emphasized the innate capacities of man and suggested that when free to realize them he can be trusted to be responsible. The application of the new science put greater responsibilities upon him than ever before. It dared him to give, with his newly discovered powers, a character to life on earth that it had never had before; it obliged him to make decisions with respect to the uses of science that challenged his creative imagination and will. In this larger sense science made man the master of his fate as western Christianity never had. He could use his newly discovered power to realize his fondest hopes; he could abuse it to destroy himself and his works.

SCIENCE AND RELATIVISM

Science was also humanistic in casting doubt upon absolutistic systems of truth, whether secular or religious. Modern science grew out of a great refutation of Aristotle and the Greeks. It continued to grow by its willingness to be on the everlasting lookout for mistakes in its own methods, axioms, and hypotheses. It accumulated knowledge through the conviction that there was no final truth; rather, truth was something always being discovered, hypotheses were always being refined. The Greek sophists had contended that man is the measure of all things,⁹⁶ and this approach to knowledge has been called relativism. Science tended to support this relativism when, generation after generation, scientist corrected scientist, and when what was thought to be scientific "law" turned out to be incorrect or inadequate. The notion of a once-and-for-all revealed truth was supplanted by the notion of a growing truth—a truth accumulated by the devoted efforts of man using a new method.

⁹⁶See Vol. I, pp. 121 ff.

WESTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETY IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

*I*t is now necessary to add to the artistic, religious, and intellectual history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries their economic, social, and political history.

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Western European society in these centuries may be called early modern by way of contrast with medieval, late modern, and contemporary. In the Middle Ages this society was actually confined to the area of western Europe and its peripheries. Primarily rural or agricultural, the routine of its daily life centered about the cultivation of the manor by peasants. Society was conceived by theorizing clergy as an organism of classes, or estates, each with its own special obligations. The peasants were members of a third estate whose labor made possible the religious and military services of the first (clergy) and second (nobility) estates. Since, for the most part, these ruling classes came from the nobility, medieval society was aristocratic. Its characteristic political unit was the fief of the feudal lord, the lands of the fief being scattered about over a small region or province. Its civilization was differentiated in accordance with the locality, that is, it was regional or provincial. There were great differences and hostility between western and eastern Europe based primarily on religion and race and on the aggressive nature of some aspects of the expansion of western to eastern Europe.¹

¹See Vol. I, Chap. xi, for an analysis of these differences.

CONTEMPORARY WESTERN EUROPE

The civilization of late modern or contemporary western Europe must be differently described. It has expanded from the confines of western Europe to the western hemisphere of North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In areas where western peoples have not settled, certain of its institutions and aspects of its culture have spread within older, and in some cases more primitive, civilizations. In geographical scope it has ceased to be local and has in various degrees become global. Strictly speaking, western Europe today combines those areas, including the United States of America, to which its civilization has spread, if not those which it has influenced. It is characteristically urban, capitalistic, and dynamic, being dominated by the large city. While agriculture is fundamental to its health, its unit is no longer the manor; its surplus is produced for an area much larger than the locality, for its markets are national, international, and global. Its farmers now cultivate the soil with machines, as members of a capitalistic economy. The capitalism of western European society is now predominantly industrial, characterized by the huge corporation or cartel, often international in scope. The aristocracy of birth has been succeeded by one of wealth, the upper bourgeoisie, whose attitudes toward other social classes are often similar to those of the older aristocracy. Social theorists today, however, do not necessarily hold that the organic quality of society can be preserved only when one remains in the class to which he was born. They prefer to emphasize the individual rather than the class, and the possibility of moving from class to class. Western society, ceasing to be static, has become mobile. Its political unit is the nation, whose government is said to possess complete freedom of action, or sovereignty. Its governments are normally democratic, characterized by representative institutions responsive to the wishes of the people. The medieval contrast and conflict between East and West have now expanded beyond Europe to the world and become a rivalry of two groups of nations. The intensity of this rivalry, if it should break out in war, threatens to ruin a large part of the civilizations of the globe.

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a transition or mid-point between the medieval and the modern world. The eighteenth might well be added to them, for only the repercussions of the Industrial and French revolutions finally changed medieval society into something modern. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the peoples of western Europe began to settle in, and trade extensively with, other parts of the world, and their civilization therewith began to be global. The economic result of expansion overseas transformed western European economy along capitalistic lines: commercial and financial rather than industrial; and it introduced the new capitalist into the ruling class, at

least in such coastal countries as Holland and England. The monarchs of this age sought to modernize their feudal states into national states and thus to facilitate profit from expansion overseas.

EAST AND WEST IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the cultural cleavage between western and eastern Europe was deepened. For with certain exceptions the Slavic peoples of eastern and southeastern (Balkan) Europe did not share in the aesthetic, religious, and intellectual experiences of the West. There was no Renaissance and hence no humanistic movement in eastern Europe. The Greek Orthodox Church did not have to contend with a Reformation and Protestants, and, perhaps more important, there was no intellectual movement corresponding to the growth of western science and scientific philosophy. Further, although the Russian peoples began to expand eastward across Siberia to the Pacific in the seventeenth century, there was nothing to correspond to the growth of western capitalism and therefore of a middle class. Nor did the Slavs enjoy any kind of political development similar to that of the western democracies. With eastern Europe remaining fundamentally medieval, the contrast with the West became more glaring.

CHRISTIANITY AND OVERSEAS EXPANSION

How did the trends initiating the early modern world, the expansion of Europe overseas, the development of capitalism, and the growth of the national state, influence the western conflict between humanism and asceticism? The reasons for expansion were in part religious and in part economic. Christianity was still expansive and still fighting with Islam. As a body of divine truth making possible the salvation of mankind, it has never been content with less than the conversion of the globe. In its Roman Catholic form it has always thought of an ecclesiastical government, or theocracy, for a universal Christendom. Restless and uncomfortable with neighbors who were unchristian, or pagan, or even dissidently Christian, western Christianity from the very beginning sent out the missionary to make the world its kind of Christian. Certain aspects of both Catholic and Protestant Christianity were ascetic. The expansion of western Europe, whether by Catholics or Protestants going overseas or by missionary work among the natives of extra-European continents, meant inevitably a spread of the ascetic spirit. Europeans departing after the Reformation and Counter Reformation carried with them the hostilities of a divided Christianity. The Counter Reformation was carried to the world by Spain, Portugal, and the papacy, and with it the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The colonization of North America was partly the result of the persecuting bigotry of both Catholic and Protestant in Europe. With Christianity went also its intolerance. It is hard to say when the world will fully recover from this extension.

CHRONOLOGY — Western European Society in the 16th and 17th Centuries

	Spain, Portugal, and Holy Roman Empire	France and Italy	England and Holland
1450	Prince Henry (d. 1460) Columbus (1446?-1506) Diaz (1450?-1500) Isabella (1451-1504) Albuquerque (1453-1515) Cabral (1460?-1526?) da Gama (1469?-1524) Pizarro (1471?-1541) Ferdinand (r. 1474-1516) Magellan (1480?-1521)	Machiavelli (1469-1527)	John Cabot (ca. 1451-1498?) Sebastian Cabot (1472?-1557) Henry VII (r. 1485-1509)
1500	Cortes (1485-1547) Emperor Maximilian I (r. 1493-1519) de Soto (1499?-1542) Coronado (ca. 1500-1549?) Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-1556) <i>Peace of Augsburg</i> (1555) Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1556-1564) Philip II (1556-1598) <i>Defeat of Armada</i> (1588)	Cartier (1494-1552?) Jean Bodin (1530-1596) Champlain (1567-1635) Henry IV (r. 1589-1610) <i>Edict of Nantes</i> (1598)	Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547) Edward VI (r. 1547-1553) Mary (r. 1553-1558) Frobisher (1535?-1594) Drake (1540?-1596) Elizabeth (r. 1558-1603) Henry Hudson (d. 1611) Francis Bacon (1561-1626) Coke (1552-1634)
1600	Tasman (1602?-1659) <i>Thirty Years' War</i> (1618-1648) <i>Peace of Westphalia</i> (1648)	Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661) Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643) Colbert (1619-1683) Bishop Bossuet (1627-1704) Marquette (1637-1675) La Salle (1643-1687) Joliet (1645-1700) Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) <i>Peace of Pyrenees</i> (1659) <i>Edict of Nantes revoked</i> (1685)	<i>British East India Company</i> (1600) <i>Dutch East India Company</i> (1602) James I (r. 1603-1625) Laud (1573-1645) Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) Hobbes (1588-1679) Cromwell (1599-1658) John Milton (1608-1674) Charles I (r. 1625-1649) <i>Petition of Right</i> (1628) John Locke (1632-1704) Charles II (r. 1660-1685) James II (r. 1685-1688) <i>Glorious Revolution</i> (1688) William III (1689-1702) and Mary (1689-1694) <i>Bill of Rights</i> (1689) <i>Toleration Act</i> (1689)
1700		<i>War of Spanish Succession</i> (1701-1713) <i>Treaty of Utrecht</i> (1713)	

The Christianity which spread to the world was not only ascetic and intolerant but also militant. It had become militant through its medieval struggle with paganism and especially with Islam. Islam had first thwarted Christianity's ambition to become a world religion; it had then caused considerable losses to Christianity in the Near East and North Africa. When Moslems crossed from Africa into Spain, Sicily, and Italy, they put western Christianity still more on the defensive. When defensive became offensive in Europe and the Near East, it was called the Crusades. Since these Crusades were inspired as well by the economic ambitions of southern European towns, they were the first important chapter of western imperialism.²

The early modern expansion of Europe was the second chapter, and it was inspired by similar motives. Western Christians had been unable to maintain their hold on the Near East. The Mongols invading this area and Europe in the thirteenth century became Mohammedan, not Christian. The expansion of the Ottoman Turks into the Balkans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries revived the Crusades in southeastern Europe. They did not stop until the Turks were expelled. While waiting finally to drive Islam from the Iberian peninsula, Portugal and Spain, without exact knowledge of the extent of Africa, sought to turn its flank or attack it from the rear by sailing down the west coast of Africa and around the Cape into the Indian Ocean. The expansion of western Europe was thus a continuation of the Crusades, helping to keep the Christian spirit fanatical. Portugal and Spain, joined soon by Holland, France, and England, sought also, of course, to avoid the expensive trade routes between Europe and the Far East that were controlled by the Italian towns (Genoa, Venice) and various Moslem powers. The war between Christianity and Islam remained economic as well as religious and perpetuated the West-East conflict in these respects.

HUMANISM AND COLONIALISM

The expansion of western Europe overseas created new colonial empires. The Roman imperial tradition was thus resumed, and it now became a question whether western peoples would be better empire builders than the Greeks and Romans. The failure of these classical empires was largely caused by their inability and unwillingness to export their domestic democracies to their colonies.³ This is but another way of saying that classical humanism, which included the notion of the full development of individual potentialities, was in these instances reserved for an élite ruling class of Greek and Roman citizens. By 1500 western Europe had come to know and understand the values of ancient humanism, and this knowledge was extended to her empires with the spread of western systems of education and literature. The revival of ancient learning brought with

²See the treatment of the Crusades in Vol. I, Chap. xi.

³See Vol. I, pp. 88, 219.

it a revival of Ptolemy's *Geography* and his map of the world. These played the same part as his *Almagest* to astronomy in stimulating geographic curiosity and, when once their limitations had been revealed, in promoting the independent study of geography and new developments in cartography. The explorations and discoveries of the early modern period thus began to reveal to western man the extent and nature of his globe. He might now think rationally of his relation to it as well as to the universe. Expansion was definitely a part of that larger Renaissance that was exploring the nature and possibilities of man's mind and heart and setting to work to reveal the mechanism of the heavens.

That western man, at the moment of his embarkation overseas, had become reacquainted with, and much influenced by, the ideals of ancient humanism did not mean that they were to apply to all members of his society. For humanism at this date was an outlook limited to gentlemen. The westerner had used humanism to temper his Christianity and his science, and the result may be called Christian and scientific humanism. He had also revived asceticism and theocracy with the Reformation and Counter Reformation and blocked the free expansion of the humanistic spirit. When western European civilization became world-wide its unresolved humanistic-ascetic conflict likewise became world-wide. It became more complex when new colonial empires added problems of the proper relationship of the mother country to her citizens abroad, and of both these groups to primitive and civilized natives of newly conquered countries, and to other, unconquered peoples. These were among others the Indians of the American continent and the Indians of India, the natives of Australia and Africa, the Indonesians of the East Indies, and the Chinese and the Japanese.

It happens that expanding, technologically superior civilizations are often ruthless when they encounter peoples with undeveloped civilizations. Much of Rome's original treatment of primitive peoples (Iberians, Gauls) was of this nature. Such was often the German advance against the Slavs and Balts of the southern Baltic. And such has often been the nature of the conquest by the Christian white man from western Europe of the red men, yellow men, dark and black men of various parts of the earth's surface.⁴ The impact of an expanding western civilization upon older eastern ones sometimes led to a speedy closing of the doors of entry to the East. In 1638, for example, the Japanese government felt obliged to forbid its people from becoming Christian or having dealings with any Europeans except the Dutch. As the West exported to its colonies its own aspirations, the realization of which it was denying them, these empires disintegrated and continue to do so.⁵ This breakdown of western imperialism puts the voyages of exploration and discovery in a new light. At a moment when its own humanistic-ascetic conflict was

⁴For details see pp. 211 ff.

⁵See pp. 737 ff.

unresolved, western civilization was thrust upon the world. Inevitably it became a question not simply of whether western Europeans at home or abroad were to have the opportunities of developing their potentialities. The western aspiration spread to all mankind. Could non-Europeans, whether within or without European empires, have these opportunities? Could all the inhabitants of the earth have their human potentialities fully developed? This then was the magnificent prospect which the expansion of western civilization opened up to the world. It is a prospect, still dimly conceived, whose realization is perhaps about to be begun.

EXPANSION AND THE EAST AND WEST STRUGGLE

The manner in which the West expanded created much hostility not only with Islamic but with other, far-eastern peoples. It thus extended and intensified the East and West struggle. It is now clear that this struggle today is really over this ancient ideal of developing the great human capacities. To the extent that the world is convinced that it is the West or the East that is wholeheartedly devoted to it, it will turn for leadership to the West or the East. Fortunate would it be indeed if both West and East could agree on the ideal and the methods of attaining it.

EXPANSION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF WORLD UNDERSTANDING

The early expansion of Europe overseas was the West's first introduction to the world and the world's first introduction to the West. It supplied the geographical beginnings of acquaintance, the prelude to the long, profound study and the intimate and sympathetic association which leads to real understanding. A comprehension of the spirit of one people alone is difficult enough for another to acquire. How much more among all the peoples of the world! This is why, if mutual understanding is the basis of world peace and survival, the world to date has done so badly.

CAPITALISM AND THE HUMANISM-ASCETICISM CONFLICT

The early expansion of Europe stimulated the development of capitalism at home and introduced it abroad. To what extent did the growth and expansion of capitalism contribute to the strength of humanism? Capitalism had its western origins in the medieval towns and grew with these towns. The word describes an economy whose direction is in the hands of those who have wealth and who use this wealth to acquire political and social power and, among other things, more wealth. The guild organization of the medieval town was intended to equalize the opportunities for the acquisition of wealth among its members by controlling the local market. The growth of a more than local commerce, together with exporting industries, rendered the guild system archaic. It was unable to control the enterprising merchant and manufacturer who

bought and sold in, and produced for, wide and distant markets. New economic organizations grew up responsive to these needs: the family or joint-stock company, the stock exchange, and the domestic system of manufacture. Among these were the interregional and international banking and credit institutions which the expanding trade and industry could not do without.

Like early science, capitalism was a distinctive western development and, unlike science, had no dependence for its growth upon the revival of antiquity. Any judgment of its humanistic importance must rest therefore upon what the new methods of producing and exchanging wealth did to human beings and how its surplus was distributed and used. There is nothing humanistic as such in the excitement of man's acquisitive instinct, his cupidity, avarice, or greed. This capitalism certainly tends to do. To make money a standard of value is essentially to take the heart out of things. There is nothing humanistic as such in the promotion of competition or in rivalry for profit. When it is not monopolistic, capitalism tends to do this also. There is nothing humanistic in the exploitation of human beings as "labor power" by other human beings in the interest of "profit." Capitalism was early interpreted as a system of economic law and, like science, was made to appear a system of nature or a predestination whose fitness it was useless to protest. To this extent it dehumanized and depersonalized essentially human ways of making a living. The increase of wealth made possible by capitalistic methods may be used to support ascetic as well as humanistic ends. It may be given to religious institutions with outright otherworldly ends, and often has been, as a means to quiet consciences uneasy over how profit has been made. It can also be used to support activities and institutions calculated to develop man's abilities to live a good life on this earth. Some early Italian capitalists were warm patrons of the Renaissance. Some early Dutch capitalists looked upon themselves as reincarnations of Roman senators. Western capitalism has made possible an increase in the standard of living for increasing numbers of people and likewise the application of science to improve man's estate. Western European civilization has, however, yet to realize the full humanistic promise of its capitalistic system.⁶

THE NATIONAL STATE AND HUMANISM

It remains to consider the implications for the humanism-asceticism conflict of the development of the national sovereign state. Here again it is a question of how political power is used and whether one particular form of national sovereign state (absolute monarchy, limited monarchy, republic) is more likely to utilize its power in the support of one rather than the other point of view. A religious conception of the state is likely

⁶See Vol. I, pp. 459 ff., for an analysis of the antiascetic implications of the early medieval towns.

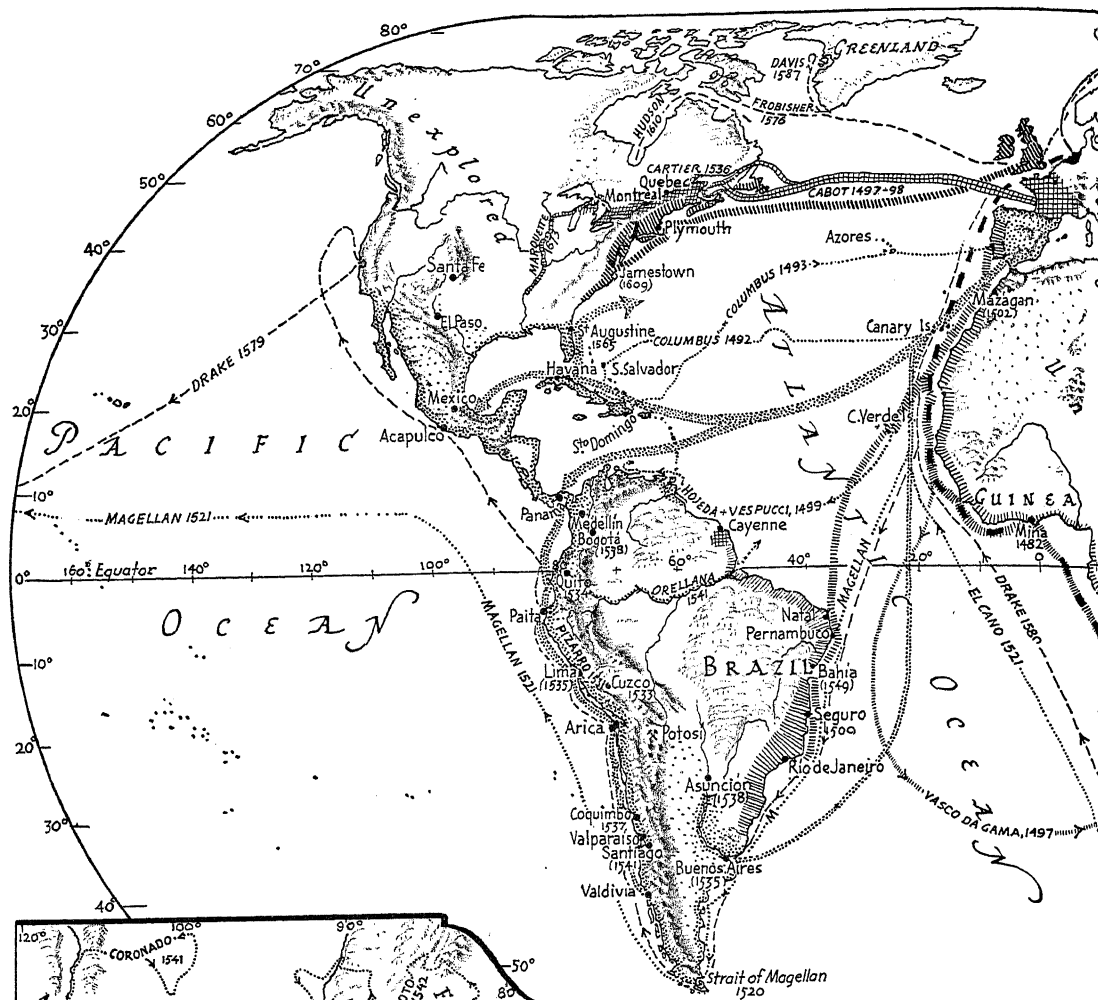
to enhance an ascetic outlook.⁷ Accordingly, when rulers are looked upon as sacred or as agents of the divine—when, that is, the state is theocratic—it is likely to be the bulwark of an organized church and of the point of view it inculcates. When in the Middle Ages secular theocracy in the form of the Holy Roman Empire or ecclesiastical theocracy in the form of the Holy Roman Church tended to assume a universal or international form, they were rejected.

The proclamation of the sovereignty of the national state was a final statement of this rejection. Early modern sovereign national states took three main forms: the absolute, divine-right monarchy, or national theocracy (France), the limited monarchy (England), and the republic (Holland, Switzerland). In spite of the brilliance of the culture it patronized, the French monarchy, built upon the supports of Catholic Church and aristocracy, led to bankruptcy, the abuse of political power, and revolution, and thus to the final rejection of national theocracy. The English monarchy and the Dutch state, built upon the support of Protestant churches, capitalistic middle classes, and medieval notions of government limited by contract and law, used parliaments and guarantees of certain civil liberties to secure a larger measure of freedom and security for all citizens. Such use of political power can be described as humanistic. Thus the national theocracy of the French, in spite of its aristocratic culture, tended to limit the expansion of the potentialities of most Frenchmen. The limited governments of the English and Dutch were moving in the opposite direction. The sovereign nations of the West have been unable to live at peace. Their inability to arbitrate their differences jeopardizes through periodic war the realization of the humanistic promise.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus, a rediscoverer of a new western world, was acquainted with the views of Ptolemy's *Geography*. He had also read, and written comments in the margins of, a book of travels by Marco Polo. Marco was a Venetian who as a young man of seventeen had had the good fortune of journeying to the court of the Great Khan of the Mongols and of remaining there for seventeen years (1276-1292). This was long enough to make his book western Europe's first authoritative account of the Far East. Before sailing westward across the Atlantic on behalf of Ferdinand and Isabella Columbus had been a resident of Lisbon and had sailed the western seas as far north, possibly, as Iceland itself, but certainly as far as Bristol, a town engaged in trade with Iceland, where, it is thought, men still knew of the Viking discovery of America. Columbus had first offered his services as an explorer to the king of Portugal, since this little kingdom had long used intrepid Italian mariners

⁷See Vol. I, Chaps. ii, ix, xii, xiii.

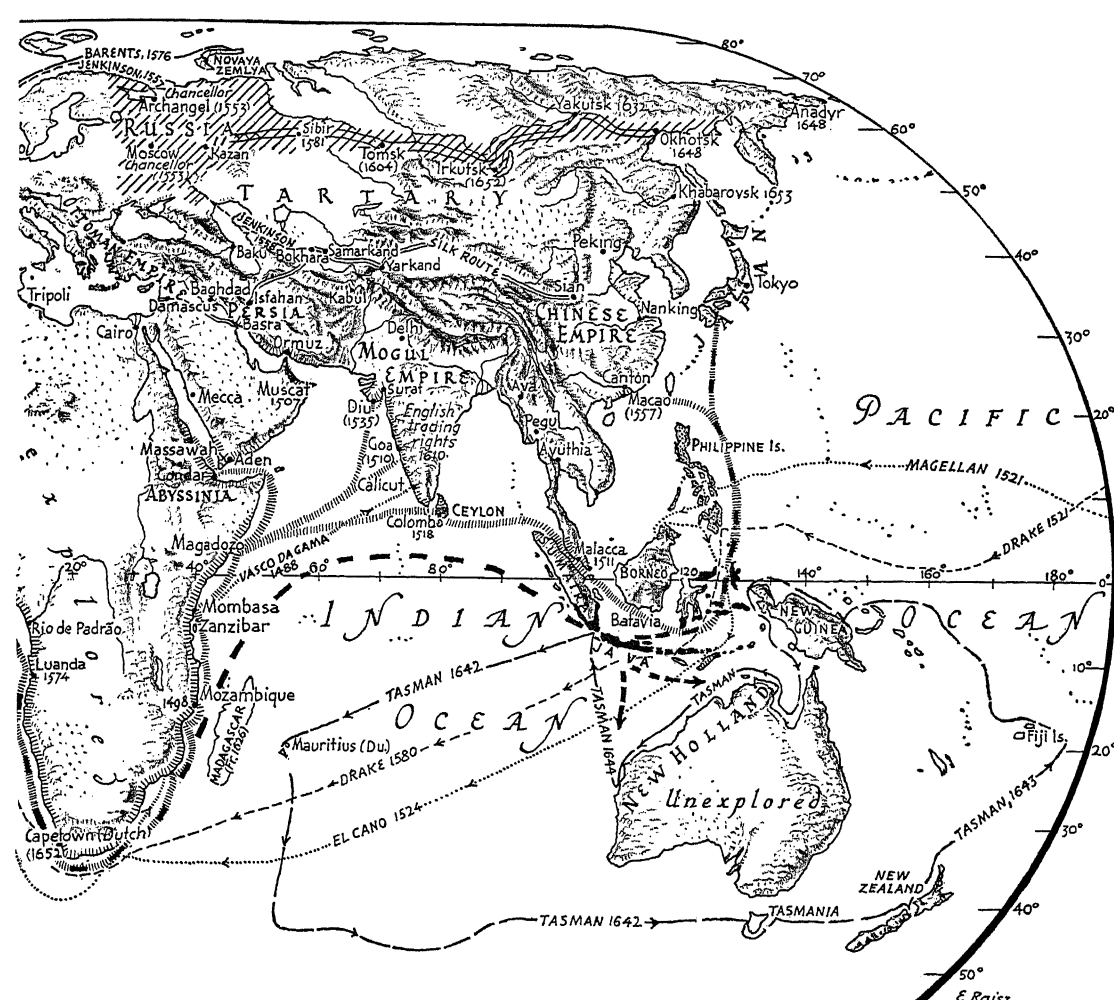


EXPANSION OVERSEAS, 15th

Controlled territories, Routes of

- Spanish
- Portuguese
- French

Dates 1500 (1500)



OF EUROPE to 17th century

Trade routes explorers

- English
- Dutch
- Russian

Discovery Settlement



to participate in its voyages down the western coast of Africa. Under the direction of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) these voyages had had a remarkable success. Once beyond the Cape of Bojador (1434), they had reached the region of Sierra Leone by the date of the prince's death. They continued thereafter with the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Dias in 1486, and twelve years later (16 May, 1498) Vasco da Gama, following the same route, finally reached Calicut in India. The Mediterranean route to the Near East had been avoided, and Islam's control of the Indian Ocean route to the Far East seriously challenged.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

Portuguese mariners possibly discovered the eastern coast of South America long before Columbus. Certainly a Portuguese, Pedro Cabral, touched the coast of Brazil in 1500. Like the Portuguese and all the early explorers, Columbus had in mind the discovery of a route to the Far East (Cathay and Cipangu) that would avoid the Italian Mediterranean monopoly of eastern trade. He had also to avoid the areas recently pre-empted by the Portuguese. He tried hard to fit the discoveries of his four voyages (1492-1502), as momentous a sailing as ever there has been, to his firm belief that it was the lands off Cathay, the Khan's kingdom, that he had found. He had first landed on San Salvador in the Bahamas (12 October, 1492). Cuba, touched soon afterward, was certainly, he thought, a part of the Khan's Cathay; Haiti was Cipangu (Japan). With the discovery of Jamaica on his second voyage, he thought he was near Malaya. When he touched the coast of Central America on his fourth voyage, he thought it a peninsula of southeastern Asia. When he heard of the Pacific, he thought it must be the East Indian Ocean. Explorations of the Florentine pilot Amerigo Vespucci (1499, 1501) along the eastern coast of South America, and of the Venetian John Cabot and his son Sebastian in the service of Bristol merchants along the northeastern coast of North America (1497, 1498, 1508-9), made it clear that a new continent was blocking the way to India, the Spice Islands, China, and Japan.

SEARCHING FOR A SHORT CUT TO THE PACIFIC

It was then a question of finding, if possible, a passage through or avoiding this barrier. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailing for Spain, started the search on 20 September, 1519, a voyage which discovered and passed through the straits named after him. After Magellan's death in the Philippines the voyage was continued under the leadership of Sebastian de Elcano, and was capped with what turned out to be the first circumnavigation of the globe (1522). Danish, Dutch, and English seamen tried to establish a northeast passage to the Pacific by sailing around the Scandinavian peninsula and along the northern shores of

Siberia. The Frenchmen Cartier and Champlain went up the St. Lawrence River. The Englishmen Frobisher, John Davis, and Buffin, together with a Dutch sailor in the services of the English, Henry Hudson, sought a northwest passage in and about or out of the bay named after Hudson. Previously Hudson, with the same aim, had sailed up the magnificent fjord now called the Hudson River. Spaniards sought a western terminus of a passage through North America on the Pacific Coast, in which they were joined by Sir Francis Drake in the course of his circumnavigation of the globe (1578).

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the seventeenth century the hopes for a northeast or a northwest passage were slowly abandoned. Western Europe then settled down to the serious business of colonizing North America. Meanwhile, the destruction of the Aztec civilization in Mexico by Cortes (1519-1521), and of the Inca civilization in Peru by Francis Pizarro, opened up Mexico and Central and South America to further Spanish exploration and settlement. Simultaneously, Coronado and de Soto were exploring the southern and southwestern parts of the United States, and French explorers (Marquette, Joliet, La Salle), following up the exploration of the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes area, were revealing the nature of the vast valley of the Mississippi. Before the seventeenth century was over, the Dutch had supplanted the Portuguese in the Far East and had sent Abel Tasman to explore the South Seas and discover Tasmania, New Zealand, and among others the Fiji Islands. This was the very century when the Russians, exploring and settling, were finding their way across Siberia to the Pacific.

NEW ARTICLES OF TRADE

There were huge profits made in bringing oriental goods in a single haul to the Atlantic ports of western Europe, thus avoiding the expense of the multiple transshipments of the Mediterranean route. Eastern wares became more abundant on the European market. Porcelain appeared, and such new fabrics as calicoes, chintzes, ginghams, cretonnes, and cottons awakened the protests of European textile workers, who thought them "tawdry, pie-spotted, flabby, ragged [and] low priced," not to mention "made by a parcel of heathens and pagans that worship the Devil and work for $\frac{1}{2}$ d a day." Eastern spices and dyestuffs were more available, and "that excellent and by all physicians approved China Drink called by the Chineans 'Tcha,' [and] by other nations 'Tay,' alias 'Tea,' " became a new determining fact in the history of the English people. What could a nation not do whose citizens regularly drank a beverage which made "the body active and strong, cured headaches, giddiness, and heaviness, removed difficulties in breathing, vanquished bad dreams, strengthened the memory, the stomach, and the liver and prevented

tuberculosis!”⁸ It could be alternated with coffee and cocoa from the other side of the world, and there was sugar from the plantations in the West Indies to sweeten them all.

The world has never recovered from the stimulation produced by the introduction of American tobacco to Europe. Its defenders and opponents are still continuing an argument begun in the late sixteenth century. Was it “very good for loosening and carrying off the superfluous humours of the brain,” or was it but a “filthy, stinking habit which made bodies, rooms, dishes and air evil-smelling [and] led men to ape ‘the barbarous and beastly manners of the wild, godless and slavish Indians.’”⁹ In time there were American cotton, corn, and potatoes for the European, and Guinea fowl and turkey for his festive boards. Profits were made larger by the exploitation of native populations on plantations and in mines, and from the traffic in African black men to serve as slaves in the new business enterprises of the Americas. Thus under the auspices of a nascent capitalism directed and controlled by the new national states of the West, a vast global interchange of goods, services, and such things as plants and domestic animals was initiated, potentially a source of peaceful prosperity, actually a new source of international war.

THE IMPORTATION OF AMERICAN PRECIOUS METALS INTO EUROPE

An aspect of this exchange that stimulated the growing money economy of Europe was the huge importation of gold and silver. Some came from the incredible treasures of the Aztecs and Incas, some from the rich silver mines opened up in Peru (Potosi) and Mexico, and later from the gold mines of Brazil. From 1503 to 1660, 16,886,815,303 grams of silver and 181,333,180 grams of gold were sent to Spain from the Americas through legal channels.¹⁰ This amounted to a tripling of the stock of precious metals in Europe. In a capitalistic economy people with more money to pay for things are not denied the opportunity of doing so. The chief effect of this increase in bullion was a large inflation of prices that has been called a price revolution. In Spain, for example, prices more than tripled in the century between 1510 and 1610. Such an inflation may be profitable for the merchant, banker, and industrialist. It may help the independent craftsman or farmer if he has goods to sell. But the landlord bound by fixed rents, the wage earner, and the salaried employee were then, as always, unable to keep up with inflation. It was to remain a regular feature of European economic history.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

The medieval economic revival that inaugurated western capitalistic development was built upon an export industry (textiles, wine) and an

⁸H. Heaton, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 238-239.

⁹Heaton, p. 243.

¹⁰S. B. Clough and C. W. Cole, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 127.

overseas trade with the Near East and Baltic areas. Its trade in Europe was overland and was carried on in markets and fairs, chiefly the Champagne fairs, where northern and southern (near-eastern) goods were exchanged. The voyages of discovery and exploration replaced the Mediterranean with Atlantic-Indian Ocean or Atlantic-Pacific voyages to the East, and made such Atlantic ports as Lisbon, Antwerp, and finally Amsterdam the chief centers of European and world trade. The spurt given to the growth of capitalism by the new international trade was increased by the further development of a western export industry. Improvements in technology, the application of these to industry, the general prevalence of war on the Continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (together with its absence in England),¹¹ and the increase in the sizes of the standing armies maintained by European states help to explain this further growth of a capitalistic industry, dealing partly in military goods. Some historians speak of an early industrial revolution in England and France. But it would be misleading to suppose that these early industrial developments altered very fundamentally the essentially rural character of western European society.

NEW INVENTIONS AND INDUSTRY

The important inventions influencing the development of early capitalistic industries in the West were gunpowder, the printing press, "the blast furnace; the furnace for separating silver from argentiferous copper ore with the help of lead; boring rods for discovering the nature of underground strata; powerful horse- and water-drawn engines for draining mines; railed ways with large horse-drawn wagons for carrying coal; the stocking-knitting frame; the so-called 'Dutch' or 'engine' loom for weaving ribbons, garters, tape and other small wares; new furnaces permitting the use of coal instead of wood in glassmaking, steelmaking, and brickmaking; coke for drying malt; [and] sheathing of the planks of ships with thin sheets of lead to cheat the ravages of worms." Improvements in man's ability to engage in mutual slaughter, combined with larger opportunities to do so, required an improved war industry. Cannon were made more mobile between 1494 and 1529, partly by mounting them "on horse-drawn gun carriages, partly by the construction both of lighter artillery . . . and of small fire-arms (merlons, hand arquebuses, muskets, and pistols) which were given to both the infantry and cavalry. Firearms were also made more effective in the late fifteenth century by the introduction of granulated gunpowder, which exploded with more violence than the fine dust previously used. Balls of iron were fired out

¹¹"For the continental peoples—especially those of central Europe and the Spanish Netherlands—the decades from 1560 through 1640 were a period of more organized fighting, more devastation, and more misery bred of both, than any earlier age since the western Europeans had begun to advance economically in the eleventh century." J. A. Nef, *War and Human Progress*, p. 78.

of the cannon, though lead was used for smaller missiles. Then, in order to do even greater mischief, to tear the flesh of many soldiers at one swoop, hollow iron balls filled with gunpowder were introduced." Bombs and grenades were followed by the bayonet, "the cheapest and potentially the most effective instrument of death introduced during the seventeenth century."¹²

WAR AND CAPITALISTIC INDUSTRY

These inventions were obviously the basis for new printing, mining (especially coal), and metallurgical industries, and a considerable part of the metals must have been used for new instruments of destruction. Sugar refining, brewing, soap boiling, the carding of wool and dyeing of cloth were all growing industries. The manufacture of gunpowder, alum, and salt also became large-scale and capitalistic. When after 1640 large standing armies were maintained in peace as well as war, the military establishment was so large an element of national expense that monarchs felt a further incentive to control the economy. As it was, the maintenance of the army influenced the development of capitalism. It stimulated, for example, the standardization of the textile industry when standing armies began to wear uniforms.

THE EARLY PROLETARIAT

While early modern capitalism was primarily commercial and financial, dominated by the merchant and the banker rather than the industrialist, yet it is possible to speak of the early industrial town and the early modern members of the proletariat. "Between them, the occupations of heavy industry and military service created a new low class in society. Workers and soldiers were coming to constitute a social scum." "Work in a number of the heavy industries became dirtier and less repaying than the work of the crafts had been during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." The worker begins to look and smell like the dirty monster the serf is pictured to be in some medieval literature. "The manufacture of alum and saltpeter kept work people busy in the collection and preparation of urine and fecal matter. Laborers were becoming more repellant to sensitive eyes as well as to sensitive nostrils. Changes in the diet of the poor at the beginning of the seventeenth century or a little earlier seem to have led to the spread of rickets among children and to the early decay of the teeth among adults. Coal mining and coal carrying, together with work at the coal-burning furnaces, stained the faces and often the bodies of the work people. Dirt crept through their scanty clothing when they labored underground or in the heat of strong fires. Dirt spread widely over an increasing number of workers, especially in Great Britain and the Low Countries, where coal was coming to be used

¹²Nef, pp. 23, 29-30.

extensively in manufactures. There were fewer opportunities than there had been to remove stains. Bathing facilities were probably even less common than before the Reformation. Puritan restrictions on any display of the nude, which followed the extreme licentiousness of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, were no monopoly of Puritans. Stricter manners interfered with the development of public baths."¹³ To get men to work under such conditions forced labor, and in one rare instance actual industrial slavery, was necessary.¹⁴

ECONOMIC THOUGHT

Obviously something had happened to Christian thought on economic matters if no widespread protests were made about an economy which, in its search for profit, permitted such practices as traffic in colored human beings and the forced labor of white workers; if not, then capitalism itself supplied a system of economic ethics much stronger than conventional religious (Christian) ethics. Both of these things happened in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Christian economic thought was modified by Calvinism, and a new business ethics was suggested by those economic theorists of the early modern era called mercantilists.

MEDIEVAL ECONOMIC THOUGHT

To be sure, Christian moralists had never been seriously troubled with slavery or serfdom because the salvation of one's soul was a spiritual, not a material, matter. The soul of a slave or serf was as savable as that of a slaveowner or a lord. But pre-Protestant Christianity had definite notions about the limits of man's search for profit or gain, centering about its otherworldly emphasis and opinions on the nature of the class structure. If salvation is one's goal, the enjoyment of life upon this earth cannot be made to seem important. Earthly life is a discipline preparatory for the life to come. One needs from it only such material goods as will sustain him in his station. For the class structure was of divine foundation, hence perfect, and gave to each class its special obligations in the maintenance of the body social. The structure had no place for the strong individual unwilling to stay in the class to which he was born. The money-making lust of the banker, merchant, and industrialist was regarded with suspicion, for it obviously led to an accumulation of this world's goods that amounted to the indulgence of avarice, a cardinal sin. The Church therefore proscribed usury and charging prices higher than were necessary to repay a man for materials and labor, with a profit large enough to keep him in his station. But such proscription had not prevented the early rise of the capitalistic system.

¹³Nef, pp. 232, 229-230.

¹⁴"Forced labor was not unknown in industry before it became frequent in military service. . . . In Scotland coal miners and salters who stoked the furnaces with coal to heat the salt pans along the Firth of Forth were actually reduced to slavery in the early seventeenth century." Nef, p. 233.

LUTHER AND ECONOMICS

In these matters Luther agreed with the medieval Church. As a peasant's son and a former monk he had no patience with the capitalistic spirit. The leading capitalists of the day, the Fuggers of Augsburg, managed the pope's indulgence traffic in Germany and loaned money to a Catholic Hapsburg emperor (Charles V) to fight Lutherans. Trade had to conform to Christian rules of brotherly love: "Because thy selling is a work that thou performest to thy neighbor, it should be restrained within such law and conscience that thou mayest practice it without harm or injury to him." "Foreign merchandise which brings from Calicut and India and the like places wares such as precious silver and jewels and spices . . . and drain the land and people of their money, should not be permitted . . ." Luther had little more to suggest but for the church to preach its gospel and leave further economic responsibilities to the state.

CALVIN AND ECONOMICS

This, however, was not quite the attitude of Calvin. He was not opposed to the development of capitalism as such, and did not propose to deny salvation to bankers, merchants, and industrialists. There was no reason why any person engaged in these activities might not be one of the elect. It was quite possible, in fact, that success in business, if it were considerable, might be a sign of God's approval. But because a man was a capitalist did not mean that he could escape from the obligations to which God held all his elect. No more than any other was he to be permitted to spend his profits on the enjoyment of this world's goods, to live in idleness and self-indulgence for fun. The capitalist was a steward of God for the riches which God had entrusted to him. He must use them to glorify God. His life must be as austere as that of any poorer Calvinists. He must, as anyone else, be sober, industrious, thrifty, chaste, and pious. His life in the world in the pursuit of his business, a calling like that of any other worldly task, must be disciplined. In fact, this disciplined life in one's calling was the Protestant equivalent of the monastic calling. Otherworldly asceticism of the monastic type Calvin (and Luther) would not tolerate. Instead, everyone, including the capitalist, was to lead an ascetic life in this world (Protestant, or worldly, asceticism). If you are permitted to make but not spend money, there is not much you can do but put it back into the business. This is to say that Calvinistic teachings promoted the capitalistic spirit—the drive to make money for the sake of making money. Such teachings would help a man like Jacob Fugger, who wanted "to go on making a profit for the rest of [his] life."

CALVIN ON USURY

This attitude can be illustrated from Calvin's own words and from the work of a seventeenth-century English Puritan, Richard Baxter. In

a letter (1545) to a friend on the question of usury, Calvin wrote: "I am certain that by no testimony of Scripture is usury wholly condemned. Lend, hoping for nothing again (Luke VI 35) is to be interpreted to mean that while Christ would command loans to the poor without expectation of repayment or the receipt of interest, he did not mean at the same time to forbid loans being made to the rich with interest." To be sure, it "could be wished that all usury, and the name itself, were first banished from the earth." "Indeed it is very rare for the same man to be honest and yet be an usurer." But "usury is not wholly forbidden among us, except it be repugnant both to justice and to charity."¹⁵

RICHARD BAXTER AND WORK AND WEALTH FOR GOD'S GLORY

Baxter warns very pointedly that wealth does not excuse one from being "out of a calling, that is, such a stated course of employment in which you may best be serviceable to God." "It may excuse you from some soiled sort of work by making you more serviceable in another, but you are no more excused from service and work of one kind or other, than the poorest man: Unless you think that God requireth least when He giveth most. . . . You may not cast off all bodily employment and mental labour in which you may serve the common Good. . . . Publick service is God's greatest service. Riches for fleshly ends must not ultimately be intended or sought. But in subordination to higher things they may: that is, you may labour in that manner as tendeth most to your success and lawful gain. . . . Your end must be that you may be the better provided to do God's service and may do the more good with what you have. If God shew you a way in which you may lawfully get more than in another way, (without wrong to your soul, or to any other) if you refuse this, and choose the less gainful way, you cross one of the ends of your calling, and you refuse to be God's Steward, and to accept his gifts, and use them for him when he requireth it: You may labour to be Rich for God, though not for the flesh and sin."

In any case it is necessary to work hard. "A laborious diligent person hath a body subdued and hardened against the mollities, the effeminatenesses of the wanton. . . ." "Do not for thy fleshly ease remit thy labours and indulge thy flesh. Rise early and go late to bed. . . . Proportion the time of your sleep aright . . . that you waste not your precious morning hours sluggishly in your Bed. . . . About six hours is meet for healthful people. . . ." By following "the labors of your calling painfully and diligently . . . you will further the mortification of all fleshly lusts and desires, which are fed by ease and idleness," and "you will scape the loss of precious Time, which idle persons are daily guilty of. . . . If vain recreations, dressings, feasting, idle talk, unprofitable company, or sleep be any of them temptations to rob you of any of your time, ac-

¹⁵The letter and excerpts from Baxter's *A Christian Directory* are in F. Le Van Baumer, *Main Currents of Western Thought*, pp. 231-237.

cordingly heighten your watchfulness and firm resolutions against them. . . ." "Eat and drink with temperance, and thankfulness: for health and not for unprofitable pleasure." Here the ascetic pursuit of gain is much like the ascetic pursuit of salvation, a desperately serious business.

MERCANTILISM

New social classes have a way of creating their own ethical traditions, irrespective, if necessary, of the reigning religious point of view. The medieval aristocracy created its own code of chivalry, and some of this code was adopted by the rising bourgeoisie. The new capitalist justified his way of life as a part of the economic doctrine called mercantilism. Mercantilism, like chivalry, is still of importance, because parts of it survive as a very well respected body of economic doctrine. It was in origin not only a body of doctrine but a program of reform and a course of action. In these respects it was an attempt to adapt the economic theory and practice of the medieval town to the needs of the new national states of the Atlantic seaboard.

THE ECONOMY OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWN

The economy of the medieval town was controlled in the interest primarily of the masters of its various guilds, who wished to retain the municipal market as a monopoly for the sale of their wares. They so organized it (and they were the town governments) that the foreigner, when not excluded, was permitted to trade locally only on their terms, and the members of the craft guilds were guaranteed the livelihood to which it was felt they were entitled. These towns were also concerned with guaranteeing an adequate food supply from the countryside, and a regular flow of raw materials. Such a local organization was noncapitalistic. When a local guildsman or townsman succeeded in ignoring these local controls and importing from, and selling to, a distant market, he reduced members of local guilds to wage earners, and became an early capitalist. Capitalism had an early medieval start in the towns of Italy, the Rhinelands, and the Low Countries.

Merchants, bankers, and industrialists who escaped from the controls of the medieval town ran into the controls of the new national states. For mercantilism implied a controlled economy, managed not in the interests of guildsmen now but of states. These states, with the exception of Switzerland and Holland, were dynastic states, whether kingdoms or only principalities. Under mercantilism, therefore, the economy was managed in the interests of the kings or princes (the dynasts); and since most of these were absolute princes or kings, mercantilism was chiefly the system of economic controls of the absolute monarchy. It was an early chapter in the development of economic nationalism at a time when nationalism was a matter of loyalty to a king or prince; a time, therefore,

when economic policy aimed to make the king economically self-sufficient, rich, and powerful. The new capitalism was to be developed and harnessed in such a way as to render the state economically independent and prosperous; its surplus wealth was to be used to expand administrations and pay armies and navies that would win wars—wars to enhance the power of the monarchy by acquiring new land, markets, or colonies and altogether make the monarchy splendid, grand, and radiant.

THE PERSISTENCE OF LOCAL ECONOMIC PRIVILEGE

The national state was first built by consolidating many feudal states or fiefs and introducing centralized governments to destroy and take over their political functions. Except for England, this territorial consolidation and political centralization was not accompanied by a corresponding economic consolidation and centralization calculated (1) to destroy the economic privileges of towns and localities, and (2) create the larger economic unit of the nation within which trade could freely move. It is amazing to consider how few of the medieval obstacles to trade and commerce in western Europe had been removed by the beginning of the modern era. German princes had done little to remedy a situation in which the toll stations on the Rhine numbered some sixty-four, on the Danube in lower Austria seventy-seven, on the Elbe thirty-five, and on the Weser thirty-three. The situation was similar in France. As late as 1567 there were some one hundred and twenty toll stations on the Loire and its tributaries. A load of salt had to pay four times its value to travel 450 kilometers along the river. In Poitou there were more than one hundred road and river tolls at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the hands of landowners alone. While France had achieved a unification of coinage in the fourteenth century, chaos reigned in the variety of weights and measures. As late as the early nineteenth century in German Oldenburg, there were four independent coinage systems; and in Baden at the same time there were one hundred and twelve measurements of length, ninety-two square measures, sixty-five dry measures, one hundred and sixty-three measures for cereals, one hundred and twenty-three liquid measures, sixty-three measures for liquor, and eighty pound weights.¹⁶ Under these circumstances early modern monarchs had to create economic as well as political unity before much could be done by way of profiting from capitalism. This they tried to do. Economic unity was an aim of mercantile theorists. In fact, not very much was accomplished until the nineteenth century.

THE BULLION THEORY OF WEALTH

It was a special notion of the mercantilists that wealth consisted in hard cash or bullion of gold and silver. Since European manufactures

¹⁶E. F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, I, 57, 124.

were not in demand in the Far East, its goods had to be paid for in cash. Cash was necessary to pay mercenary soldiers, and bribe diplomats and rulers. In any case there were few well-organized credit facilities. To pile up wealth meant therefore never to let gold and silver out of your hands if you could help it but to increase the amount at all odds. The best way for a state to build up its surplus of gold and silver, it was thought, was always to maintain a favorable balance of trade, that is, always sell more than you buy from other nations to keep the balance of money payments coming your way. Natural economic policy, therefore, promoted exports at all costs; it concentrated on foreign trade.

BUILDING AN EXPORTABLE SURPLUS

Your own exports could be built up by waging war upon and defeating your competitors, and imposing treaties upon them. They could be supported by waging economic war, that is, by protecting your own industry with high tariffs from the competition of rivals. Local industry could be encouraged by special bounties and by the grant of monopolies of various kinds. The state itself might set up industry, as for example the state tapestry (Gobelin) and porcelain (Sèvres) manufactures in France. Industry must be guaranteed the proper raw materials from wherever needed, and deficiencies in the national economy were repaired by importing or establishing new industries, or bringing in skilled artisans or techniques from abroad. One should import nothing he could possibly make for himself. To augment the national profit both imports and exports should always be in the hands of one's own merchants and carried in the ships of one's own country. If there were not enough ships, it was necessary to build them along with men-of-war to protect them. To enhance the exportability of goods it was necessary to set up an elaborate system of inspection to guarantee that high qualities of raw materials and high standards of manufacture were used. This would benefit local as well as foreign consumers. To the mercantilist an ambitious, prosperous working class was a part of the national wealth.

MERCANTILISM AND COLONIAL POLICY

The new colonial empires were of especial importance to the mercantilist, for they furnished valuable raw materials for industry. They were also a market for home manufactures, and this market had to be monopolized for the benefit of the mother country. Likewise, if the trade with the empire were kept in one's own hands, there were large profits accruing from transportation costs. To provide a growing labor force for a growing commerce and industry, as well as more men for larger armies and navies, the state had to encourage the growth of population. To this end monasteries for men and women were of no great help. Colbert, the mercantilist minister of Louis XIV, always talked this way and reminded the king that in Protestant Holland and England, France's

rivals, there were no monks. Mercantilism meant, in the end, the capitalization of foreign policy; wars, as for example Louis XIV's war against the Dutch (1672-1678)—the only one which Colbert heartily approved—were waged to improve the balance of trade.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The emphasis placed by the state upon the proper conduct and development of economic affairs gave to the members of the new bourgeoisie a sense of importance they were quick to express. They felt the need for royal support of a flourishing commerce and industry and for protection from domestic and foreign rivals. They were quite willing therefore for the time being to submit to royal control. They felt also the need for liberation from urban and ecclesiastical restrictions, and began to talk about liberty and freedom. The soul of trade was liberty and its conduct the result of the "freewill of man." If the precapitalistic theorists regarded the merchant with suspicion and considered his occupation perilous to the soul, the mercantilist regarded the trader as the most important citizen of the state and his trade as a blessing, a new source of peace and happiness among nations. "Trade is the most fitting means for reconciling different nations and for maintaining a good mutual understanding between opposing spirits, whereas it . . . diffuses surplus in the most harmless manner, makes nations happy and states prosperous." Under these circumstances it is the "Merchant, who deserves all Favour as being the best, and most profitable member of the Common-Wealth."¹⁷

MERCANTILISM AND ECONOMIC MORALS

Yet if the precapitalistic theorists wished to moralize economic activity by making it conform to Christian principles, the mercantilist theorists treated economic activity as a thing in itself, perhaps amoral or even antireligious. Jacob Fugger is said to have coined the phrase "business is business." The question of usury was not a moral but an economic question. It was not whether you ought to take it, but whether it was economically wise or expedient to take as much as you like. An Elizabethan businessman, Thomas Wilson, in a *Discourse upon Usury*, says there has to be interest because "Hope of gain makes men industrious, and where no gain is to be had, men will not take pains. . . . Merchants' doings must not thus be overthwarted by preachers. . . . a man may take as much for his own wares as he can get, and it is no sin for one man to deceive another in bargaining, so that it be not too much beyond God's prohibition, and a bargain is a bargain, let men say what they like. . . . You may as well forbid buying and selling as forbid taking interest for money."¹⁸

¹⁷Heckscher, II, 280, 282.

¹⁸Baumer, pp. 238-239.

It is the same with luxury. Morals are not involved. Luxury is excellent when it stimulates the local luxury industry but bad when it stimulates somebody else's luxury industry and takes money out of the country. Hence the voluminous sumptuary legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forbidding all servants to wear "foreign cloths," working men and day laborers to wear "feathers of ostriches or other foreign birds," servants and day laborers again from wearing "braided and fine spun foreign or outlandish cloths," and wives, daughters, and maid-servants of peasants to abstain from wearing slippers with "gold tinsel and also Spanish leather shoes and slippers." French writers who work themselves into a fury when shopkeepers dress like gentlemen are inclined to excuse it "provided that profit remains in the country." "Prodigality is a Vice that is prejudicial to the Man, but not to Trade"; and "Private Vices by the dextrous Management of a skillful Politician may be turned into public benefits." King James I of England placed a duty on tobacco, calling it a drug because of whose "great and immoderate taking . . . the Health of a great number of our People is impaired and their Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labour." This attitude changed when it became one of "the main products of several of those Plantations, upon which their Welfare and Substance and the Navigation of this Kingdom and vent of its Commodities hither do much depend." There was no reason why the administration of justice should not be used to increase the wealth of the community or to man the galleys. "Why should not insolvent thieves be rather punished with slavery than death? So as being slaves they may be forced to as much labour and as cheap fare as nature will endure, and thereby become as two men added to the Commonwealth, and not as one taken away from it." Colbert wants the courts to "condemn as many criminals as possible to the galleys . . . in order to maintain this corps which is necessary to the state." The "slave trade was one of the gems of trade which every true patriot had to regard as one of the foundations of his country's well-being." Colbert classed with the mares and sheep the young women sent to the colonies to help increase the population there, and his letters of instruction as to how they were to be treated were "almost of the nature of instructions for human breeding-studs."¹⁹ He opposed clergy in the New World who wished to keep alcohol from the Indians. If the Indians did not get their liquor, the French might not get their furs.

MERCANTILISM AND TOLERANCE

If the Lenten seasons were not properly observed, the native fishing industry would suffer. And winding sheets for the dead might be made of wool if it was necessary to stimulate the local woolen industry.

¹⁹Heckscher, II, 300.

Heresy might not be a good thing for the church, but it was a good thing for the nation. If heretics should be given toleration for a fee, the nation might profit; if heretics preferred to give up their faith, "their faith was of little consequence." In any case, if for no other reason than that they were good businessmen, heretics ought to be tolerated. "Trade is most vigorously carried on, in every state and government, by the Heterodox part of the same. . . . for the advancement of Trade (if that be a sufficient reason) Indulgence must be granted in matters of opinion."²⁰ Jews ought to be well treated because they were good merchants and traders. There was no point in looking at business except in the cold light of reason. Economic laws were soon to be pronounced laws of nature.

THE NATIONAL AS THE OUTGROWTH OF THE FEUDAL STATE

The early modern national state has been contrasted above with the medieval feudal state. The prevalence of war between feudal lords and the inadequacy of the local town or fief to promote interregional and overseas commerce created the need for strong kings to unify their kingdoms. The national state of France, for example, was the culmination of feudal development. The feudal fief became the kingdom, the feudal suzerain the royal sovereign. France, a national state, possessed sovereignty. But France at this early date was national in the sense only that its boundaries contained the subjects of a crown that were subsequently to become a nation. The king of France regarded the kingdom as his property, and the kingship as absolute. States were the possession of old feudal families, now in some instances become royal. They were essentially dynastic rather than national. The loyalty of the subject was to a royal family, not to a nation. The king was the magnified feudal lord with no secular suzerain. He was the symbol of a unity that actually did not exist, of a new smaller brotherhood made necessary by the inability of universal Christian brotherhood to become a reality.

NATIONAL OR DYNASTIC THEOCRACIES

The national state was a revolt against medieval internationalism,²¹ indeed a compromise between medieval feudalism and internationalism. Holy sanction was now especially emphasized for the new absolute king rather than the emperor. If not a god, he was an instrument of God, and in power divine. "Divinity doth hedge a king." He should ideally be the head of a single church comprising all the subjects of the realm, and the clergy of this church should support the throne. Theocracy of a new national kind was now given its last chance to help establish God's kingdom.

²⁰Heckscher, I, 304.

²¹See Vol. I, Chap. xii.

RARITY OF LOYALTY FOR THE NATION

If the new absolute monarchies may more properly be called dynastic than national, to what extent were they national, that is, based on the nation? A nation is more than merely the inhabitants of a sovereign state. It is a group of persons aware of, and loyal to, some identity born of a common past, sharing a common present and the hopes for a common future. To the extent that one feels himself identical with any member of the human race, and loyal to mankind because of the fact that its past is his past, its present experience his experience, and its hope for the future his own hope, his nation is humanity. For many, many reasons this is the notion of only a few today. The persistence of illiteracy and the lack of adequate communications have prevented a homogeneous growth within the very large nations. In the Middle Ages, for the great masses the "nation" had to be regional, based on a folk memory attaching the individual to a tribal past, to an area enjoying similar customs, speaking a common dialect, and engaged in similar pursuits. It would be difficult to speak of regional hopes except in the vicarious sense that peasantry might share in the fortunes of their princely house or that a new lord might introduce a better state of affairs for his serfs. To the extent that the experiences involved in making a kingdom out of a collection of fiefs, transforming custom into customary law, consolidating dialects into widespread tongues, and incorporating hopes for the future into loyalty to the king or queen were shared by all the subjects of Queen Elizabeth, then England was a nation. Such a feeling, however, must have been limited to a very few. The nation was in the process of formation. Its support was in no sense popular and was not to become so until the nineteenth century.

PORTUGAL AND THE EAST

Portugal was one of these Atlantic national states. Its explorers were followed by viceroys who set up a commercial empire in the Far East and a colonial feudal one in the Madeiras, Azores, Cape Verdes, and Brazil. The founder of the far-eastern empire was Alfonso de Albuquerque, who took Goa in 1510 and made it the capital of Portuguese enterprise in the East. From here an attempt was made to seal the Indian Ocean at three main points: Malacca, controlling the route to the East Indies; Ormuz, controlling the Persian Gulf; and Aden, controlling the Red Sea. Malacca was taken, and Portuguese trading posts extended eastward to the Moluccas (Ternate) and China. Ormuz also was taken after the murder of a native prince. Aden was not taken and remained a leak in the Portuguese monopoly of eastern trade. Yet the Portuguese were unable either to maintain their independence at home or finance and keep their whole empire abroad. In 1580 Portugal was invaded and conquered by Spain, and until 1640 was a part of Spain, and her empire a part of the Spanish empire. It was mainly foreign capital that financed

Portuguese voyages to the Far East and took its toll on what was brought back. Attempts to preserve a mercantilist colonial monopoly only drove such nations as the Dutch directly to the East to take over the Portuguese monopoly there.

FEUDAL COLONIALISM

When the European crusaders went to the Near East in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they carried their western feudalism with them. When this feudalism was declining as an active economic and political force in western Europe, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English empire builders, armed with superior weapons (their cannon and firearms), gave decadent feudalism a new lease on life by introducing it into their colonies. Brazil was divided into fifteen huge estates (*capitanias*) and given to quasi-independent donataries who were responsible for colonizing and governing their holdings.²² Spain was a second Atlantic national state, the motherland of a Mexican and a North, Central, and South American colonial feudal empire, and the base of a heterogeneous Hapsburg European empire. The Spanish equivalent of the *capitania* was the *encomienda*, granted to churchmen as well as laymen. Rather than sending out Portuguese or Spanish persons to colonize these plantations and work the mines, the colonial feudatories used the forced labor of native adult Indians and their children. When these began to die off, they imported Negro slaves.

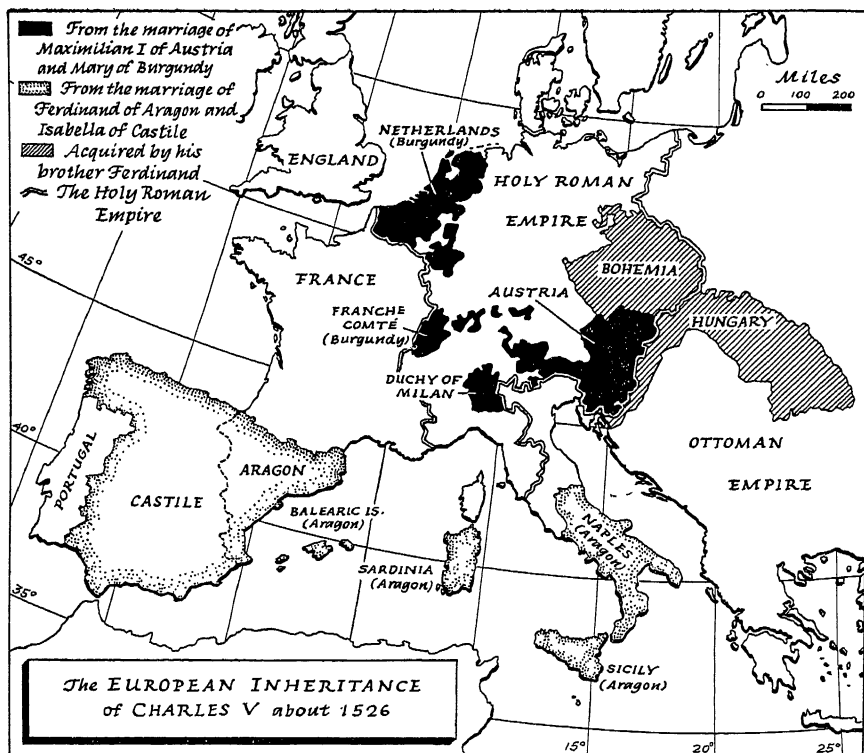
THE SPANISH EMPIRE ON THE CONTINENT

The potent weapon for forging the Spanish continental empire had been marriage. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1469) brought together Aragon and Castile in a strong kingdom, with outlying possessions in the Balearic Islands, Naples, and Sicily. Through marriage, the Spanish kingdom was joined with the Hapsburg Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519) took to wife Mary of Burgundy (1477), the daughter of Duke Charles the Bold,²³ thus adding the prosperous Netherlands to the Hapsburg domains. A subsequent marriage added Milan. When Philip, a son of Maximilian and Mary, married Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, their son Charles V (1519-1556), inheriting the Hapsburg Spanish dominions in Europe and America, became the most powerful prince in Europe. Charles abdicated in 1556, giving his Austrian lands and their dependencies (Bohemia, Hungary) to his brother Ferdinand and the remainder, including the Netherlands, to his austere and persecuting son, Philip II (1556-1598). Philip came to the throne the year after the Peace of Augsburg.²⁴ The Spanish monarchy had already adopted the principles

²²See C. E. Nowell, *History of Portugal*.

²³See Vol. I, pp. 568-570.

²⁴See pp. 122 f.



of absolutism to combat feudalism at home and in its European possessions. The Protestant heresy stalked abroad in Europe, and new forces of the Counter Reformation were prepared to deal with it. The Turk was advancing westward in the Mediterranean. Philip had Europe to defend and a world to govern.

PHILIP II OF SPAIN

He was a medieval crusader against Mohammedan and heretic. "I will never," he said, "be a ruler of heretics." He incorporated in his person the ascetic fervor of the Counter Reformation, of which he was the archchampion. He inherited, moreover, from the Holy Roman Empire the discredited tradition of secular theocracy. To him the Church, which he meant to restore to its pre-Reformation position, was an agency of the absolute government of the empire. The Inquisition, established in Spain as a state institution, was an instrument of political as well as religious orthodoxy. Thus Philip used the national (or dynastic) church and the methods of political absolutism to assure the supremacy of the Spanish monarchy over the whole empire. It was no more successful than the older German empire had been. Philip's naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto (1571) did check the growth of their

state, but his attempts to impose absolute theocratic government, together with the Inquisition, upon the Netherlands provoked the stubborn, heroic revolt of the Calvinist Dutch. Declaring their independence in 1581, they fought on until their insurgent republic was finally (1648) recognized as a new member of the family of western European states. Philip's marriage with Catholic Queen Mary of England, a "faded little woman, eleven years older than himself, with red hair and no eyebrows,"²⁵ did not prevent an English Protestant victory after her death. He thought in 1588 to destroy this Protestantism or at least force Queen Elizabeth to stop aiding the Dutch in their rebellion, and cease preying upon Spanish shipping and interfering with colonial trade, by sending out an "Invincible Armada" of 130 ships to crush the new English navy. This too was a melancholy failure. By the end of his reign, the period of Spanish dominance in Europe was over. The economic life of the kingdom was losing its impetus. Trade and commerce at home and abroad could not be kept in Spanish hands. New-world treasure had to be spent on old-world politics and wars. To supplant Spain, the center of European politics was shifting northward in the seventeenth century to France, Holland, and England.

HOLLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

It is rather amazing to consider that, while struggling for independence from the most powerful state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch had sufficient extra vigor and ingenuity to capture most of western Europe's carrying trade, become the center of the world's trade, found colonial and commercial empires in North and South America, South Africa, and the East Indies, and establish brilliant European leadership in some fields of culture.²⁶ Such leadership is to be explained in part by the fact that Holland in the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, practicing toleration, was a haven of refuge for the persecuted: Portuguese and Spanish Jews, Catholics and Protestants from Germany, France, and England, and refugees from the southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium) during the course of the war for independence. It is, in fact, in Holland that one could best study the rise of capitalism and its control of the politics, domestic and foreign, of a little nation of shipowners, industrialists, and world-wide merchants. In Holland, Jacob Fugger's "business is business" was matched by the merchant who said he would be glad to sail to hell to trade with the devil if not for the fact that he might get his sails scorched. Here one could best trace the rise of a bourgeoisie to a place of leadership in the community, and watch its permeation with a national spirit eager enough to believe that Dutch was the oldest language, according to a local savant, and that therefore Adam and Eve were

²⁵Stringfellow Barr, *The Pilgrimage of Western Man*, p. 98.

²⁶See pp. 31-32 on Rembrandt.

created speaking Dutch. Here the national and commercial spirit joined in the defense of a political freedom that was medieval in origin, the Holy Roman Empire exercising little authority in the area. In spite of the demands of Calvinist pastors, it supported a religious and intellectual freedom which welcomed Descartes as well as Spinoza and Locke. The affluence back of all this, joined with high standards of humanistic education in both school and university, made the seventeenth century for Dutchmen a golden age, and this golden age an extraordinary chapter in the development of the West.

DUTCH COLONIALISM

It was not a civilization shared by all Dutchmen, and in so far as its prosperity was founded on empire, that empire was often built upon the misery or extermination of natives. Dutch historians are quite frank to admit this. "It is only too true that the masses of the townspeople received a very small share in the marvelous profit realized by the economic expansion of the country. Women and children were often preferred as workers in industry because they were 'cheaper,' which means that children six years of age and over were forced to work as long as daylight permitted their exploitation and then were set free to beg on the streets. In the busiest center of Holland's industry, twenty thousand people—not necessarily unemployed—had to be kept from starvation by charity, and it was truly said that in Amsterdam contagious diseases which took the lives of thousands of poor people, never afflicted 'burgomasters, aristocrats, ministers of the Church, or town officials.'" The Dutch founder of the empire in the East Indies, the counterpart of Alberquerque, was Governor General Jan P. Coen, "who did not hesitate to exterminate the people of the Banda Islands to gain control of their clove production." There was "crude and merciless exploitation of the inhabitants of the Spice Islands by the rigorous maintenance of a strict monopoly in favor of the company,"²⁷ that is, the Dutch East India Company, which had been founded in 1602 and became the lord of many native vassal states. "In the spice areas crops were restricted, plantations or cargoes destroyed, and natives massacred in order to prevent prices from being lowered by a surplus of goods."²⁸ Coen had established the capital of the Dutch East Indies at Batavia on Java (1619), and by the middle of the century, after the conquest of Malacca (1641), nothing much was left to the Portuguese in the East except for Goa and Macao.

THE DUTCH ACCOMPLISHMENT

"It is indeed remarkable that in the course of forty years this small nation should found New York, then New Amsterdam (1625); Cape-

²⁷B. H. M. Vlekke, *Evolution of the Dutch Nation*, pp. 178, 182.

²⁸Heaton, *Economic History*, p. 275.

town (1652); and Batavia (1619); establish the first summer settlement in the Arctic Seas; Smeerenberg on Spitsbergen; discover Tasmania and New Zealand (1642); sail the Pacific from the Antarctic Seas to Kamchatka; trade with the Japanese, the only Europeans so to do; control the coastlands of southern Asia; conquer Pernambuco and northern Brazil; settle a number of West Indian Islands, the Hudson valley, and the southern point of Africa, besides sending small colonies of expert farmers and craftsmen to England, France (La Rochelle), Brandenburg (Potsdam), Sweden (Göteborg, Norrköping), Denmark (Ålborg) and Russia (Moscow)."²⁹

FRANCE AND THE "GRAND" CENTURY

In French as well as Dutch history the seventeenth century was a climax, the "grand" century. It has already been described as the century of "classicism,"³⁰ a period when French literature achieved, in many forms, a kind of perfection subsequent Frenchmen looked upon as inimitable, and when with pride some Frenchmen believed that the age of King Louis XIV, the grand monarch, was surpassing the best the Greeks and Romans had done. From the point of view of the history of the French monarchy, this century can be looked upon as its best. Louis XIV brought to completion what, long centuries before, Capetian and Valois kings had begun: the suppression of feudalism. The royal domain, beginning with the Île de France of the Capetians,³¹ was now stretching out to natural, national boundaries: the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees. This expansion had meant the incorporation of the fiefs of French vassals into the royal domain and the conquest of foreign territory. Expansion of the royal domain was accompanied by political centralization, beginning with the reforms of King Philip Augustus (1180-1223) and now terminating with Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. For the local autonomy of French vassals was now substituted royal government. The incorporation of fiefs and the suppression of local autonomy weakened the secular aristocracy. Very early in this whole process the kings had learned to profit from the ambitions of the growing bourgeoisie, who had money and governing ability to put at the service of the crown.

FRENCH ABSOLUTE DIVINE-RIGHT MONARCHY

By the end of the Middle Ages the monarchy had incorporated the great fiefs of its vassals into the royal domain. The ravages of the Hundred Years' War had taught Frenchmen to entrust it with taxes enough to build a standing army. The Renaissance had intensified the study of Roman law in France as elsewhere, a law which could be used to emphasize the absolutism of rulers. The Reformation had convinced

²⁹Vlekke, p. 184.

³⁰See p. 53.

³¹See Vol. I, p. 550.

Frenchmen further of the need for a strong monarchy by reintroducing civil war between Catholics and Huguenots (Calvinists). The growth of Hapsburg power in Germany and Spain demonstrated a similar need if France were not to be permanently encircled and immobilized—the perennial fear of the European national state.

The civil wars terminated with the coming to the throne of a Bourbon and a Huguenot, Henry IV (1589–1610). He thought the state more important than religion and abandoned his Protestantism for a national (Gallican) Catholicism. The Church was to support the monarchy in building France anew. To pacify the nation, Henry IV granted toleration to the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes (1598). The French bourgeoisie, anxious to profit from the new capitalistic developments, was quite willing to continue its support of the monarchy in the work of centralization and of weakening the aristocracy. There was at the accession of Louis XIV no serious obstacle to the further pursuit, under Bourbon auspices, of the monarchy's ancient ways. As a guarantee of their own privileged position in the social order, the clergy were quite willing to sanction further emphasis upon the sacred quality of kingship and the king. In gratitude for the retention of social, if not for the loss of political, privileges, the aristocracy as a whole was willing to join with the bourgeoisie in exalting the kingship and the king. To the extent that it existed at all, French patriotism centered in the monarch, who could thus equate himself with the nation. Louis XIV is supposed to have said, "I am the state" (*L'état c'est moi*).

CENTRALIZATION UNDER LOUIS XIV

Before Louis XIV took over the reins of government for himself, the monarchy had been well served by two astute and quite ruthless political cardinals, one French, Richelieu, the other Italian, Mazarin. Before Richelieu became Louis XIII's chief minister (1624), it had been necessary to call together in 1614 the old Estates General, a medieval assembly that had failed to achieve the position of the English parliament. Its ability to act was limited because its three houses (estates), representing clergy, nobles, and bourgeoisie, met separately and voted each as a unit. There was social cleavage between aristocracy and middle class, and the vote on proposals was usually two to one (clergy and nobles against bourgeoisie). The meeting of 1614 was finally dismissed, and the Estates General were not to meet again until 1789, when the monarchy, at the end of its resources, sought a support which, under more prosperous circumstances, it was content to do without.

Richelieu reduced the nobles to final obedience and deprived the Huguenots of the political privileges they had received from Henry IV in the Edict of Nantes. In two edicts of 1626 he took away from the nobles two remnants of the medieval right of private warfare: (1) the right to duel, and (2) the right to maintain a fortified feudal castle.

Those who opposed these edicts were exiled or hanged. When the Huguenots rebelled in 1625, Richelieu in the Edict of Alais (1629) took away their right to hold assemblies and certain fortified towns, although he left them their religious freedom. He pursued noble conspirators with great anger, and spent much effort upon improving the royal bureaucracy and building a professional standing army. When completed by Louvois, the standing army, numbering 100,000, was the largest in Europe. Richelieu was responsible too for the establishment of a royal post throughout the kingdom and, in 1637, for an administrative reform that took much local power from the hands of the noble provincial governors. He regrouped these local divisions into intendancies, headed by the intendant. The intendant, a kind of seventeenth-century *bailli*,³² was taken from the middle class and given extensive financial, judicial, and police powers in the locality. Calculated gradually to oust the nobles from all influence in the provinces, the intendants came soon to be little kings, responsible only to the big king.

THE CULT OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

Before Louis XIV took over the direction of France, certain elements of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy opposed to the prevailing absolutism started a revolt called the Fronde (1648) and tried to get rid of Cardinal Mazarin (who succeeded Richelieu in 1642) and to limit the monarchy. The revolt was crushed. Henceforth until 1789 the otherwise articulate subjects of the French monarchy were sufficiently cowed to attempt no violent resistance. After the death of Mazarin (1661), Louis did without a chief minister, but relied much upon his mercantilist finance minister Colbert. From this moment on until his death (1715), the cult of the absolute and divine king was practised with great finesse, indeed so well that it was imitated throughout Europe. In the person of Louis XIV it had a diligent, dignified, and moderately intelligent practitioner whose great devotion to food and to love did not detract from his devotion to duty. Indeed, the institution of the royal mistress is said to have been imitated by the Prussian court, where a Mistress was solemnly set up as an officer without visible function. Louis, the grand and sacred monarch,³³ had to practice the cult of majesty and govern by means of spectacle. He did it so well that it has been asked whether, in the seventeenth century, God did not perhaps imitate Louis XIV and adopt baroque as the official style of paradise.

With the sun as a royal symbol Louis was the Sun King, shedding his light and warmth like an ancient Pharaoh upon the bowing bodies of his subjects. By the time the reign was over, it was indeed the setting sun. A grand and sacred Sun King required a proper temple, the biggest in the world, where the worship of the monarchy was conducted with

³²See Vol. I, p. 555.

³³See the views of the divine-right theorists, pp. 236-237.

fitting ritual. To this end, Louis built his palace at Versailles, set in the midst of artificial lakes, playing fountains, formal gardens, and the converging avenues of a decorous forest. To this temple, the temple of the divine-right absolute monarchy, were summoned aristocratic worshippers to supply "the noise, trumpets, violins and atmosphere of royalty." Their enforced abandonment of the right to govern was now compensated by the offices and privileges of membership in the royal court. Keeping suspicious nobles under personal watch was one of Louis' methods of government. This court was soon trained in the ritual observances of the state, requiring the king to make his life a continuous and conspicuous show. Rising, dressing, eating, and walking were pompous ceremonies which the privileged watched and participated in. The talent and art of a Molière or a Lulli embellished and made more tolerable the gravity of the ritual.

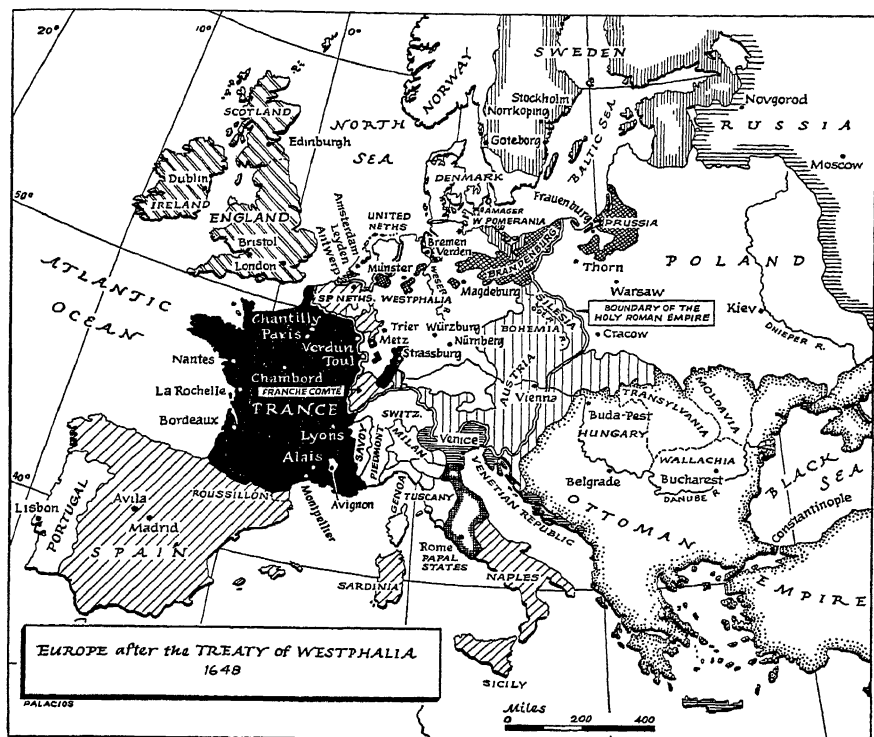
EUROPEAN INFLUENCE OF FRANCE

By moving to Versailles with its court, the French monarchy separated itself from the life of the capital and the nation. Its isolated pomp became funereal, and Versailles, like the pyramids, the tomb of absolute monarchy. One day a revolutionary mob from Paris was to come to Versailles to fetch the king. Yet this monarchy and court, together with the society of Paris, set standards that quickly became European. The French language in its new purified form became the diplomatic language of Europe, and classical French literature was a model for all to imitate. French manners and fashions were copied as well, and the very institutions of this monarchy, its conduct of foreign affairs and its new army, likewise became standards of perfection. It was not, however, only the court that was disciplined by the tastes and desires of the king. Art, literature, science, and learning were patronized in royal academies where it was not wise to question the wisdom of the court. Indeed, divine-right absolutism is compatible only with deferent conformity. Royal censorship kept as strong a hold upon the new press as it could. Royal intolerance drove more than 200,000 Huguenots to Germany, Holland, England, and the American colonies when Louis decided that a Protestant minority was a blot upon his reign, and revoked the remaining privileges of the *Édict of Nantes* (1685).

Louis admitted that he loved glory more than anything else, and among its kinds he preferred the glory of the conqueror. He confessed at the end of his reign that he had loved war too much. Indeed, war nullified the economic reforms of Colbert and bankrupted the nation.

FRANCE AND THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

With the formation in western Europe of the national dynastic states, what was once the anarchy of feudal warfare became international anarchy. There was no arbiter of international disputes. The formation



of the huge Hapsburg empire of Charles V, even when divided between Ferdinand and Philip II, threatened the other dynastic states of Europe so seriously that they elaborated the theory of balance of power to justify wars to prevent the domination of the Continent by any single or several states of Europe. In the sixteenth century the French and Spanish had fought a series of inconclusive wars. The Bourbon monarchy of the seventeenth century chose to take advantage of the Spanish decline to push the boundaries of France to their "natural limits" and, if possible, supplant the Hapsburgs, whether Spanish or Austrian, as the leading power of Europe. The Catholic Cardinal Richelieu intervened in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) on the side of the Protestant princes of Germany, who were trying to prevent the Austrian Hapsburgs from imposing Catholicism upon Lutheran and Calvinist and acquiring any additional power as emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. This war was the last great religious war, involving Danish and Swedish military support of German and Dutch Protestantism against Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs. It was one of Europe's nastiest, taking a high proportion of lives of the inhabitants of the empire. It ended with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The treaty gave Alsace to France, except for the city of Strassburg, and confirmed her in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, thus carrying France eastward to the Rhine.

Sweden was established in western Pomerania and awarded the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. She thus controlled the mouths of the Oder and Weser rivers. The treaty recognized the independence of Switzerland from the Austrian and of Holland from the Spanish Hapsburgs. The Dutch were given control of the Scheldt and the Rhine. The treaty further weakened the Hapsburg position by recognizing the right of the hundreds of little German states to carry on independently their own foreign policies and make war or peace as they chose. It added Calvinism to Catholicism and Lutheranism as religions the German princes might choose for their states. France continued the war with Spain after 1648, and in the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) received Roussillon and a strip of the southern Netherlands.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Further wars against Spain, Holland, and some German states brought France closer to the lower Rhine with the addition of such southern Netherlandish towns as Tournai, Lille, Oudenarde, Valenciennes, Ypres, Cambrai, St. Omer, Maubeuge, and Condé, and to the upper Rhine with Strassburg and the whole Free County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté). These gains stirred European fears of another serious violation of the balance of power, a Bourbon domination to take the place of the successfully upset Hapsburg one, and the leading nations of Europe joined in alliances or coalitions at one time or another to stop French aggression. What was feared threatened to become a dreadful reality in 1700 when Charles II of Spain willed his whole empire to Louis XIV's grandson, Philip of Anjou, and Louis accepted the decision, knowing full well it meant war. The war is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. William III of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland and since 1688 the king of England, together with the emperor Leopold organized a grand alliance to deal with a grand monarch. England, Holland, Austria, Brandenburg-Prussia, Hanover, the Palatinate, Portugal, and Savoy were in it. It took eleven years of fighting before France and Spain acknowledged defeat and signed the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The treaty recognized Philip of Anjou as the first Bourbon king of Spain on condition that Spain and France never be united under the same king. The Austrian Hapsburgs took the southern Netherlands from Spain (now the Austrian Netherlands), together with Naples, Sardinia, and Milan. France yielded Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson Bay to England. Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca and gave trading concessions in Spanish America, including that in slaves (the *Asiento*, see map on page 235). The Dutch expanded into the southern Netherlands.

FRANCE AT THE END OF LOUIS XIV'S REIGN

The cost of military glory left the king unpopular and France prostrate at the end of Louis' reign. Richelieu's new centralized administra-

tion had, in fact, been superimposed upon the older machinery without supplanting it. It thus took tremendous effort to keep France governed at all. The efforts to subdue the nobility politically were not accompanied by others to deprive them of social and financial privileges, and this put the costs of government upon the poorer classes. Indeed, the sale of titles of nobility to the bourgeoisie increased the system of privilege. It is surprising, too, how much of the old feudal structure of France was left after the work of Richelieu, Mazarin, Louis, and Colbert was over. The French language was not yet known by all Frenchmen. A Parisian going to Brittany or Langue d'Oc would not have been understood. The monarchy, a glorified feudal power after all, was unwilling to take the steps necessary to destroy the system of privileged aristocracy and clergy which lent it grandeur and power. It had not even learned to collect its own taxes, but sold this privilege (of collecting indirect taxes) to tax farmers. It would take revolution to undo all this.

The glory of seventeenth-century France was limited to a small group among France's twenty millions and built upon the poverty and suffering of many of her peasant sons. As early as 1660 the Venetian ambassador could report home, "If Paris and court life offer a prospect of wealth and pleasure, the provinces are a sink of indigence and misery." Four years later another could report, "The provinces are ruined by the poverty of the lower classes, who suffer less from the excessive weight of taxation than from the greed of the tax-farmers." The noble governor of Dauphiné could report in 1675, "The greater part of the inhabitants of this province have lived during the winter on bread made of acorns and roots, and now they are eating grass and the bark of trees." In the same year the intendant of Bourges wrote that "in the province of Berry and the neighboring provinces all the inhabitants, and particularly the agricultural labourers, are more wretched than the slaves in Turkey or the peasants in Poland." Vauban, the military engineer who refortified most of the harbors of France, wrote on the subject of taxes: "The taxes have driven an infinity of people into the hospitals and the streets and have in part depopulated the kingdom; all to support armies of tax-farmers and sub-tax-farmers with their clerks of every kind; public leeches who are numerous enough to supply rowers for the galleys, but who, after a life spent in criminal practices, walk haughtily about Paris, decked with the spoils of their fellow-citizens, with as much pride as if they had saved the state." Two commissioners sent to the regions of Maine and Orléans in 1687 observed that "the peasants live on bread made with black wheat; others who have not even this, on roots of heather boiled with the meal of barley or oats. . . . But it is in their dwellings that one sees most plainly their misery. They sleep on straw; they have no clothes except what they have on; and no furniture."³⁴

³⁴A. Tilley, *Decline of the Age of Louis XIV*, pp. 5 ff.

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The sixteenth century in England, the period of the Tudor dynasty (Henry VII, VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth) was the century of the Renaissance and Reformation.³⁵ That part of it associated with Queen Elizabeth and Shakespeare was, like the period after the victory of Greece over Persia, one of great national and literary brilliance. The seventeenth century, the period of the Stuart dynasty, a great age of science, was also a heroic age in the history of political liberty. Unlike France, whose political history under Louis XIV terminated in the decline of a nation, English history marked the triumph of law and Parliament over theocratic monarchy. This was in large part the work of Puritan middle classes, the same groups which had led the Dutch to independence from Spain and given this little nation a leading position in Europe and the world. Thus in both Holland and England a capitalistic Calvinistic bourgeoisie, pledged to a life of worldly asceticism, wrought in the defense of a liberty, largely medieval in origin, a national *élan* that brought leadership in many fields for the first time to peoples of north-western Europe.

THE TUDORS AND STRONG MONARCHY

During the medieval period the common law and Parliament had been major English achievements. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the creation of a centralized state coupled with parliamentary monarchy and guarantees of individual liberty was of similar importance. During the fifteenth century the Wars of the Roses, a period of civil war, with noble families fighting for the throne, reduced the kingdom to confusion. As the wars of religion in France were brought to a close by the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons, so the Wars of the Roses were followed by the strong monarchy of the Tudors (1485-1603). Henry VII (1485-1509) and Henry VIII (1509-1547), by appointive councils and a major introduction of the concepts and procedures of Roman law (torture and absence of juries), made both law and Parliament little more than recorders of the king's will. The Tudor Privy Council, a development from the old Small Council, played a more regular part in the ordinary business of government, enforcing the king's will upon juries, justices of the peace, or recalcitrant nobles. Subordinate councils were made responsible for special categories of offenses (the Court of High Commission for ecclesiastical questions, and the Court of the Star Chamber for offenses of the overpowerful subject or local official).

THE TUDORS AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

For a century the monarchs dominated the state, and in general their policies appear to have had popular approval. The feudal nobility was

³⁵See pp. 59-66, 119-122.

suppressed and the king's government made effective throughout the kingdom. The economic crises accompanying the expansion of Europe overseas, with its attendant price revolution, were met by new mercantilistic policies which included a national system of poor relief, a national organization for apprenticeship and for wage fixing, and a national organization for inspection of manufactures. The joint-stock company, ordinarily given a monopoly, was rapidly developed for both commerce and industry. A large transformation of the rural organization of England helped to increase the demand for strong government. This change was the growth of commercial large-estate farming and the enclosure of arable and common lands for the purpose of raising sheep and cattle. The numbers of villagers thrown out of work at about the mid-century by these enclosures was so great that, when added to other grievances, peasant revolt was threatening in many counties.

THE TUDORS AND PARLIAMENT

During the century dominated by the Tudor monarchs Parliament was used in great part to ratify the royal will and thus give it the appearance of national support. At its height, during the last eighteen years of Henry VIII's reign, a parliament met every year but three. Elizabeth, however, held only ten in the forty-five years of her reign. After the defeat of Phillip II's greatest attempt to gain control of England, the Armada of 1588, tension between the queen and her parliaments rapidly increased. The Puritans multiplied their demands for further reformation in religion, while Parliament attempted to discuss and advise upon foreign relations, the queen's marriage, and certain of her financial policies. On occasion Elizabeth denounced its members as "audacious, arrogant and presumptuous" and scolded them for "meddling with matters neither pertaining to them, nor within the capacity of their understanding." Parliament, in turn, did not "feel quite equal to the taming of the shrew."⁸⁶ By the end of the Tudor dynasty, the English monarch had become the dominant partner, but yet only a partner, in control of the state that had been made sovereign.

JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

Issues vital to the question of where the sovereignty of England lay, that is, whether in the king or in Parliament, arose during the reign of James I (1603-1625), the first Stuart king and a learned defender of divine-right monarchy. These issues were two: (1) whether Englishmen could be taxed at the will of the king or only by consent of Parliament, and (2) whether English judges were to be subject to the wishes of the king or remain independent. Parliament, after some experience with James I, understood quite well how disastrous to its position would be any sur-

⁸⁶A. F. Pollard, *Factors in Modern History*, p. 114.

render to the king on the question of correction of grievances before vote of taxes. When the king resorted to levying customs duties over and above those parliamentarians thought prescribed by law (impositions) and granted monopolies right and left, that is, rights of sole manufacture or sale of certain goods, Parliament repeatedly protested against the illegality of impositions and finally limited the royal sale of monopolies (1624). James tried to interfere in the hearing of cases before the common-law courts by insisting upon consulting the judges in the course of the trial, and before they had rendered a decision. In this he was resisted, and the courageous chief justice Sir Edward Coke, a staunch defender of the common law, had to be dismissed for, among other things, insisting that James's conduct was illegal. The king lost in the attempt to determine the membership of some parliaments. He had to listen to complaints about the Court of High Commission and the abuse of his right of making proclamations. His stubbornness led Parliament to renew its right to impeach his ministers, and among these was the lord chancellor Francis Bacon,³⁷ who confessed to the receipt of gifts from litigants before him. Parliament went so far also as to try to interfere in the conduct of foreign policy. James told Parliament that it was not "to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state." The House of Commons replied by asking the king to recognize "the ancient liberty of parliament for freedom of speech, jurisdiction and just censure." This was "their ancient and undoubted right and an inheritance received from our ancestors." James retorted that parliamentary privileges were "derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us." The debate continued when the king was again informed in the Protestation of 18 December, 1621, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England."³⁸

CHARLES I AND ABSOLUTISM

With the reign of Charles I (1625–1649), the resistance of the English people reached the state of actual revolution, during which the king himself was beheaded. For Charles I determined to establish what he regarded as his royal rights at whatever cost, certainly, if possible, without a parliament. In this resolve he, no less than his father a believer in national or dynastic theocracy, had the support of the organized Anglican Church, of the judiciary, and of able ministers—his Richelieus and Mazarins—like Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury. William Laud was impatient with the Puritan Calvinists in the church. He wanted to destroy their influence in both England and Scotland. But the Puritans, who were at the same time the leaders of the House of Commons and the defenders of parliamentary liberties, did not

³⁷See pp. 138–142.

³⁸Quoted from G. B. Adams, *Constitutional History of England*, pp. 283–284.

intend to have their religious liberty destroyed nor, through a conservative church policy, to see the way opened for the restoration of Catholicism in England. They were resolved to introduce further reform into the English church and were quite willing to use the parliamentary power of the purse to force the king to agree to these changes. The Tudor monarchy, for various reasons, was not able to procure a public revenue adequate for normal expenditures of seventeenth-century government. When Charles I could not get financial help from a Puritan-led parliament he turned to extraparliamentary sources of revenue. To make possible further religious change, the Puritans felt obliged to resist this. When the issues were brought into the court, judges had to decide between Tudor precedents upholding the king and pre-Tudor, medieval precedents upholding Parliament. Scotch Presbyterians were no less resistant than English Puritans to any attempts to force them into High Church Anglicanism. Puritans feared that the Stuarts were trying to imitate the Bourbons.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT

Four years of experience with Parliament (1625-1629) led Charles finally to decide to do what Louis XIII had done in 1614: get along without a parliament. Parliament had tried to impeach his favorite minister, continued to resist his extraparliamentary taxation, and resented his quartering of an undisciplined army upon the populace and his use of martial law to control it. The Parliament of 1628 was determined to stop these practices with legislation and include therein some statement on the arbitrary arrest of Englishmen by the crown. It agreed upon the form of a petition, the Petition of Right, another great document of English (and human) liberty. The parliament went back to the legislation of Edward I, called attention to the Great Charter (*Magna Carta*) of the Liberties of England, and requested Charles "that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan . . . tax, or such like charge without common consent by act of parliament . . . and that no freeman be imprisoned or detained; and that your majesty would be pleased to remove . . . soldiers and mariners; and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled (all of which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm)."³⁹ Supporters of the petition spoke of defending "these rights, these privileges, which made our fathers freemen. . . . If they be not the more carefully preserved, they will I fear render us to posterity less free, less worthy than our fathers."⁴⁰ With some hesitation and, to judge from his subsequent con-

³⁹Carl Stephenson and F. G. Marcham, *Sources of English Constitutional History*, p. 452.

⁴⁰G. M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 142, n. 1.

duct, with no intention of adhering to its spirit, Charles approved the petition, which then became one of the greatest guarantees of human liberty ever penned. Parliament had aimed with the petition to restrict the power of the king. But the petition was so phrased as to restrict the power of any type of state: republic, limited, or absolute. By 1700 such efforts as these were to produce the greatest system for the protection of minorities, as well as personal liberties, the world has ever seen.

PARLIAMENTARY ACTION IN 1629

In the following year, when by dissolving Parliament the king endeavored to break its resistance to his illegal collection of custom duties (tunnage and poundage), the Commons were stirred to violence. On 2 March, when the speaker announced the dissolution and prepared to leave, angry members held him down in his seat, while others locked the door to prevent timid members from departing. While royal officers pounded on the door the Commons then voted that "whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be . . . reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth," and "if any merchant or person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tunnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, he shall likewise be a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the same." The resolutions had been prepared by Sir John Eliot, who, together with eight other members of the House, was imprisoned. He was permitted to die of consumption in the Tower, a martyr to the parliamentary cause; and when his son requested permission to take his father's body home for burial, the king ordered, "Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died."⁴¹

CHARLES I AND ILLEGAL TAXATION

Charles did without a parliament from 1629 to 1640 by resorting to further extremes in extraparliamentary taxation, precedent for which went back to medieval practice. It had been customary for the crown, at a time when there was no royal navy, to demand ships of port towns to meet an emergency. Charles demanded, as had long been the case, money rather than ships, and (this was an innovation) from all England instead of merely the port towns. It appeared as if the regular assessment under peaceful conditions of these special taxes might help him to get along without parliamentary help. This was quite well understood by the Puritan parliamentary forces. Since they felt quite able to take care of the naval emergency themselves, there were refusals to pay ship money. When John Hampden refused to pay, the Court of the Exchequer by a vote of seven to five refused to support him. A royal justice

⁴¹Stephenson and Marcham, pp. 454-455.

could say upon this occasion that "Acts of Parliament to take away his Royal power in the defence of his kingdom are void. They are void Acts of Parliament to bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference."⁴² But acts of Parliament that granted the king money did make a difference, and in time of war, if not of peace, Charles's extraordinary taxation did not suffice. Charles's refusal to accept a pure Presbyterian settlement and Archbishop Laud's desire to impose a High Church settlement upon the Scots as well as the English brought a Scottish army over the border. Shortly before this Charles had been forced to summon Parliament (13 April, 1640). It met knowing full well that it would have to curb the king if the English were not to have a permanent despotism. "The powers of Parliament," thought one of its leaders, "are to the body politic as the rational faculty of the soul to man." Charles quickly dissolved it (the Short Parliament), but he was unable to postpone calling another for 3 November, 1640 (the Long Parliament).

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

The events of the next two decades are often called the Puritan Revolution, a revolution that was at the same time a religious and civil war. The Puritans opposed those who wished to maintain the Anglican Church in its Elizabethan form,⁴³ keep its episcopal organization and ritualistic character, and render it subservient to and a part of the state—in fact, a support of absolute divine-right monarchy and the traditional social system. The Puritans, in other words, opposed those who wanted the Anglican Church to be the English counterpart of the Catholic Church in France. The Puritans, the English spiritual descendants of John Calvin, were split into two main groups, the Presbyterians and the Independents, or Congregationalists. The Presbyterians wished to transform the national church by substituting the presbyter for the bishop, and thus give it a Calvinistic organization as well as spirit, with no necessary respect for either monarchy or aristocracy, indeed with theocratic leanings. (James I was of the opinion that without bishops there could be no monarchy: "No bishop, no king.") The Independents were Puritan in spirit but not Calvinistic in organization. They were inclined to support a separation of church and state, but would give the right to vote only to church members. They had no more use for intolerant Presbyterians than intolerant Anglicans, and in fact were congregationalist rather than territorial in organization. The church was a gathering of true believers. The issue here was whether or not the Anglican Church was to remain an unreformable, intolerant supporter of the status quo.

⁴²Trevelyan, p. 184.

⁴³See pp. 121-122.

THE CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION

As a civil war the Puritan Revolution was a contest between the supporters of strong, divine-right, and in some cases absolute, monarchy (anti-Puritan clergy, aristocracy, and a minority of rural middle classes) and the supporters of monarchy subservient to law and Parliament (Puritans, majority of rural middle classes in eastern counties, and majority in towns). If each of the fairly divided classes used the phrase the "king in Parliament," they did not quite mean what they said. Ardent royalists wanted no king dependent upon Parliament; ardent parliamentarians no Parliament dependent upon king. As a revolution, however, these decades were the first attempt in modern western Europe to adjust a traditional (medieval, feudal) society to the needs, capacities, ambitions, and experimental temper of the capitalistic middle classes of town and countryside. While primarily political and religious, and willing to go to republican and Calvinistic extremes, this revolution had also economic and social implications of a radical kind that link it up with the French Revolution of 1789-1795. It is the first of a series of revolutions (if we omit the Reformation) to jolt western Europe out of its feudal past and prepare it for a development that we may call modern. The limited victory of this revolution in England, when combined with Newtonian science, the thought of John Locke, and the poetry of John Milton, set the standards and pace for all subsequent modern development.

THE ACTION OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

The Long Parliament was determined to make no compromises on the question of the supremacy of law and Parliament. It outlawed the whole machinery of prerogative justice based on Roman law and the individuals associated with it. It abolished the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission. It impeached and executed Archbishop Laud. It did likewise with Strafford, on the theory that in advising the king to violate the law he was guilty of high treason to the nation. To get things done the parliamentary leaders did not hesitate to use the pressure of mob (London) action. The financial methods of 1629-1640 were made impossible when customs duties (tunnage and poundage) without the consent of Parliament and ship money were made illegal. For the future, Parliament was to meet once in three years, and the Long Parliament itself provided that it could not be dissolved or prorogued without its consent. Efforts were made to provide for an independent judiciary and for royal ministers "such as Parliament may have cause to confide in."

Charles's reaction to this legislation was to charge five members of the House of Commons with treason, and when his charge was not acted upon quickly enough, to go to the House of Commons and attempt to arrest them personally. But they had fled; the king could get no help from the speaker and had to withdraw in confusion as the very palpable

violator of parliamentary privilege and the would-be destroyer of Parliament itself. Civil war was now inevitable. Charles withdrew from London. The parliament, having provided itself with a military force in London, then deprived the king of the right to appoint and hold responsible the officers of the militia. It justified its action with the statement that "What they do herein hath the stamp of royal authority, although His Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same; for the King's supreme and royal pleasure is exercised and declared in this High Court of law and council, after a more eminent and obligatory manner than it can be by personal act or resolution of his own."⁴⁴

THE COURSE OF THE CIVIL WAR

Parliamentarians had therefore (like the royalists) to defend their cause with their lives. They won the victory after two years (1646) with an army organized by a pious and capable Independent, a squire from Huntington, Oliver Cromwell. By this time the parliamentary party was split between the intolerant Presbyterians, who controlled Parliament, and the Independents, who controlled the army. Connivance between the former and the king prolonged the war another two years. Completely outraged by a parliament which insisted upon imposing without toleration a Presbyterian national church upon England, and by a king who stopped at no duplicity to re-establish himself, the army—controlled by Independents, resolved by inexhaustible discussion and argument in officers' councils, and quite aware of the kind of Utopian settlement it wished for England—drove the Presbyterians out of Parliament (6 December, 1648), leaving an Independent "Rump" of one-eighth of the total membership, and brought the king to trial for treason, a bold, revolutionary act of violence.

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES I

The Rump Parliament set up a special committee as a court of justice to try the king.⁴⁵ It declared that "the Commons of England in Parliament assembled do declare, That the people are under God, the original of all just power, and do also declare that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation, and do also declare that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled hath the force of a law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent or concurrence by the king or House of Peers be not had thereunto." The king was to be charged with the "wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws and liberties of this nation, and, in their place to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical gov-

⁴⁴Quoted in Adams, p. 317.

⁴⁵This paragraph relies on J. Mackinnon, *A History of Modern Liberty*, IV, 77-78.

ernment," and "with a resort to war in order to carry out his design." When brought before this court, Charles refused to answer this charge on the grounds that the court was illegal and had no jurisdiction over him. At one session he even went so far as to assert that "as king he could not be tried by any superior jurisdiction on earth." The court was held in the presence of soldiers, who kept crying "Justice! Justice!" As Charles continued to deny its legality, thus, he said, refusing to surrender the liberties of the people, he was told by its president, "How you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoken it. And truly sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions. You have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom." Charles listened to his death sentence on the 27 January, 1649, "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy." Among his sixty-seven judges was Cromwell. The king was not permitted to speak. The soldiers kept shouting "Justice! Justice!" as he was removed by the guard, and "jeered him and blew tobacco in his face as he went down stairs." He mounted the scaffold on the 30th. There was no cringing and no abandonment of his cause. He was willing to forgive. He had wanted liberty and freedom for the people, but "liberty and freedom consists in having government." "It is not their having a share in the government, that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things." "I die," he said to the attendant bishop, "a Christian according to the professions of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father." "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown where no disturbance can be." He removed his cloak, put his neck upon the block, and "stretching out his hands as a sign to the executioner, his head fell at one blow from his body."

ENGLAND A REPUBLIC AND A COMMONWEALTH

England was now governed by an Independent minority represented by the Rump and the army. She was threatened by counterrevolution in England, civil war from Ireland and Scotland, and possible intervention from the Continent. This minority carried the revolution further by establishing a republic. It set up a Council of State to govern the land in place of a king. On 17 March it abolished the monarchy because "it is and hath been found by experience that the office of a king in this nation and Ireland . . . is unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interest of the people; and that for the most part use hath been made of the regal power and prerogative to oppress and impoverish and enslave the subject; and that usually and naturally any one person in such power makes it his interest to encroach upon the just freedom and liberty of the people and to promote the setting up of their own will and power above the laws, that so they might enslave these kingdoms to their own lust." Two days later it abolished the House of Lords, "finding by too long experience that the house of lords is useless

and dangerous to the people." On 19 May England was declared to be "a commonwealth and free state, and shall from henceforth be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme authority of this nation—the representatives of the people in parliament and by such as they shall appoint and constitute as officers and ministers under them for the good of the people, and that without any king or house of lords."⁴⁶

CROMWELL DESTROYS THE RUMP PARLIAMENT

The revolution had in fact called up much more radical programs, that of Lilburne and his Levelers, for example, or Gerrard Winstanley and his Diggers.⁴⁷ But the Commonwealth was too busy keeping itself in power to listen to the radicals. The government, in fact, was soon divided by a Rump-army quarrel. The inability of the Rump to institute proper reforms in society or church, and its willingness to perpetuate itself in power, led to its dissolution by Cromwell and the troops. On 20 April, 1653, he told the Rump that "the Lord had done with them, and chosen other instruments for the carrying on of His work that were more worthy." Pointing to particular individuals he accused them of fornication, drunkenness, and corruption. When protests were made, he exclaimed, "Come, come. I will put an end to your prating. . . . You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." He called in a troop of musketeers. The Rump rushed to escape as Cromwell called after them, "It's you that have forced me to this . . . for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather stay me than put me upon the doing of this work."⁴⁸

BAREBONE'S PARLIAMENT

The Rump was succeeded by a new parliament in July, appointed by the army officers from lists prepared by the congregations of Independents and given the nickname of Barebone's Parliament from one of its prominent and pious members, Mr. Praisegod Barebone, a leather merchant from London. The program of legislation passed and discussed by these and subsequent Utopians in succeeding parliaments was extraordinary. Had all of England been ready for it, the country would have been suddenly placed centuries in advance, for most of the program subsequently became a part of English law. Barebone's colleagues wanted to reform taxation and move cases quickly through the courts. They wanted to abolish imprisonment for debt, cure the evils caused by the enclosure of common and arable land, relieve the poor, and get rid of "ignorant, profane and scandalous ministers." They sought to reduce the expenses of litigation and abolish tithes. They would simplify the complicated language of the laws and make them conform to "the Word

⁴⁶Stephenson and Marcham, pp. 521, 522, 523–524.

⁴⁷See p. 243 for the views of these men.

⁴⁸Mackinnon, IV, 113.

of God and right reason." Other Commonwealth parliaments looked forward to the establishment, among other things, of "free public schools; a public post office; public work for the employment of the poor, female suffrage; voting by ballot . . . freedom of the press; . . . the payment of judges by fixed salaries, . . . and tenure during good behavior."⁴⁹

THE PROTECTORATE

After the dissolution of Barebone's Parliament, Cromwell accepted as the constitution of the Commonwealth a document previously drawn up by the Council of Officers of the Army, *The Instrument of Government*, the first written constitution of a large modern state, and the only one of England. It transformed the Commonwealth into a Protectorate by providing that supreme legislative authority "shall be and reside in one person and the people assembled in parliament: the style of which person shall be the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." "Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of the forces . . . shall be . . . lord protector . . . for his life." "The laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament." "Such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from but shall be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion" (Catholics and Anglicans excepted).⁵⁰

THE RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS TO THE THRONE

Revolutionary governments maintain threatened gains by military power. By the subsequent dismissals of parliaments with which he was incapable of getting along, Cromwell proved willing to make of himself a military dictator in order to demonstrate what he felt to be his responsibility to God and the Puritan Revolution. The defense of a parliamentary victory by a return to what Parliament had destroyed, a kind of victory of the Puritan ascetic spirit over liberty, was more than most Englishmen could take. Cromwell died in 1658. He had made the office of lord protector inheritable instead of elective and was succeeded by his son Richard. The new protector, lacking both political and military support, was soon forced to resign. By this time it was generally felt that the Puritan republic had gone too far. It had instituted political reforms for which the nation was not yet ready, and its readiness to legislate moral reform ran counter to the mood of the majority. There was general agreement that the monarchy should be restored in the person of Charles II, Charles I's son, if only that monarch were content to limit his sphere of action by the legislation of the first session of the Long

⁴⁹Adams, pp. 329-330.

⁵⁰Adams, p. 328.

Parliament. This was the settlement made at the Restoration of Charles II in 1660.

CHARLES II

It took twenty-eight years more before the English were convinced that they could not trust the Stuart dynasty. Charles II went so far as to betray the Dutch and English if not to his French mistresses then directly to Louis XIV. In the Treaty of Dover (1670), made with Louis XIV, he agreed to join France in an attack upon Holland, calculated to destroy and partition this land of freedom except for a small fief to be held by William of Orange, the Stadtholder, from the French crown. He agreed further to accept French troops and money to enable him to become a Roman Catholic, and to re-establish Catholicism in England. Meanwhile in England the Puritans had been punished for their Revolution by a revival of methods Cromwell used to deal with his opponents.⁵¹

JAMES II AND THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

James II (1685-1688) began his reign in the year Louis XIV withdrew toleration from the Huguenots. Those who came to England acquainted the realm with the horrors perpetrated in France in the name of Catholicism. When, therefore, James II, as an avowed Catholic, sought by autocratic means to reintroduce popery, and maintained a standing army to support him in an obvious return to absolute divine-right monarchy, all factions took alarm. Two of these had, in fact, developed into political parties, the Whigs, representing the old Puritans, and the Tories, representing the old royalists. While the contest between kings and parliaments was going on, two devices were found desirable and necessary for the popular control of government: (1) the cabinet system, and (2) organized political parties.⁵² Both Whigs and Tories combined to get rid of James II. When a son was born to the king (1688) and it became clear that a Catholic dynasty was to be established, negotiations were started with William of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, and his Protestant wife, Mary, the daughter of James II, to come across the Channel with an army to take over the crown from James. The completion of these negotiations, with the actual event, is known as the Glorious Revolution, glorious because bloodless for England this time, and a revolution not only because of a change in dynasty (James fled to the French court) but because in a series of laws Parliament set limitations to the exercise of royal power in England that rendered permanent the results of the long parliamentary struggle and provided a settlement for religious and other questions which was not to be touched until the nineteenth century. Of these statutes two need to be emphasized, the

⁵¹The Habeas Corpus Act, one of the great foundations of human liberty, was passed during Charles II's reign (1679).

⁵²See pp. 326-327.

Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act of 1689, precious formulations, as far as they go, of human freedom.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE TOLERATION ACT

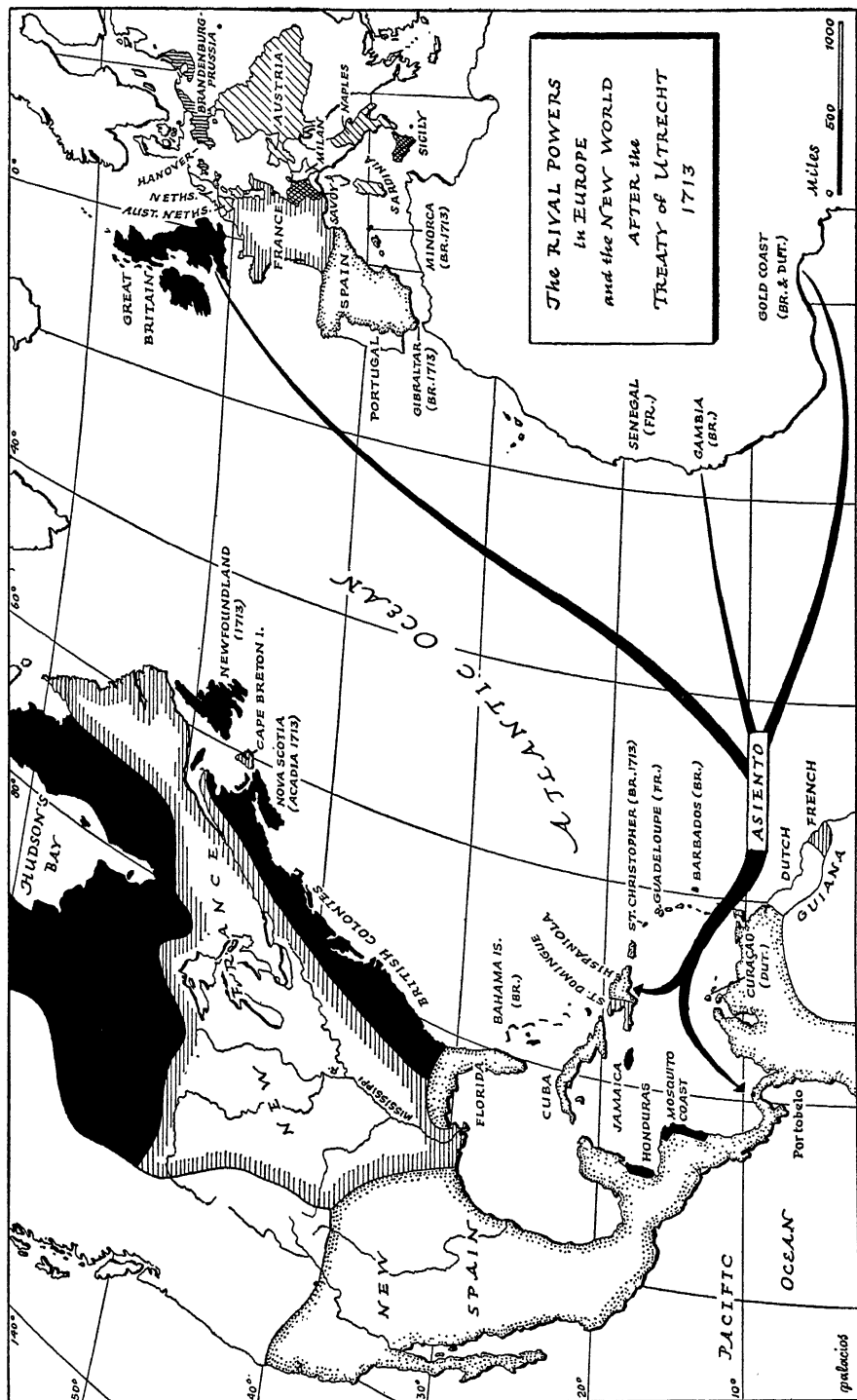
Parliament declared among other things that in order to vindicate and assert "their ancient rights and liberties . . . the pretended power of suspending [or dispensing of] laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without the consent of parliament is illegal, . . . that levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal, . . . that it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal; that the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law, . . . that election of members of parliament ought to be free, . . . that the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament; that excessive bail ought not to be required; nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." The Toleration Act provides that under certain serious limitations "their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England . . . shall not be . . . persecuted in any ecclesiastical court for or by any reason of their non-conforming to the Church of England."⁵³ Because "frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king and people," the Triennial Act provided for the election of a new parliament every three years. There were to be no more long parliaments isolated from popular will. William of Orange remained Stadtholder of Holland after becoming William III of England. He needed the resources of England to support the efforts of Holland in removing the French threat to Dutch independence, and preventing France from establishing its peculiar kind of dominance upon the Continent. William was not able to complete this task, but by his death (1702) the Grand Alliance against France had been formed and the War of Spanish Succession begun.⁵⁴ Still it took another decade before the Treaty of Utrecht established the English in place of the Dutch as the leading maritime and capitalistic power of the West.

ENGLISH EXPANSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the seventeenth century the English established their hold in India and began to colonize North America and the Bermudas, Bahamas, Barbados, and, after 1655, Jamaica, taken from the Spanish. The East India Company was first given a charter by Elizabeth in 1600, and before long some of its voyages "had repaid investors their capital, plus a profit

⁵³Stephenson and Marcham, pp. 601, 607.

⁵⁴See p. 220.



of over two hundred per cent." The Dutch East India Company kept the English out of the East Indies, but they tapped Chinese trade at Canton, and the East India Company, especially after securing Bombay in 1668, grew strong as a military, political, and commercial power in India. Religious persecution, among other reasons, sent thousands of Puritans to New England during this century, though not so many persecuted Anglicans to Virginia or Catholics to Maryland. By 1700 all the American colonies had been founded except Georgia, and they were supporting some 500,000 inhabitants. Royalists had moved to Barbados during and after the Puritan Revolution, where, by 1667, "750 plantations owned 80,000 slaves."⁵⁵ The English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard had expanded at the cost of the Dutch with the conquest of the Dutch colonies in New York (New Amsterdam, 1669). After the War of the Spanish Succession the French ceded Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay region (1713). The emigration of Puritans to America made possible the further development of their political thought and experimentation. The victory of Parliament in England was no less important to English colonies, and the political theory of that victory (John Locke) became the political theory of the American Revolution.

DEFENDERS OF DIVINE-RIGHT ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

The political theory accompanying the political history of the early modern West, to the extent that it was read and helped to form opinion, was itself a determinant of the course of history. Inevitably there were justifications of divine-right and absolute monarchy as well as of limited or parliamentary monarchy. The chief defenders of the sacred character of monarchy were the leading bishop of Louis XIV's court, Bishop Bossuet, and the founder of the Stuart dynasty, King James I of England. The ultimate source of their secular theocratic theories was the Scriptures. Bossuet argued that "God established kings as his ministers and rules through them over the people. Princes therefore act as ministers of God and as his lieutenants on earth. . . . The royal throne is not the throne of a man but the throne of God himself. . . . The person of kings is sacred." James I expressed his convictions in several pamphlets and lectures to Parliament and the Star Chamber: "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, but even by God Himself are called gods. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do or to say that a king cannot do this or that." "Kings are justly gods; for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth. For if you consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create, destroy, make or unmake at His

⁵⁵Heaton, pp. 319, 324.

pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and be accountable to none. And the like power have kings. They make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising up and casting down, of life and death; judge over all their subjects and in all cases, yet accountable to none but God. They have power to exalt low things and abuse high things and to make of their subjects like men at chess." Charles I rewarded (and Parliament punished) clergy who supported such royal claims. It was very helpful for a king to have preachers say that one is not to take up arms for any reason, "not for the maintenance of the lives and liberties of ourselves or others; not for the defense of religion; not, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul, no, not for the redemption of the whole world," or that rulers must be obeyed "whether the prince be a believer or an infidel, whether he rule justly or unjustly, courteously or cruelly." James himself thought that to relieve subjects of such a "heavy curse" as a bad king, "patience, earnest prayer, and amendment of their lives are the only lawful means to move God to relieve them." Parliament was quite willing to fine, imprison, and suspend a clergyman who told Charles to his face that "among all the powers ordained of God the royal is the most high, strong, and large. No power in the world or in the church can lay restraint upon it. That sublime power which resides in earthly potentates is not a derivation or collection of human power but a participation of God's own omnipotency."⁵⁶ Just as obviously, Charles I would have to make such a man a bishop.

POLITICAL THEORY AND ROMAN LAW

Resort was not necessarily made to Scriptures or to God to build a political theory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead some writers followed in the tradition of Marsiglio of Padua⁵⁷ and built up a wholly secular foundation for the modern state. In this they were supported by the revival of the Roman law during the Renaissance, a law which, knowing no feudalism, supported princes and monarchs who were combatting feudalism. It did know, however, that the Roman people had surrendered its sovereignty to the Roman emperor, whom Roman lawyers took to be equivalent of the modern king or prince.

MACHIAVELLI

A good example of the secular approach to political theory is the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli, who from 1494 to 1512 was secretary to the Council of Ten of his native city, a council which directed foreign affairs. When the Medici came back to the city, Machiavelli was out of a job, and to call attention to himself in the hopes of employment by the Medici he wrote a tract on *The Prince* (*Il Principe*). Previously he had put down his political opinions in the form of comments (*Discourses*)

⁵⁶G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 14 ff.

⁵⁷See Vol. I, p. 624.

on the *History* of the Roman historian Livy, and to get an accurate idea of his political outlook it is necessary to read the *Discourses* (if not his other works) as well as *The Prince*.

THE "DISCOURSES"

Machiavelli, like Marsiglio, was the product of the secular spirit of a commercial Italian town. If he had no respect for the Church it was because it had strayed from its earlier path to become a temporal power. He says in the *Discourses* that there can be no "greater proof of its decadence than to witness the fact that the nearer people are to the Church of Rome, which is the head of our religion, the less religious are they." "The evil example of the court of Rome has destroyed all piety and religion in Italy. . . . we Italians then owe to the Church of Rome and to her priests our having become irreligious and bad; but we owe her still a greater debt and one that will be the cause of our ruin, namely, that the Church has kept and still keeps my country divided." In fact, Machiavelli thought that if the ancients were more liberty-loving than men of his day, it was because of the superior value inculcated by pagan religion. "For," he remarks, "as our religion teaches us the truth and true way of life, it causes us to attach less value to the honors and possessions of this world; whilst the Pagans, esteeming those things as the highest good, were more energetic and ferocious in their actions. . . . Besides this, the Pagan religion deified only men who had achieved great glory, such as commanders of armies and chiefs of republics, whilst ours glorifies more the humble and contemplative men than the men of action. Our religion, moreover, places the supreme happiness in humility, holiness, and a contempt for worldly objects, whilst the other, on the contrary, places the supreme good in grandeur of soul, strength of body, and all such other qualities as render men formidable; and if our religion claims of us fortitude of soul, it is more to enable us to suffer than to achieve great deeds." Machiavelli can also say in the *Discourses* (Chap. 58) that "a people is more prudent, more stable and of better judgment than a Prince. Not without reason is the voice of a people likened to the voice of God." He sounds even somewhat revolutionary in writing that "those republics which have thus preserved their political existence uncorrupted do not permit any of their citizens to be or to live in the manner of gentlemen, but rather maintain amongst them a perfect equality and are the most decided enemies of the lords and gentlemen that exist in the country." By gentlemen Machiavelli meant those "who live idly upon the proceeds of their extensive possessions, without devoting themselves to agriculture or any other useful pursuit to gain a living."⁵⁸

⁵⁸Baumer, pp. 141 ff.

"THE PRINCE"

In *The Prince* Machiavelli is disturbed by the fact that Italy, unlike Spain and France, had achieved no territorial and political unity (see map on page 18). He describes his country as "without a head, without discipline, bruised, bespoiled, lacerated, ravaged, and subjected to every kind of affliction"; and, in an appeal that has been called the "most eloquent address to be found in Italian literature," the Medici are urged to shake off a barbarous domination that "stinks in all men's nostrils," and unify their land. In the *Discourses* Machiavelli says that "where the very safety of the country depends upon the resolution to be taken, no considerations of justice or injustice, humanity or cruelty, nor of glory or of shame, should be allowed to prevail. But putting all other considerations aside, the only question should be, what course will save the life and liberty of the country?" In *The Prince*, where advice is given the ruler on how to maintain power over newly acquired subjects, the same amoral view is taken. To preserve his power over his subjects the prince need not worry about moral principles. "On seizing a state, the usurper should bethink him of all the injuries he must inflict, and inflict them all at a stroke that he may not have to renew them daily. . . . Anyone who would act up to a perfect standard of goodness in everything must be ruined among those who are not good. The Prince who would maintain his position must have learned to be other than good and to use or not to use his goodness as necessity requires. He need never hesitate to incur the reproach of those vices without which his authority can hardly be preserved. . . . The Prince should therefore disregard the reproach of cruelty where it enables him to keep his subjects united and faithful. . . . It is far safer to be feared than loved. . . . Love is held by the tie of obligation which, because men are a sorry breed, is broken on every prompting of self-interest. Fear is bound by the apprehension of punishment which never loses its grasp. . . . Princes who have set little store by their word, but have known how to over-reach others by their cunning have accomplished great things and in the end had the better of those who trusted to honest dealing. . . . A prudent Prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him. . . . If all men were good, this would not be good advice, but since they are dishonest and do not keep faith with you, you, in return, need not keep faith with them. No Prince was ever at a loss for plausible reasons to cloak a breach of faith. . . . It is well to seem merciful, faithful, humane, religious and upright and also to be so. But the mind should remain so balanced that were it needful not to be so, you should be able and know how to change to the contrary."⁵⁹ This may be considered to be a description of the conduct of the Italian despot of the Renaissance. It is echoed by "the reasons of state" of the new national monarchies. Men

⁵⁹P. Villari, *Machiavelli*, II, 167 ff.

professed to be horrified at what seemed to be an unashamed rejection of Christian ethics for an ethics of power. If so, they recognized also a description of the exercise of political power at all times and in all places. *The Prince* again demonstrated that despotism is founded upon a low estimate of man.

JEAN BODIN AND SOVEREIGNTY

The first thorough discussion of the doctrine of absolute sovereignty emerged from a France torn by religious war. It was in a book of Jean Bodin (the *Republic*, 1576). Bodin thought that sovereignty (*maiestas* in Latin), the absolute power to make law that absorbs all other power in a state, was present in every kind of state. Sovereignty in a monarchy was possessed by the king, and in a democracy by the numerical majority of the citizens. He preferred monarchy; the king in France needed absolute sovereignty sufficient to rise above the claims of party and faction.

THOMAS HOBBS

In England, under somewhat similar circumstances, a doctrine of absolute sovereignty was elaborated in the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes was a supporter of the Stuart monarchy. Democracy, he thought, was no more than an "Aristocracy of Orators, interrupted sometimes with the temporary Monarchy of one Orator." When confronted by the civil war, "the seditious roaring of a troubled nation," he left England for France to meditate upon the nature of political society and the advantages of strong government, and published his *Leviathan* in 1651. It contains most of the popular political concepts of the day. As a classical scholar Hobbes was familiar with the principles of Roman law and of the writings of the leading juris-consults. These men spoke in terms of a law of nations (*ius gentium*) and a natural law (*ius naturale*), the fundamental moral law to which all other must conform,⁶⁰ and to Christian theologians the same as the law of God. The Stoic theorists spoke also of a prepolitical golden age, or state of nature when, under the laws of nature, men were "free and equal." Contemporary society was a decline from this age. Christian theologians identified this golden age with the earthly paradise and explained contemporary society in terms of man's fall. Ancient theorists spoke also of government's being a result of pact or contract. This idea had special development during the Middle Ages. Feudal government was based on the mutual contract between lord and vassal, and royal government on the contract implicit in coronation oaths.⁶¹

Hobbes used these traditional concepts in his own way and for his own purpose. The right or law of nature he defines as "the liberty each

⁶⁰See Vol. I, pp. 254-255.

⁶¹See Vol. I, pp. 431-433.

man hath to use his own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature; that is to say, of his own life: and consequently, of doing anything, which in his own judgment and reason, he shall conceive to be the aptest means thereunto." Human life in its "natural" state was impossible. "During the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war; and such a war as is of every man against every man." In such a condition there are, among other things, "no arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." To escape from this war of the state of nature, in which all individuals are equal, a compact or contract is made between them. "The mutual transferring of right is that which men call contract." The rights of the individuals in a state of nature are transferred to the sovereign power, which is absolute. They establish by covenant "a common power to keep them in awe"; they "confer all their power and strength upon one man or upon one assembly of men that may reduce all their wills by plurality of voices unto one will." Hobbes puts the terms of the contract between those in a state of nature as follows: "I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly of men on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner." "This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a commonwealth. . . . This is the generation of that great LEVIATHAN, or rather to speak more reverently, of that mortal God, to which we owe under the immortal God, our peace and defence." The sovereign power thus established is absolute and no part of the contract. The contract was between those who agreed to surrender their liberty to the sovereign power. Hobbes obviously preferred a monarch as the possessor of this sovereignty. He identified it with tyranny ("the name of tyranny signifieth nothing more, nor less than the name of sovereignty"). Those who do not like sovereign power call it tyranny. "They that use the former word (tyranny) are understood to be angry with them they call tyrants." The liberty of the subject of the sovereign so constituted consists in doing those things the sovereign omits to do ("those things which in regulating their actions, the sovereign hath pretermitted"). The sovereign commonwealth itself is free to do what it pleases. "Every commonwealth, not every man, has an absolute liberty, to do what it shall judge . . . most conducing to their benefit." The subjects of the sovereign are bound to him for as long as he can protect them. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth by which he is able to protect them." Hobbes calls the "civil sovereign" the "supreme pastor," governing church as well as state. Faith in Jesus involves faith in the sovereign and his laws. In fact to resist a sovereign that is an infidel is to violate the laws of God. "When the cruel sovereign is an infidel, everyone of his

own subjects that resisteth him, sinneth against the laws of God.”⁶² Hobbes is the prophet, if so logical a mind may be called prophetic, of a kind of religion of absolute sovereignty.

CONTRACT THEORY

Hobbes was not the only political writer in the seventeenth century to use the idea of a contract between the members of a state of nature to explain the origins of government. He was the only important one to use it to deprive the individual of practically all rights over and against the government and thus theoretically to justify absolute government. Most writers used the contract idea to establish limited governments, mostly monarchies. Original members of a state of nature made a contract with a ruler, but the contract was limiting. The ruler could rule only if he guaranteed not to abrogate certain rights and privileges. Thus Protestants on the Continent who were not tolerated were inclined to say that monarchy received its power to rule on the basis of a contract which forbade the king to deny his subjects the right to practice true religion. Catholic writers, Jesuits for the most part, likewise argued that rulers who forbade the exercise of Catholicism could be deposed or even assassinated for failure to adhere to the terms of a contract giving them power.

CONTRACT THEORY IN HOLLAND AND ENGLAND

In their Declaration of Independence from Spain (26 July, 1581) the Dutch said that “All mankind know that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When therefore, the prince does not fulfill his duty as protector, when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered not a prince but a tyrant. As such the Estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him and elect another in his room.” Theoretical support of Parliament in its actual fight against the Stuarts usually took a form of argument based on contract. Cromwell argued from this theory, and John Milton used it in his many pamphlets on behalf of the Commonwealth. Soon after the death of Charles I on the scaffold, Milton came to the defense of the regicides in a tract called “The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.” Here the people contracted to form a government, but power remained with them and could not be taken from them. People are in a position to depose unsatisfactory kings whenever they like. “For the future no potentate but to his sorrow may presume to turn upside down whole kingdoms of men.” When it became likely that Charles II would be restored, Milton wrote his “Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth” (February, 1660). It was the role of a king only to

⁶²Ed. E. A. Burt, *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, pp. 163, 161.

"pageant himself up and down among the perpetual bowings and cringing of an abject people." It was now unthinkable "that a nation should be so valorous as to win their liberty in the field, and when they have won it not know how to use it or value it, but basely and besottedly run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken and prostrate all the fruits of their victory again at the feet of the vanquished."⁶³

RADICAL THEORISTS IN ENGLAND

The Puritan Revolution brought to the surface many more radical proposals than those of the contract theorists. John Lilburne, one of the Levelers, would protect the people against Parliament as well as a king. His followers wanted such things as manhood suffrage, and "work and a comfortable maintenance for the poor and impotent." James Harrington, in his *Oceana*, a work of great practical as well as theoretical influence among the American colonies, saw the relationship between political and economic power and the limitations which the ownership of large estates puts upon political freedom. He wanted also a compulsory education furnished by the state that would include technical training in the crafts.⁶⁴ Gerrard Winstanley, a leader of the Diggers, wrote *A Law of Freedom*, advocating a society without buying and selling and rich and poor. In this society land was to be common and available for all. Each was to contribute to, and be maintained from, a common store. A system of education was to instruct all and include technical training.

JOHN LOCKE

The social-contract theory was used to justify the Glorious Revolution of 1688 by John Locke in a still magnificent *Essay concerning the True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government* (1690). Here Locke explained in a rational manner the efforts of his countrymen to establish a limited monarchy. This explanation supplied the French people and the American colonies, who came to suffer from the excesses of absolute or would-be absolute monarchies, with a stirring vindication of revolutionary action.

Locke's original state of nature is quite different from Hobbes's war of all against all. "The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges everyone; and reason which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions." But still those things do happen, and it is "civil government [which] is the proper remedy for the inconveniences of the state of nature." Civil government is formed as a result of contract. By it men in a state of nature surrender their power to protect their rights under natural law, that is, "to preserve . . . property, . . . life, liberty, and estate" to the

⁶³Quoted in Gooch, p. 108.

⁶⁴Mackinnon, IV, 475.

community. "Men so unite into one society as to quit everyone his executive power of the law of nature, and to resign it to the public." The public acts through the "legislative or magistrates appointed by it." "Hence it is evident that absolute monarchy which by some men is counted the only government in the world is indeed inconsistent with civil society, and so can be no form of civil government at all." "No one can be put out of this estate (of nature) and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent." The government established by contract means government by a majority. "For where the majority cannot include the rest, there they cannot act as one body, and consequently will be immediately dissolved again." The chief object of government is to give men the protection of their natural rights, that is, life, health, liberty, or possessions (property). "The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property; to which in the state of nature there are many things wanting," and "the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent." This consent Locke again defines as "the consent of the majority giving it either by themselves or their representatives chosen by them." He further argues that the legislative power is not only limited as above but "they are to govern by promulgated and established laws, not to be varied in particular cases, but to have one rule for rich and poor, for the favorite at court and the countryman at plough." "These laws also ought to be designed for no other end ultimately but the good of the people."⁶⁵

Government therefore is limited to the protection of the individual in his natural rights, and if the supreme power in the state overreaches itself it may be replaced by the people. There remains "in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them." If this right is interfered with by force, it is then necessary to restore it by force. "The use of force without authority always puts him that uses it into a state of war as the aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly." Tyranny Locke defines as "the exercise of power beyond right . . . the making use of the power anyone has in his hands, not for the good of those who are under it, but for his own private, separate advantage." This no people is obliged to put up with. "Men can never be secure from tyranny if there be no means to escape it till they are perfectly under it. And therefore it is that they have not only the right to get out of it, but to prevent it." This can be under no circumstances prevented. "When the people are made miserable, and find themselves exposed to the ill-usage of arbitrary power, cry up their governors as much as you will for sons of Jupiter, let them be sacred and divine, descended or authorized from heaven, give them out for whom or what you please, the same will

⁶⁵Ed. E. A. Burt, pp. 403 ff.

happen. The people generally ill-treated, and contrary to right, will be ready upon any occasion to ease themselves of a burden that sits heavy upon them. They will wish and seek for the opportunity, which in the change, weakness, and accidents of human officers, seldom delays long to offer itself." This is not likely to happen frequently, since "till the mischief be grown general, and the ill designs of the rulers become visible or their attempts sensible to the greater part of the people, who are more disposed to suffer than right themselves by resistance, are not apt to stir." In any case, if it be asked, "who shall be judge whether the prince or legislative act contrary to their trust? . . . I reply: The people shall be judge."⁶⁶ Thus when the government violates its trust, and does not protect the people in those natural rights it was set up to protect, then the supreme power reverts to the society, and the people have a right to act as supreme, and continue the legislative in themselves; or place it in a new form, or new hands as they think good. This is what the English had done in 1688 with the Glorious Revolution. If sovereignty in the English state rested in the king in Parliament, its fundamental source was popular.

THE WESTERN TRADITION REJECTS ABSOLUTISM

Imperial theocracies, whether ecclesiastical or secular, had been rejected by the western tradition, or had at least failed, by the close of the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ Western political leaders then built secular theocratic states upon a national or dynastic basis. In Spain and France by the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries dynastic theocracies or divine-right monarchies had failed to provide a satisfactory basis for the future growth of these states. In Holland and England theocratic monarchy had been rejected for a Dutch republic and an English limited monarchy built upon Protestant middle classes. This conflict was reflected in argument which, going back to classical and medieval pasts, justified revolution to overthrow tyrannical governments that did not protect the individual in his "natural rights." The following chapter will refer to the rejection of absolutism by the American colonies and the French. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, the western tradition had rejected absolutism and put sovereignty in the body of the people. Subsequent western history was to extend this rejection more widely. Magna Carta had been an aristocratic victory over absolute monarchy;⁶⁸ the Glorious Revolution, in part a middle-class victory. The struggle would not end in the West, nor elsewhere, until all or at least a great majority of the citizens of western states had rejected absolutism in whatever form.

⁶⁶Ed. E. A. Burtt, p. 502.

⁶⁷See Vol. I, Chaps. xii, xiii.

⁶⁸See Vol. I, pp. 434 ff.

In England, the victory of popular sovereignty (king in Parliament), however limited, was fortified by the victory of toleration and freedom of the press, however limited. The Reformation and early modern science had helped religious toleration to grow.⁶⁹ While Louis XIV was taking away the tolerance Henry IV granted to the Huguenots, and the Dutch people and the American colonies were practicing and advocating tolerance in limited and various ways, English Anglicans were obliged to consider the question of tolerating dissenters, and the dissenters, likewise, that of tolerating Anglicans. In fact, the great number of Protestant sects and the refusal of Catholicism to disappear made the religious problem in England enormously difficult and led many men to advocate a thoroughgoing tolerance. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 was accompanied by the Toleration Act of 1689 granting a limited toleration (to Protestant sects only). John Locke accompanied this Act with an argument for tolerance (*A Letter concerning Toleration*, 1689) that made it difficult henceforth for any reasonable man to countenance persecution. To be sure, Locke made a limited application of his theory. He did not include atheists or Catholics. To tolerate a Catholic was for the English Protestant to tolerate subversion by a foreign power and to tolerate his own possible persecution, since the Catholics were intolerant. But Locke's argument in the *Letter* is a solvent of all desire to have the state persecute because of a lack of religious conformity. Locke thinks, of course, that persecution is unchristian. The "Prince of Peace . . . sent out His soldiers to the subduing of nations, and gathering them into His church, not armed with the sword or other instruments of force, but prepared with the Gospel of peace and with the exemplary holiness of their conversation." "The toleration of those that differ from others in matters of religion is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine reason of mankind, that it seems monstrous for men to be so blind as not to perceive the necessity and advantage of it in so clear a light." His position is that government with its sword must concern itself only with civil interests, "life, liberty, health, and indolency of body; and the possessions of outward things, such as money, lands, houses, furniture, and the like," and "that it neither can nor ought in any manner to be extended to the salvation of souls, the concern of religion." This is because the magistrate is not equipped to deal with "the introducing of ceremonies, or to the establishment of opinions, which for the most part are about nice and intricate matters that exceed the capacity of ordinary understandings." These are matters that have to do with faith, and government cannot create faith with force or the threat of it. "It is only light and evidence that can work a change in men's opinions; which light can in no manner proceed from corporal sufferings

⁶⁹See pp. 131 ff., 180 ff.

or any outward penalties." Government is thus confined to "things of this world, and hath nothing to do with the world to come."⁷⁰

Locke defines the church as "a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord in order to the public worshipping of God in such manner as they judge acceptable to Him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls." "That the Church of Christ should persecute others and force others by fire and sword to embrace her faith and doctrine, I could never yet find in any books of the New Testament." "If any man err from the right way, it is his own misfortune, no injury to thee; nor therefore art thou to punish him in the things of this life because thou supposest he will be miserable in that which is to come."

It is no good to say that one sect is orthodox and another heretical, "for every church is orthodox to itself; to others erroneous or heretical. . . . The controversy between these churches about the truth of their doctrines and the purity of their worship is on both sides equal. . . . The decision of that question belongs only to the Supreme Judge of all men, to whom also alone belongs the punishment of the erroneous." "No peace and security, no, not so much as common friendship, can ever be established or preserved amongst men so long as this opinion prevails that dominion is founded in grace and that religion is to be propagated by force of arms." Ecclesiastical orators "may try to convince men of their errors. . . . But let them spare their persons. Let them not supply their want of reasons with the instruments of force, which belong to another jurisdiction, and do ill become a churchman's hands. Let them not call in the magistrates' authority to the aid of their eloquence or learning, lest perhaps, whilst they pretend only love for the truth, this their intemperate zeal, breathing nothing but fire and sword, betray their ambition and show that what they desire is temporal dominion. For it will be very difficult to persuade men of sense that he who with dry eyes and satisfaction of mind can deliver his brother to the executioner to be burnt alive, does sincerely and heartily concern himself to save that brother from the flames of hell in the world to come."

Religion therefore is not within the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. Force, if it is to be used at all, can only properly be used by the civil magistrate. It is, however, unchristian to use force, which in any case cannot form faith. "Men cannot be forced to be saved whether they will or no. And therefore, when all is done, they must be left to their own consciences." "The truth certainly would do well enough if she were once left to shift for herself. She seldom has received, and I fear never will receive, much assistance from the power of great men, to whom she is but rarely known, and more rarely welcome. . . . If truth makes not

⁷⁰From Locke: *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, edited, with an introduction, by Patrick Romanell (The Library of Liberal Arts No. 22, New York, 1955). Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Liberal Arts Press, Inc.

her way into the understanding by her own light, she will be but the weaker for any borrowed force violence can add to her.”⁷¹

MILTON’S “AREOPAGITICA”

This appeal for religious freedom may be thought of as derived from a noble and exciting plea for complete intellectual freedom and freedom of the press by John Milton. To be sure, Milton was not ready to tolerate popery, and when the Presbyterians in the Long Parliament tried to impose Presbyterianism upon the national church he was quite willing to put them in the same class as the Catholics (“New Presbyter is but old Priest writ Large”). Yet his language is an impassioned plea for the unrestrained battle for truth. In 1637 Archbishop Laud had made more severe the Elizabethan system of censorship of the press, whereby prospective authors and printers had to receive licenses from the government before going ahead with publication. It could have been expected that the Long Parliament would dispense with this system, as indeed it dispensed with Laud. To Milton’s disgust it continued the system (1643). He himself had all the more reason to protest inasmuch as he had published, without the consent of the censors, some pamphlets containing liberal ideas about divorce. Milton called his appeal to the Long Parliament to give up censorship the *Areopagitica* (1644).⁷²

For Milton a book was not an ordinary thing, and the suppression of one a serious crime. Books “contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are.” They “preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction, an extraction of that living intellect that bred them.” “As good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God’s image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself.” “The Council of Trent and the Spanish Inquisition . . . brought forth or perfected . . . catalogues and expurging indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb.” This “most anti-christian council and . . . most tyrannous inquisition” are “the inventors and the original of book-licensing.” In any case, Milton does not believe that innocence and virtue are promoted by denying human beings access to materials that may be considered contrary. “I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.” “Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary.” To libel an honest scholar of repute as not “fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a

⁷¹Ed. Romanell.

⁷²From the title of an oration by Isocrates. The quotations are from *Areopagitica and Of Education*, ed. G. H. Sabine, *passim*.

schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him."

How indeed can a scholar be trusted when "all he delivers is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humor which he calls his judgment?" Under a system of censorship there is no point in learning, "for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life." Is England, looked upon by the persecuted as "a place of philosophic freedom," to be turned into an Italy, where "I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought." England must not be subject to a "tyranny over learning." Truth, Milton says, had been compared in Scripture "to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." What we have been taught needs to be questioned honestly. "For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily . . . what can be more fair than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing, publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound." In open combat truth will win out. "Let her and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing." "For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power." "If all cannot be of one mind—as who looks they should be!—this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian: that many be tolerated rather than all be compelled." "We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood and hay and stubble, forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms." The English are not a "giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people, in such a sick and weak state of faith and discretion as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser." England is "a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to." England, Milton writes in a tribute of moving patriotism, was "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full

midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gobble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." Such a nation can be fed only on a strong diet of liberty. "It is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves." "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

NONRENEWAL OF LICENSING ACT

Parliament did not respond to Milton's pleas until after the Revolution of 1688. In 1695 it failed to renew the Licensing Act, and it has persisted in that failure to date. The individual now took upon himself the responsibility of writing and publishing what was not seditious and libelous. The public sees the printing rather than never knows of it, and if it is questionable a jury, not an official, decides guilt; that is, public opinion decides, and on the basis of specific law. The victory of Parliament, of toleration, and now of intellectual freedom must be considered a triumph of the humanistic tradition in the West. That tradition has always involved the notion that man was a responsible, rational animal capable of coming to his own conclusions. The wonderful sweep and confidence of that conviction in Milton and Locke are still intoxicating. Its taking effect in law meant that the English, with learning and their minds free, could modify traditional habit as they saw fit and continue to direct their national future in accordance with this modification. Under these circumstances they assumed the leadership of the West.

HUGO GROTIUS

One last victory for humanism must be mentioned before bringing this chapter to a close—for humanism in its narrower sense as classical learning or in its larger sense as the devotion to human potentiality. This was the attempt of the precocious Dutch humanist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) to work out a system of international law for the new sovereign national states of western Europe. Grotius was horrified by the capricious brutality of the Thirty Years' War. "I saw prevailing," he said, "throughout the Christian world a licence in making war of which even barbarous nations should be ashamed; men resorting to arms for trivial or for no reasons at all, and when arms were once taken up, no reverence left for divine and human law exactly as if a single edict had released a madness

driving men to all kinds of crime.”⁷³ Shortly after the outbreak of the war (1625) he wrote his famous book *On the Law of War and Peace*. The sovereign states of Europe were in what the political theorists called a “state of nature” with respect to each other. They had no commonly acknowledged political superior, as of course they still do not have today. The universal secular and ecclesiastical theocracies of the Middle Ages (empire and papacy) had been repudiated. The sovereignty of the new national and dynastic states had been proclaimed. What now was to be the authority to govern the relations between the western sovereignties? Machiavelli had suggested that there need not be any moral considerations in determining the policy or conduct of states. Grotius knew that empire and papacy were no longer vital institutions in international affairs, and, as a classical scholar, turned to antiquity for a new sanction for international morality. Since the Christian ascetic tradition of the West had failed to realize the international community, perhaps a new start could be made with the humanistic tradition.

Grotius therefore went back to what the Stoics and Roman jurists had said about the law of nations and the natural law as the foundation of international conduct,⁷⁴ and as a part of his work he collected all that subsequent Christian writers, including the learned Jesuits of his day, had said about this Foundation. To him the natural law and the law of nations were separate. The natural law was the body of moral law that had existed since time began, a law which God himself could not change and which he had taken over as the fundament of his law, a law recognized by all rational men of good will. It was “the dictate of right reason, indicating that an act, from its agreement or disagreement with the rational and social nature of man, has in it moral turpitude or moral necessity, and consequently that such an act is either forbidden or commanded by God, the author of nature.”⁷⁵ Grotius transformed the law of nations of the Romans, a law governing the private relations of Roman subjects of different national origins, into a public law governing the new nation-states. It was a body of international custom flowing from the higher natural law that regulated the relationship of the new western family of nations. On the basis of it Grotius tried to determine what was a just war and what an unjust war, and what was the morality of conducting a just war. What, for example, was the relationship of noncombattants to combattants? Under what circumstances could any nation abrogate the freedom of the seas? In a sense, his was an attempt to transform and internationalize the rules of feudal warfare contained in the practices of chivalry. His book held up to the western nations, and indeed to the world, a new dream to be

⁷³Quoted in J. L. Brierly, *The Law of Nations, an Introduction to the International Law of Peace*, p. 21.

⁷⁴See Vol. I, p. 254.

⁷⁵Quoted in Brierly, *The Law of Nations*, p. 22.

realized, an international or global community living at peace, with its own effective instruments of government using a recognized body of international law. Today, after two world wars—the twentieth century's Thirty Years' War—this dream is beginning to take definite shape, at first in the League of Nations, and now in the United Nations.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

*W*ESTERN ENLIGHTENMENT. Historians speak of certain aspects of the intellectual history of the eighteenth century as the Enlightenment. To enlighten means to instruct, or as the dictionary says, "to shed the light of truth and knowledge upon." Enlightenment then means both the act and result of such instruction. In this general sense, western history has been an account of enlightenment. Christian or ascetic enlightenment characterized its early centuries, and during the Renaissance a pagan or humanistic enlightenment enriched it, introducing a more thorough knowledge of classical civilization. The impact of this later, pagan enlightenment upon an earlier Christian one formed in some minds the attitude of Christian humanism. Its outstanding representative was Erasmus of Rotterdam, who urged upon his contemporaries an undogmatic Christianity supported by classical philosophy, literature, and art, internal rather than external, and teaching the philosophy of Christ, or Christian love. The Reformation and Counter Reformation were revivals of the ascetic spirit in Christianity. The great English Puritan poet John Milton found his Christian humanism quite compatible with political revolt and freedom of speech.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM

The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century was the result in part of further instruction in ancient civilization. The Renaissance continued to spread and intensify the spirit of humanism through a system of classical education for the aristocratic and middle classes. What is usually meant by the Enlightenment is not this continuation of the Renaissance into the

eighteenth century but the continuation of the scientific humanism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with the philosophy which it inspired; that is, the science of Newton, and the philosophy of Locke.

THE PHILOSOPHERS AND ENCYCLOPEDISTS

The intellectual and artistic leadership of France in the seventeenth century was maintained in the eighteenth century when Frenchmen reworked, expanded, and confirmed English science and philosophy and spread them in books and in new literary and scientific journals. This effort spread and intensified the larger rational and humanistic implications of science, the notion, that is, that its results could and should be used to enhance the dignity, security, and well-being of man's life on earth. Frenchmen undertook deliberately and enthusiastically a vast popularization of science and rational philosophy. The leaders of the movement are often called "the philosophers" (*les philosophes*), or, some of them, "the encyclopedists," since one of their great projects was to bring together the new scientific knowledge and philosophy in a *Grand Encyclopédie*. These French philosophers held high hopes for a world employing the rational spirit and method of science to relieve, improve, and ennoble man's estate. Man, they thought, not the sun, was really the center of the universe; it was homo- not helio-centric. When Diderot, the editor, came to write the article "*Encyclopédie*" for the *Grand Encyclopédie*, he explains that "if man, if that thinking and contemplative being, were banished from the surface of the globe, the spectacle at once pathetic and sublime which Nature unfolds would become a silence and a desolation. . . . The presence of Man it is that gives interest and meaning to the existence of things, and how better could we record the history thereof than by taking this consideration for our guide? Why not give to Man in this work the place which is allotted to him in the universal scheme of things? Why not make him the centre round which everything revolves?"¹

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY

The Enlightenment was thus meant to be the last chapter in the conflict of humanism with Christian asceticism. The impact of science and philosophy upon religion in the seventeenth century had produced deism, a radical modification of the conventional Christian point of view.² The French philosophers took up this earlier deistic attack upon orthodox, dogmatic, revealed Christianity and made it a part of their program. They too sought for a common, universal, natural religion with which they could scatter the dogmatism of particular creeds, undermine religious, and indeed all, superstition, and destroy irrational belief in magic and miracle. Natural religion to them was also scientific religion. Mathematics and sci-

¹Quoted in P. Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 208.

²See pp. 178 ff.

ence, being rational, showed how nature functioned in accordance with known or ascertainable law. Religion must be based upon this same law so as not to offend scientific attitudes. The French philosophers not only opposed orthodox Christianity as unnatural and irrational; they attacked the Catholic church of France, and indeed most Christian churches, Catholic or Protestant, as instruments of persecution, oppression, and intellectual enslavement, and the Catholic church especially as a wealthy, privileged remnant of a barbaric medieval past.

MATERIALISM AND NATURAL MORALITY

The Newtonian picture of the universe as matter moving in accordance with mathematical law was so completely vindicated by French mathematical physicists and astronomers of the eighteenth century that some of the philosophers forsook deism to espouse a quite materialistic and godless, yet no less ethical or moral, operation of the universe. They deified Nature. But whether deistic or atheistic, the French philosophers carried the humanistic attack upon asceticism beyond the program of a Christian humanism. They regarded Christianity as an obstacle to the construction of a new world upon the foundation of natural religion. Christian ascetic morality would have to be replaced by natural morality.

The Enlightenment expanded the humanistic faith in man by asserting that he was not only and primarily rational by nature but sensitive, sympathetic, and kindly, a creature of emotion as well as reason. His reason told him, in looking about the world, that all was not well and helped him to devise remedies for its improvement. But he felt as well as thought about these matters, grew angry over absurdity and injustice, and resolved to do something about them. The world was not only rationally remediable but, if one followed his emotions, should be corrected, because improvement would make men better. Locke had taught, and eighteenth-century psychologists were to go on teaching, that man's mind was fashioned by the sensations which entered it. Since these were determined by his environment, his mind and his conduct accordingly could be changed by modifying his environment. The Christian ideal of perfection—the saint—was rarely realizable upon this earth, and few souls were so pure as to gain upon death direct admittance to paradise. Christianity taught that mankind as a whole was perfectible only after much suffering in purgatory. The philosophers brought the Christian ideal of perfectibility down to earth and extended it to all mankind. Man could be endlessly improved upon this earth by freeing him from an evil environment. Man's fine potentialities, his essential nobility and goodness, his rational and benevolent qualities, were all perfectible in society. The Christian heaven was to give way to a developing earthly paradise, where the dignity of the soul would be combined with the dignity of the body and where, a few philosophers came to think, the original equality of souls in the sight of God would be extended to the equality of men in the sight of men. Here

CHRONOLOGY — The Enlightenment

	Political Events and Persons	Science, Philosophy, and Religion	Literature, Art, and Music
1650			
	Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715)	Hobbes (d. 1679) Locke (1632–1704) Leibnitz (1646–1716) Newton (1642–1727)	Milton (d. 1674)
1700			
	War of Spanish Succession (1701–1713) Act of Union (1707) Peace of Utrecht (1713) Charles XII (r. 1697–1718) Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) Walpole (1676–1745) War of the Austrian Suc- cession (1740–1748) Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Joseph Dupleix (1697–1763) William Pitt (Sr.) (1708–1778)	Bishop Berkeley (1685–1753) Montesquieu (1689–1755) Quesnay (1694–1778) Linnaeus (1707–1778) Rousseau (1712–1778) Helvetius (1715–1771) Hume (1711–1776) Diderot (1713–1784) John Wesley (1703–1791) Buffon (1707–1788)	Alexander Pope (1688–1744) Bach (1685–1750) Handel (1685–1759) Rameau (1683–1764) Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773) Voltaire (1694–1778) Christoph Gluck (1714–1787)
1750			
	Robert Clive (1725–1774) Louis XV (r. 1715–1774) Turgot (1727–1781) Maria Theresa (r. 1740–1780) Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786) Seven Years' War (1756–1763) Treaty of Paris (1763) Catherine II (r. 1762–1796) George III (r. 1760–1820) American Revolution (1775–1783) Declaration of Independence (1776) Jefferson (1743–1826) U.S. Constitution (1787) Joseph II (1780–1790) Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) French Revolution (1789–1795)	d'Alembert (1717–1783) Holbach (1723–1789) Adam Smith (1723–1790) Edmund Burke (1729–1797) Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) Beccaria (1738–1794?) Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) Lavoisier (1743–1794) Condorcet (1743–1794) Cavendish (1731–1810) Lagrange (1736–1813) Jenner (1749–1823) Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) LaPlace (1749–1827)	Mozart (1756–1791) Haydn (1732–1809)
1800			
	Napoleon (r. 1799–1815)		

was an exciting prospect, the eighteenth-century modification of a Christian dream, the establishment of the kingdom of man upon earth.³

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND PROGRESS

It was obvious to most of these men that the moderns had surpassed or equalled the ancients in all fields, and they did not see why this should not continue. The scientists said that the world of nature, including human nature, functioned according to law. The philosophers said that there were also political, economic, and social laws. If wretchedness and injustice existed in this world, if man was kept from being happy, then somebody or something was obstructing the working of these laws. If this obstruction or interference could be removed the world would be restored to its natural, harmonious order. Such liberation constituted progress, directed by the rational and sympathetic man toward the establishment of his kingdom. There had already been much progress. The Enlightenment was evidence of how great it had been. All further steps taken to establish the scientific society would work further progress. There was no limit to the progress man might make on earth, no limit except the earthly Utopia itself, and the will to achieve it. Most of the philosophers thought that this progress could be best made when governments were in the hands of sufficiently enlightened despots. The eighteenth century had such despots. The impatient and destructive speed with which some of them went to work, the difficulty of making others sufficiently enlightened for a long enough time, and the emphasis of all of them upon their despotic power rather than their enlightenment created disappointment. The example of the Dutch, English, and finally the Americans indicated that the benevolent despot was not necessary; progress could be entrusted to the enlightened middle class or to "the people." When, therefore, progress was retarded by the conduct of despotic governments, the bourgeoisie and the people did not hesitate to take revolutionary measures. The program of the Enlightenment, combined with the abuses it sought to remedy, brought revolution to America, France, and Europe.

Humanism and Asceticism

CLASSICAL EDUCATION AND THE GENTLEMAN:

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO HIS SON

In the sixteenth century Castiglione urged a classical education upon the gentleman.⁴ This was still the advice of the eighteenth century. The earl of Chesterfield was very eager to make his illegitimate son, Philip Stanhope, a true gentleman. The son, in the company of a tutor, was making

³See Carl Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers*.

⁴See p. 10.

the grand tour from one European court to another in preparation for a career in English public life. "Classical knowledge," his father wrote in one of his letters, "that is, Greek and Latin, is absolutely necessary for everybody; because everybody has agreed to think and to call it so. And the word illiterate, in its common acceptation, means a man who is ignorant of those two languages." But the father, a modern rather than an ancient, admits that submission to antiquity could be overdone, as in fact he had overdone it. "My first prejudice . . . was my classical enthusiasm, which I received from the books I read, and the masters who explained them to me. I was convinced there had been no common sense nor common honesty in the world for these last fifteen hundred years; but that they were totally extinguished with the ancient Greek and Roman governments. Homer and Virgil could have no faults, because they were ancient. Milton and Tasso could have no merit, because they were modern. . . . Whereas now, without any extraordinary effort of genius, I have discovered that nature was the same three thousand years ago as it is at present; that men were but men then as well as now; that modes and customs vary often, but that human nature is always the same. And I can no more suppose that men were better, braver, or wiser fifteen hundred or three thousand years ago, than I can suppose that the animals or vegetables were better then than they are now."⁵

TRAINING IN MANNERS

No less than in the sixteenth century, however, were the classics the sole ingredient of the education of a gentleman. They had little to do with making a gentleman a man of the world, fit to move in high society. To this end the earl of Chesterfield had more practical and cynical advice. Knowledge of the classics provided no training in manners and social graces. It is manners which "adorn, and give an additional force and luster to both virtue and knowledge. They prepare and smooth the way for the progress of both and are . . . with the bulk of mankind, more engaging than either." The ideal is to unite "the knowledge of a scholar with the manners of a courtier, and to join, what is seldom joined by any of my country men, books and the world." "Graceful speaking, . . . a genteel carriage, [and] a graceful manner of presenting yourself" are very necessary. There is also the matter of dress and "the gracefulness of your motions." "Your exercises of riding, fencing, and dancing will civilize and fashion your body and your limbs." One must always remember to show proper respect to one's superiors. "I never saw the worst-bred man living guilty of lolling, whistling, scratching his head, and such like indecencies, in company that he respected."⁶

⁵*Letters of Lord Chesterfield*, ed. O. H. Leigh, p. 76. Subsequent quotations are from this edition.

⁶Leigh, *passim*.

It is necessary to be especially careful with women, for they are always in company, and as "their suffrages go a great way toward establishing a man's character in the fashionable part of the world . . . it is necessary to please them." The noble lord felt that he knew women. They are only "children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle and sometimes wit, but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. Some little passion or humor always breaks upon their best resolutions. Their beauty neglected or controverted, their age increased or their supposed understandings depreciated, instantly kindles their little passions and overturns any system of consequential conduct that in their most reasonable moments they might have been capable of forming." It is important therefore that "their little wants, likings, dislikes, preferences, antipathies, fancies, whims and even impertinencies . . . be officiously attended to, flattered, and if possible guessed at and anticipated." "You must, therefore, in a manner, overwhelm them with . . . attentions. . . . If opportunities to show attention do not present themselves," make them. Follow Ovid's advice to his lover: when "he sits in the Circus near his mistress," he should "wipe the dust off her neck, even if there be none." What it all comes to is a good position. "Suppose . . . that, at your return to England, I should place you near the person of someone of the royal family; in that situation, good-breeding, engaging address, adorned with all the graces that dwell at courts, would very probably make you a favorite, and, from a favorite, a minister; but all the knowledge and learning in the world without them, never would. The penetration of princes seldom goes deeper than the surface. It is the exterior that always engages their hearts and I would never advise you to give yourself much trouble about their understanding."⁷

ANCIENT HISTORY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Training in the classics for the gentleman, the dividing line between the literate and illiterate, was to suffer when the aristocracy declined and when science demanded its share of the curriculum. As the program of the Enlightenment became more critical and revolutionary, the undespotic character of much of ancient history began to inspire its leaders. They were impressed with the degree of freedom achieved by the Greek city-states and with their courage and resolution in defending it. They were stirred likewise by the Roman Republic, the virtuous, patriotic peasant-farmer who rushed to the aid of the state in critical moments, and the fight of the plebeians against the patricians.⁸ The heroes of Plutarch's *Lives*⁹ became heroes of the Enlightenment's fight for freedom. In France the

⁷Leigh, pp. 107, 234-235, 241-242.

⁸See Vol. I, Chaps. iii, v.

⁹See Vol. I, pp. 207-228, *passim*, Vol. II, pp. 60 ff.

Roman side of the Renaissance colored the minds of the revolutionary leaders and orators. Their classical education provided a ready-made set of commonly accepted and understood ideals, principles, analogies, and clichés—they all spoke the same language. Elsewhere, and especially among the Germans, the Greeks became more important than ever before. The Reformation and Counter Reformation prevented the Renaissance from having its full effect in Germany and retarded until the eighteenth century the discovery of Greek culture. Thus a world interested in extending the area of freedom acclaimed the democratic aspects of ancient history. In this way classical humanism contributed to the growth of French revolutionary opinion. There was more to the Renaissance than the cultivation of the civilization of antiquity.¹⁰ The spirit of classical humanism permeated the art, music, and literature of western Europe. In the specific ways indicated above and in the general sense of enlarging the opportunity of the artist and author for expression, and of their audience for experience and pleasure, this spirit continued to enliven.

MUSIC IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Music was the chief glory of art in the eighteenth century, that music which “of all creations of the human spirit . . . is, next to the higher mathematics, the most original, the most self-sufficing and autonomous, and the most independent of material, and of other cultural influences.”¹¹ In the first half of the eighteenth century Händel and J. S. Bach brought the development of modern music to an early climax. Bach perfected polyphonic music in both choral and instrumental forms and together with it the fugue.¹² Händel concentrated on the new dramatic forms of opera and oratorio.

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

The French encyclopedists Diderot and d’Alembert, like many a critic and composer since, were anxious to reform that unstable mixture known as opera. In this spirit the German composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787) sought in his operas “to avoid all those abuses which the misapplied vanity of singers and the excessive complaisance of composers had introduced into the Italian opera,” and “to reduce music to its true function, that of supporting the poetry, in order to strengthen the expression of the sentiments and the interest of the situations, without interrupting the action or disfiguring it with superfluous ornament.”¹³ The reforming spirit in music went beyond opera. It was felt that the turbulent, lusty, and rollicking polyphonic writing for instruments no longer suited the refined tastes of aristocratic court and bourgeois salon society. The exuberance

¹⁰See Chap. I, p. 9.

¹¹Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture*, II, 633.

¹²See p. 40.

¹³Quoted in D. N. Ferguson, *A Short History of Music*, p. 239.

of the French language and literature in the sixteenth century had been curbed in the seventeenth when such arbiters as Boileau imposed rules and regulations borrowed, they thought, from ancient critics (Aristotle) responsible for the excellence of the classics. The result was to restrain emotion within the definite limits of form and to produce French classicism.¹⁴ This happened to music in the eighteenth century, and the result was "classical" music a century later than French classical literature.

It was a Frenchman, Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), who in his music and writings undertook to establish some order and refinement. His approach to music was characteristic of the Enlightenment: "Music is a science which should have definite rules,—a physico-mathematical science."¹⁵ By the time of Rameau the tonality of modern composition had long shifted from the Greek modes to the major and minor diatonic scales. Likewise, the change from polyphonic to monophonic, or melodic, writing had been made.¹⁶ In his fugues Bach brought to perfection polyphonic composition in major and minor scales. Rameau was the first important musician to legislate upon monophonic writing in major and minor scales or, in other words, to substitute new classical rules of harmony for older rules of counterpoint. The reforms suggested by writers like Rameau were carried through and enlarged by musicians at Mannheim, the capital of the Elector Palatine Karl Theodor (1724-1799) and a center of renascent Germany. A new form, the sonata form, accompanied the development of a more elegant style, and the talent of Josef Haydn (1732-1809) and Wolfgang Mozart (1756-1791) made it a dominant vehicle for all instrumental composition.

THE NEW SONATA FORM

When one listens to certain sonatas for piano or certain string quartets or symphonies of Haydn or Mozart, he has the feeling that they could not have been done better. Such words as clarity, lucidity, simplicity, balance, harmony, proportion, grace, delicacy, gaiety, and charm come to his mind to characterize them. These new sonatas (*sonata* may mean at once a two-, three-, or four-movement composition and the form of one of the movements, usually the first), quartets, concertos, and symphonies were in several movements, and this succession of contrasting rhythms and moods goes back in part to the earlier suites of dances. The new forms often retained the old or introduced new dance rhythms. A separate movement may be devoted to the minuet or scherzo as the formalized treatment of a gay, rhythmic dance pattern. The sonata form proper is, for our purpose, the systematic treatment and relationship in major and minor keys of different themes or subjects. This treatment is worked out in definite divisions that first state and relate these melodies (exposition),

¹⁴See p. 53.

¹⁵Quoted in Cecil Gray, *The History of Music*, p. 160.

¹⁶See p. 35 for the monophonic change.

elaborate them in different keys (development), and restate them with final emphasis (recapitulation). These large musical forms of sonata, concerto, or symphony offered adequate opportunity for originality and expansion to challenge composers of many generations. As regulators of musical activity they were no less important than Newton's laws of motion as regulators of scientific activity. They were further witness to continuous musical invention, and they offered a new opportunity for musical enjoyment of many kinds.

HAYDN AND MOZART

Haydn and Mozart were both associated with the rise of Vienna as a musical center, but it cannot be said that the Hapsburg court of Maria Theresa and Joseph II ever did much to indicate any real appreciation of their genius. Haydn, a Slavic peasant by origin, was trained as a member of the choir of St. Stephen's in Vienna. In 1761 he entered the service of Prince Esterhazy at Eisenstadt and remained in the service of this family until 1790, with annual visits to Vienna, where he learned to know Mozart. Haydn thought the young Mozart to be "the greatest composer I have ever heard," and Mozart in turn declared that "it was from Haydn that I first learned the true way to write string quartets." Haydn has been called "the first democratic musician, writing neither for the edification of the religiously minded nor for the delectation of the hyper-cultured denizens of the court or salon . . . but solely in order to gratify the aesthetic tastes and desires of the ordinary man, or, to put it in his own too modest words, in order that the weary and worn, or the man burdened with affairs, may enjoy a few moments of solace and refreshment."¹⁷ Mozart was a genius, considered by many to be the most brilliant musical genius, and one of the most outstanding in any field.¹⁸ He made a desperate effort to be supremely useful to the aristocratic society of his day, but it did not know how to employ his talent or permit it to function without hardship. His, then, is an aggravated repetition of the experience of Rembrandt and Bach and many a previous and subsequent artist. Like them he did not let scorn, misunderstanding, trickery, and poverty interfere more than it had to with the expression of his great talent. He died, a young man of thirty-five, in tragic poverty and neglect but with his artistic powers at their best.

MOZART THE CHILD PRODIGY

Mozart was a child prodigy known throughout Europe. He became its most distinguished pianist and a brilliant violinist, in part because his ear was so good that he could detect variations of one-eighth of a tone. He could read almost anything at sight, could transpose from key to key

¹⁷Gray, p. 175. Matisse, the modern French painter, expressed similar aims.

¹⁸I am relying here on *Mozart: The Man and His Works* by W. J. Turner. Quotations are by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., copyright, 1938. This biography is composed chiefly of Mozart's wonderful letters.

without difficulty, and improvise on themes with astonishing facility. He was composing at four, "writing a concerto for the clavier." He hesitated to show it to his father before it was finished, but "Your father took it from him and showed me a daub of notes for the most part written over dried ink-blots." "We laughed at first at this apparent nonsense, but then your father began to note the theme, the notes, the composition; his study of the sheet became more intent until at last tears of wonder and delight fell from his eyes. 'Look, Herr Schachtner,' he said, 'how correct and orderly it is; only it is no use because it is so very difficult that nobody could play it.' Then Wolfgangerl struck in: 'That is why it is a concerto, one must practice it until one can do it; look! this is how it goes!' He played, but could only bring out enough to show us what he intended. He had then the notion that playing concertos and working miracles were the same thing."¹⁹

At the age of six he begged to be permitted to play the second violin in a trio meeting at his home, "but your father reproved him for his silly request since he had not had the slightest instruction on the violin and your father thought he was not in the least prepared for playing. Wolfgang said: 'One does not need to have learned to play the second violin,' and when your father told him to go away and not disturb us further Wolfgang began to cry bitterly and toddled off with his little violin. I interceded for him to be allowed to play with me and at last his father said: 'play with Herr Schachtner, but so softly that you are not heard or you must go away at once.' Wolfgang played with me. Soon I perceived with astonishment that I was quite superfluous. I put my violin quietly down and looked at your father, down whose cheeks tears of wonder and delight were rolling, and so he played all six trios."²⁰

MOZART AND THE COURTS OF EUROPE

The father, employed as a musician in the court of the archbishop of Salzburg, endeavored to introduce the young prodigy and his elder sister to the courts of Europe. When first introduced to the empress Maria Theresa at the castle of Schönbrunn in Vienna, "Wolferl sprang on the lap of the Empress, put his arms around her neck and vigorously kissed her." In Paris he played for the court. "God daily performs new miracles with this child. . . . He accompanies and transposes at sight, and reads any piece, French or Italian, that is put before him." On 19 May, 1764, he was at St. James Palace playing before King George III and his queen. The king set the music of many composers before the lad, and he played them at sight. "He played on the King's organ in such a way that they preferred it even to his clavier playing; he accompanied the Queen in a song and a flautist in a solo, and finally took the bars of a Händel aria and

¹⁹Turner, pp. 29-30. The letter is written to Mozart's sister Maria Anna by a musical friend of the family.

²⁰Turner, p. 31.

improvised a most beautiful melody on it to the astonishment of all. . . . It surpasses all imagination." While he was demonstrating his various abilities for the Englishman Dainès Barrington, "a favorite cat came in, upon which he immediately left his harpsichord, nor could we bring him back for a considerable time. He would also sometimes run about the room with a stick between his legs by way of a horse."²¹

MOZART IN ITALY

Father Leopold took the responsibility for his young son's development with great seriousness. "I am responsible to Almighty God in this affair, otherwise I should be the most ungrateful creature. And if ever I was responsible for convincing the world of this miracle it is just now when one ridicules all that is wonderful and denies all miracles. . . . Was it not a great joy and a great victory for me to hear a Voltairean say to me in amazement, 'Now I have for once in my life seen a miracle. And it is the first.' " He took the boy to Italy when he was thirteen (1769-1771). The young Mozart, like others of his age, loved speed. He wrote his mother, "My heart is completely ravished from sheer joy because this journey is so jolly, because it is so warm in the coach, and our coachman is a splendid man who when the road permits goes like the wind." The father wrote home from Florence (8 April, 1770) that "one of the first contrapuntalists in Italy . . . put before Wolfgang the most difficult fugues and gave him the hardest subjects, which Wolfgang developed and played as one eats a piece of bread." They arrived in Rome on the Wednesday of Holy Week and went to the Sistine Chapel²² to hear a "Miserere" written by Allegri (1582-1652). On Saturday the 14th of April, the father wrote, "You will perhaps have heard of the celebrated Miserere in Rome, which is so highly treasured that the musicians are forbidden under threat of excommunication to let a single part of it be taken out of the Chapel or to copy it or give it to anyone. We alone have it. Wolfgang has written it down." The young Mozart had written it out "from memory on returning to their inn after a single hearing on the Wednesday, and when the performance was repeated on the Good Friday he took the manuscript with him and, hiding it in his hat, made some corrections." On the return through northern Italy he was commissioned by the Milanese to write an opera (*Mithridates*), and the father writes (29 December, 1770), "God be praised, the first performance of the opera was generally acclaimed on the 26th." It was given twenty times "with unfailing success."²³

MOZART IN SEARCH OF A JOB

This capacity and this experience, however, did not make it possible for Mozart to secure a position enabling him fully to exercise his talents. Ex-

²¹Turner, pp. 45, 49-50.

²²See pp. 19 f., 23 f.

²³Turner, p. 99.

cept for a very inadequate position with an impossible archbishop of Salzburg, aristocratic patronage did not come his way with sufficient generosity. When Archduke Ferdinand of Austria sought his mother's advice on taking Mozart into his service, the empress replied, "I don't think so, for I do not believe you have any need of a composer or of useless persons. . . . What I say is not to burden yourself with useless people." In 1777 he left Salzburg on a trip to German courts and Paris in the hope of becoming established. At Munich there was "no vacancy" in the Elector's court. At Mannheim everyone was glad to hear him. There were presents, gold watches, but no money and no job. One of his watches was "worth twenty carolines." "I would rather have ten carolines; one needs money travelling. I have now five watches. I have a good mind . . . to have a pocket made . . . and to wear two watches . . . so that it may not occur to anyone to give me another." In Paris, after refusing a post as organist at Versailles, which did not pay enough, he tried to cultivate the aristocracy and settle down as a teacher, a position he hated. The duchess de Bourbon let him wait "half an hour in an unheated, ice-cold, large room without a stove." He was asked to play and begged to have his hands warmed. After another hour in which the duchess and her friends sat drawing around a table, and in which "nobody spoke and I did not know what to do for cold, headache, and weariness . . . I played on the wretched pianoforte. What was most irritating was that Madam and the gentlemen never for a moment stopped drawing, so that I played to the walls, table, and chairs. In these circumstances I lost patience. I began the Fischer variations, played half, and then stopped. Then followed no end of praise, but I said what had to be said, namely, that I could not do myself justice with this clavier and should like to play another time on a better one." It was difficult to get money from the duke de Guines for lessons given his daughter. "Monsieur le Duc . . . has no particle of honour in his body . . . he has had already for four months a Concerto for flute and harp from me, for which he has not yet paid."²⁴

MOZART'S LATER LIFE

After the death of his mother in Paris, young Mozart returned to Salzburg to accept employment again from the archbishop. He then severed this relationship and settled down in Vienna (1781), trying to make a living for a new wife and the family which followed. He did it by composing and giving lessons and subscription concerts, at which he played his new works. He wrote to his father shortly before the latter's death (29 May, 1787), "Since death (properly understood) is the true ultimate purpose of our life, I have for several years past made myself acquainted with this truest and best friend of mankind, so that he has for me not only nothing terrifying any more but much that is tranquillizing and consol-

²⁴Turner, pp. 136, 229, 234.

ing." During the last four years of his life, "he is practically left alone to be consumed in his genius . . . and die unregarded by the world at large." Joseph II made him *Kammermusik* after Gluck's death (15 November, 1787) but paid him only 800 instead of Gluck's several thousands of florins. But he went on composing at an astonishing rate. *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* came in August. After the opera *The Marriage of Figaro* there were such wonders as *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte*, *The Magic Flute*, and the *Requiem*. He is reported to have refused a good offer from the Prussian court "out of loyalty to the Austrian emperor." His subscription concerts began to fail. "My fate is sad but only in Vienna is it so adverse that I can earn nothing even when I want to. I have to run around for fourteen days with my list and so far there stands the single name of Swieten." These words were written to Michael Puchberg, a Viennese businessman to whom Mozart had to make many humiliating appeals for loans. He was advised by his publisher to write in a more popular style. He replied, "Then I can make no more by my pen, and I had better starve and go to destruction at once." In September, 1791, when efforts were made to have him follow Haydn to London, he wrote, "I know from what I feel that the hour sounds; I am on the point of expiring; I have finished before having enjoyed my talent. Life was so beautiful, my career began under such favorable auspices, but none can change his destiny." The end came on 5 December, 1791. His wife was prostrate with grief, and others arranged for the funeral. Friends and Viennese musicians who attended the service in St. Stephen's church "found the weather too bad to accompany the body to the cemetery. No grave had been bought and nobody was present—not a single one of his friends or acquaintances—when the corpse of Mozart was flung into a common pauper's vault containing fifteen to seventy coffins. When his wife recovered and visited the churchyard there was a new gravedigger, who could not tell her where Mozart had been buried." One of his biographers calls him "that rarest of all human beings, a saint who is not a bore; a nature so sound, sweet, and passionate that . . . among all the great artists of history, Mozart and Shakespeare were the only ones whose moral superiority strikes to the core of one's being."²⁵

MOZART AND HUMANISM

Although the society in which he moved denied Mozart the full development of his talent and deprived itself of what would have been the fruits of this development, he did contribute much more to its joy, comfort, and satisfaction than is given to the ordinary mortal, and so he has continued to enrich the lives of all subsequent generations. It is very difficult to imagine what he has meant by way of challenge, inspiration, and sheer delight to all the artists who have sung or played his music, or to those audiences who have listened to their performances. It is in this sense

²⁵Turner, pp. 288, 307, 310, 120.

of the enlargement of the musical capacities of the West that Mozart belongs to the history of humanism.

EDWARD GIBBON

The classical scholar of the eighteenth century was still carrying on his struggle with the ascetic spirit in Christianity. Edward Gibbon (1737–1794), the author of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,²⁶ is the best example of this. He belonged to that class of English gentlemen, squires, landowners, and members of Parliament who had, together with English businessmen, won the Glorious Revolution. He did not consider it an obligation of history “to plead the cause of tyrants or to justify the maxims of persecution.”²⁷ Mr. Toynbee in his *Study of History* calls him “the self-assured child of a part-Christian western secular enlightenment,” whose chief limitation was a “sceptical temperament and the eighteenth-century western bent of mind.”²⁸ This kept him from seeing that the ultimate theme of his history was not a matter “of merely mundane history.” He was wrong to limit his inquiry to “How on Earth has this come out of that?” for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire was but the rise and triumph of the Christian Church. To Gibbon, the rise of Christianity and the fall of the empire “appeared to be ‘parallel effects of a general collapse of the intellect under the pressure of a world-tyranny,’ the Church.”²⁹ He called his work a description of the triumph of barbarism (the Germans) and religion (Christianity). He engaged in an old controversy which, as Mr. Toynbee’s reaction suggests, is by no means over.

In his discussion of the rise of Christianity, religion and Christianity are equated with “superstition” and often with “fanaticism.” The doctrine of immortality is “removed beyond the senses and the experiences of mankind.” He refers to “an established priesthood, which employed the motives of virtue as the instrument of ambition.” “The revelation of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation.” Gibbon quotes the North African Church Father Tertullian concerning the joys of beholding the tortures of the damned in hell. “How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many proud monarchs, and fancied gods, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many magistrates, who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquifying in fiercer fires than they ever kindled against the Christians; so many sage philosophers blushing in red hot flames with their deluded scholars; so many celebrated poets trembling before the tribunal, not of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians, more

²⁶See Vol. I, pp. 263 f., where the circumstances of the origin of this work are referred to.

²⁷*Decline and Fall*, II, 81.

²⁸*A Study of History*, X, 106–107, 105.

²⁹L. P. Curtis, “Gibbon’s Paradise Lost,” in *Essays Presented to C. B. Tucker*, p. 84.

tuneful in the expression of their own sufferings; so many dancers—!" He then adds, "But the humanity of the reader will permit me to draw a veil over the rest of this infernal description, which the zealous African pursues in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms. Doubtless there were many among the primitive Christians of a temper more suitable to the meekness and charity of their profession."³⁰

GIBBON ON MIRACLES AND CHRISTIAN ASCETICISM

Gibbon is convinced that the age of miracles is over. "Accustomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable order of Nature, our reason or at least our imagination is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity." He goes out of his way to condemn the ascetic excesses of the early Christians. By way of contrast he says that "the acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may employ the leisure of a liberal mind." But "the severity of the fathers . . . despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and . . . considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech." Men of his day think "the body is so inseparably connected with the soul that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion is susceptible." But the early Christians "vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels . . . disdained or . . . affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight." "The unfeeling candidate for Heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art." "It was their favorite opinion that, if Adam had preserved his obedience to the Creator, he would have lived for ever in a state of virgin purity, and that some harmless mode of generation might have peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings." "Since desire was imputed a crime and marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the divine perfection." To him the refusal to participate in political or military affairs was an "indolent, or even criminal, disregard of the public welfare."

GIBBON ON THE CHURCH

Gibbon was hostile to the development of an authoritarian and intolerant church. "The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by scripture, allegories, and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason." It became "less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of the

³⁰The quotations are from Chaps. xv and xvi of the *Decline and Fall*, 3d ed. J. B. Bury.

moral duties than to despise the censures and authority of their bishops." Christian intolerance he condemned. "It must . . . be acknowledged that the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other than they had experienced from the zeal of infidels." When Rome was attacked in the later Middle Ages by reformers, "the Church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud." Although Gibbon can be taken to represent the attitude toward religion and Christianity of an eighteenth-century humanist, it is well to remember that he could say such things as "It is always easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior souls of mankind to claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure, which fortune has placed beyond their reach"; "So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition"; and finally, "the kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and . . . minds afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possessions of this world; and the wise abuse in doubt and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge."

ALEXANDER POPE

The conflict between humanism and asceticism, recurrent in the eighteenth century, may be further pursued by contrasting Gibbon with his fellow countryman, the poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744). As a Catholic, Pope adhered to a church whose members did not enjoy full civil rights. Allying himself with the spirit of Erasmus ("I am of the religion of Erasmus, a Catholic"), he favored a broad tolerance and even hoped to meet some of his Protestant friends in heaven, "in that place to which God of his infinite mercy brings us and everybody."³¹ He did not therefore take dogma too seriously, hesitated to leave his church on the death of his father because of his mother's feelings, and was influenced by the deism of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. His point of view is best gathered in his *Essay on Man*. In it will be found lofty sentiments that are in the best tradition of what we have called a Christian humanism and capable of supporting the high hopes of the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Yet Pope was no systematic thinker, and although he chose to use poetry to give moral instruction, his attitude was fundamentally ascetic, holding out no future for man as a creature of earth.

"THE UNIVERSAL PRAYER"

In the *Essay*, Pope says that he aims under all circumstances to "vindicate the ways of God to Man." In his "Universal Prayer" he gives a summary of that vindication:

³¹Leslie Stephen, *Alexander Pope*, p. 173.

Father of all! in every Age,
In every clime adored,
By Saint, by Savage, and by Sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Thou Great First Cause, least understood,
Who all my Sense confined
To know but this, that thou art Good,
And that myself am blind;

Yet gave me, in this dark Estate,
To see the Good from Ill;
And binding Nature fast in Fate,
Left free the Human Will.

What conscience dicrates to be done,
Or warns me not to do,
This, teach me more than Hell to shun,
That, more than Heaven pursue.

What Blessings Thy free Bounty gives,
Let me not cast away;
For God is pay'd when Man receives,
T'enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to Earth's contracted Span,
Thy Goodness let me bound,
Or think Thee Lord alone of Man,
When thousand Worlds are round:

Let not this weak, unknowing hand
Presume thy bolts to throw,
And deal damnation round the land,
On each I judge thy Foe.

THE "ESSAY ON MAN"

Pope puts man under the charge of a Providence that is good and wise. As the Creator of the universe, he has much more to do than simply care for men. It is in fact absurd for man to imagine himself the sole object of God's attention.

Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine,
Earth for whose use? Pride answers, " 'Tis for mine.
For me kind Nature wakes her genial Power,
Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flower;
Annual for me, the grape, the rose renew
The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew;
For me, the mine, a thousand treasures brings;
For me, health gushes from a thousand springs;
Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise;
My foot-stool earth, my canopy the skies."

.

If I am right, thy grace impart,
Still in the right to stay;
If I am wrong, oh teach my heart
To find that better way.

Save me alike from foolish Pride,
Or impious Discontent,
At aught thy wisdom has denied,
Or aught thy Goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's Woe,
To hide the Fault I see;
That Mercy I to others shew,
That Mercy shew to me.

Mean though I am, not wholly so,
Since quickened by thy Breath;
Oh lead me wheresoe'er I go,
Through this day's Life or Death.

This day be Bread and Peace my Lot:
All else beneath the Sun,
Thou know'st if best bestowed or not,
And let thy Will be done.

To Thee, whose Temple is all Space,
Whose Altar, Earth, Sea, Skies,
One Chorus let all Being raise,
All Nature's Incense rise!³²

³²George Sherburn, *The Best of Pope*, p. 155. All the selections from Pope are from this edition.

Know, Nature's children all divide her care;
 The fur that warms a monarch, warmed a bear.
 While Man exclaims, "See all things for my use!"
 "See man for mine!" replies the pampered goose:
 And just as short of reason he must fall,
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

In fact, as men had been saying ever since the time of Plato, this earth and the universe to which it belongs were one vast interdependent organism. Pope calls it a "Vast chain of Being."

See, through this air, this ocean, and this earth,
 All matter quick, and bursting into birth.
 Above, how high, progressive life may go!
 Around, how wide! how deep extend below!
 Vast chain of Being! which from God began,
 Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,
 Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
 No glass can reach; from Infinite to thee,
 From thee to Nothing.

God inspires in this vast chain of Being a law and an order which cannot in the least be disturbed without destroying the whole.

Let Earth unbalanced from her orbit fly,
 Planets and Suns run lawless through the sky;
 Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurled
 Being on Being wrecked, and world on world;
 Heaven's whole foundations to their centre nod,
 And Nature trembles to the throne of God.
 All this dread order break—for whom? for thee?
 Vile worm!—Oh Madness! Pride! Impiety!

The world may not seem to be a perfect, sacred, undisturbable order. It contains evil, injustice, suffering, and pain. But if one could not understand why an all-wise, all-good, beneficent Providence permitted these things, it was because the ways of deity were beyond human ken. All that was necessary to know was that what seemed evil was only part of a larger good ("All partial Evil, universal Good"). It was foolish therefore to try to be taught anything very important by the new science.

Go, wondrous creature! mount where Science guides,
 Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides;
 Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,
 Correct old Time, and regulate the Sun;
 Go, soar with Plato to th'empyreal sphere,
 To the first good, first perfect, and first fair;

.

Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—
 Then drop into thyself and be a fool!"

Man cannot hope to understand the mind of God, but he must accept the notion that all is not what it seems, and that, in any case, as God's provision, everything is as it should be.

All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see;
All Discord, Harmony not understood;
All partial Evil, universal Good:
And, spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.

Under these circumstances there is not much point in trying to understand God (although Pope was going to try to vindicate the ways of God to Man) but to try to understand oneself.

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of Mankind is Man.

But the study of man reveals that however wondrous he may be called, his limitations do not permit him to do much more than obey, submit, tolerate a state of affairs that may seem unfair but actually is not in the larger view, the longer time, the wider space. God's order is in any case not to be violated. If submission to it means pain, suffering, evil, then this all must be endured with resignation in the hope that, in another world, injustice will be remedied and happiness prevail. For happiness is a state of soul and not of body, internal not external.

Then say not Man's imperfect, Heaven in fault;
Say rather, Man's as perfect as he ought:
His knowledge measured to his state and place;
His time a moment, and a point his space.

In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies;
All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.
Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,
Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.
Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell,
Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel:
And who but wishes to invert the laws
Of ORDER, sins against th'Eternal Cause.

The bliss of Man (could Pride that blessing find)
Is not to act or think beyond mankind;
No powers of body or of soul to share,
But what his nature and his state can bear.

Who find not Providence all good and wise,
Alike in what it gives, and what denies?

Cease then, nor ORDER Imperfection name:
Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
Know thy own point: This kind, this due degree
Of blindness, weakness, Heaven bestows on thee.
Submit.

A Being darkly wise [man] and rudely great,
With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side,
With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride,
He hangs between, in doubt to act, or rest;
In doubt to deem himself a God, or Beast;
In doubt his Mind or Body to prefer;
Born but to die, and reasoning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much:
Chaos of thought and Passion, all confused;
Still by himself abused, or disabused;
Created half to rise, and half to fall;
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of Truth, in endless Error hurled:
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!

In Parts superior what advantage lies?
Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise?
'T is but to know how little can be known.

If then to all Men Happiness was meant,
God in Externals could not place Content.

Order is Heaven's first law; and this confest,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest,
More rich, more wise; but who infers from hence
That such are happier, shocks all common sense.

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;
Wait the great teacher Death; and God adore.
What future bliss, he gives not thee to know,
But gives that Hope to be thy blessing now.
Hope springs eternal in the human breast.
Man never Is, but always To be blest.
The soul, uneasy and confined from home,
Rests and expatriates in a life to come.

In ideas that are not always consonant with the above, Pope can go on to say:

For Modes of Faith let graceless zealots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right;
In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is Charity;
All must be false that thwart this one great End;
And all of God, that bless Mankind or mend.
Man, like the gen'rous vine, supported lives;

The strength he gains as from th' embrace he gives.
 On their own Axis as the planets run,
 Yet make at once their circle round the Sun;
 So two consistent motions act the Soul;
 And one regards Itself, and one the whole.

Thus God and Nature linked the gen'ral frame,
 And bade Self-love and Social be the same.

Self-love thus pushed to social, to divine,
 Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.
 Is this too little for the boundless heart?
 Extend it, let thy enemies have part:
 Grasp the whole worlds of Reason, Life and Sense,
 In one close system of Benevolence:
 Happier as kinder, in whatever degree,
 And height of Bliss but height of Charity.

God loves from Whole to Parts; but human soul
 Must rise from Individual to the Whole.
 Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
 The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
 Another still, and still another spreads;
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
 His country next; and next all human race;
 Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind
 Take every creature in, of every kind;
 Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,
 And Heaven beholds its image in his breast.

But in embracing the human race, man should not try to improve its lot.
 That has already been taken care of by God's righteous disposition of all
 things past and future:

Oh sons of earth! attempt ye still to rise,
 By mountains piled on mountains, to the skies?
 Heaven still with laughter the vain toil surveys,
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

Religion

DEISM AND NATURAL RELIGION

If Gibbon and Pope illustrate the conflict between humanistic and ascetic views in the eighteenth century, the relationship between deism and the orthodox churches gives further insight into this struggle. In confronting Christianity with science deism aimed to remove its divisive dogmas and substitute a simple belief upon which all could agree. Such a belief would accept the idea of God as a first cause and creator of the universe. It would make God's world a moral order, whose violators and supporters were to be punished or rewarded in an eternal afterworld.

Beyond this all belief was unessential. This simple creed can be made Christian or non-Christian. It can be called an attempt to reduce faith to a minimum of irrationality, and thus to establish a rational religion. Its trust that it had discovered the common denominator of all religion led to its being identified with natural religion. By "natural" many things were meant. It was natural in the sense that it was rational and reduced religion to its essential principles. It was natural in the sense that it was identified with the religion of primitive (natural) man in a state of nature. It was natural in that it conformed to man's nature, to his yearnings for a divine sanction that gave meaning and purpose to life upon this earth. Certainly, too, deism can be placed within the tradition of Christian (Erasmian) humanism in its emphasis upon undogmatic ethical religion.

DEISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

When Saint Thomas Aquinas rationalized about God in the thirteenth century, he concluded that he was a first cause.³³ The rational religion which he aimed to establish he did not regard as complete until confirmed by Christian revelation. This was the attitude of many in the eighteenth century. There were others who said that rational (natural) religion was enough. Some sought to establish morality upon a human rather than a divine sanction, and to do without notions of the Watchmaker God and immortality. When the new science of man came to insist upon man's goodness and perfectibility and therefore upon the possibility of progress, further tenets were added to the eighteenth-century creed. These additions were within the larger humanistic tradition in their emphasis upon man's great capacity, his freedom of choice, and his ability, if he chose, to make progress toward the realization of his potentialities in the kingdom of man. Two Englishmen representing this larger humanistic search were Anthony, earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), and Joseph Priestley.

ANTHONY, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

Although Shaftesbury held to, and was perhaps responsible for, Pope's optimism, he opposed those notions which would put the sanction for morals in the absolute state (Hobbes) or in revealed religion. He sought a rational or natural system of morality, an ethics grounded in the very nature of man. Man is, in his view, by nature a moral or virtuous (good and social) animal. He does not receive these qualities from God. He is by nature kindly, that is, he possesses benevolent affections, and his happiness consists in giving proper expression to these affections in benevolent actions for the good of society. His misery is in acting to the contrary, in acting selfishly. "Delight in evil does exist, but is 'unnatural.'"³⁴ Accordingly there is no place for the kind of inculcation of fear and desire

³³See Vol. I, pp. 655 ff.

³⁴I am using here the summary of John M. Roberts in his introduction to Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, pp. xxix ff.

that is contained in Christianity's hell and heaven. Human kindness needs no such reward since it is part of man's nature, and it is not virtuous to act from fear. There are, to be sure, qualities of virtue, some better than others, some more refined than others. "Perfect virtue then is perfected taste in morals. . . . Misconduct, accordingly, is bad taste in morals; and it is not surprising that ill-educated people err in ethics as in aesthetics. To be good-humoured and truly cultivated is to be right in religion and in conduct, and consequently happy. To be malevolent or maleficent, in the same way, is to be miserable." It is not surprising, therefore, that Shaftesbury sought to write "by the standard of good company, and people of the better sort," and that he thought the "mere Vulgar of Mankind often stand in need of such a rectifying Object as the Gallows before their Eyes."³⁵

DAVID HARTLEY

Rationalistic or naturalistic ethical systems were more usually based on the theory not of an inborn benevolent affection or faculty of distinguishing between right and wrong (conscience) but of man's moral nature developing from the sensations he receives from his environment, as these sensations produce ideas that are brought together by laws of association. The Englishman David Hartley was a moralist of this kind.³⁶ He remarks that "the reiterated Impressions of these Associations will at last make Duty itself a Pleasure, and convert Sin into a Pain." He who can control the sensations received from the environment can develop the moral sense of man.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

The views of Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), an early student of Hartley, are a fascinating epitome of much in the typical eighteenth-century outlook. Priestley's was more the outlook of a vigorous religious dissenter, a distinguished scientist,³⁷ and a forward-looking bourgeois impatient of all delay in attaining progress. As a disciple of Hartley he was a materialist and a determinist, but with a peculiar emphasis that made it possible for him to avoid all the irreligious or antihumanistic connotations of these words as they are ordinarily used today. His materialism was compatible with his religion, and his determinism or necessitarianism with a Utopian doctrine of progress. For him there was no essential difference between matter and spirit. His kind of matter can think and feel, and there is no thought and feeling "but in connexion with an organized system of matter."³⁸ There was no thought after the destruction of the brain, the matter of thinking. There was likewise no separate, immaterial soul and there-

³⁵B. Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background*, p. 75.

³⁶See Willey, Chap. viii, "David Hartley and Nature's Education."

³⁷For Priestley's work as a chemist, see pp. 294 f.

³⁸Willey, *The Eighteenth Century Background*, p. 169.

fore no survival of this kind of a soul after death. Priestley had been brought up a Calvinist and therefore recognized the determinist character of predestination. A determinism creates morality, he said, basing this on Hartley's idea that men's minds are the results of their sensations organized by association into ideas. It creates morality because man's conduct is determined necessarily by his motives, and these motives are the product of his environment and therefore controllable. Man will act better if given better motives to act from. Man himself determines what is necessary. Calvin's predestination destroys morality by making man a slave of God.

PRIESTLEY AND CHRISTIANITY

Priestley was very definitely a Christian humanist in the sense that he wished to restore, as the pure Christianity of his day, the original Christianity of Scriptures. Freed from the corruptions of its later development it would then be accepted by "philosophical and thinking persons." That the soul was a separate, immaterial substance that survived the death of the body was a borrowing from the pagan world, not an original teaching of Christianity. In his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* (1782), the fundamental Christian dogmas (Trinity, Original Sin, Atonement) are regarded as corruptions introduced after Jesus' day. The religion of Scriptures here approaches the religion of nature. Christianity is not a system of belief but a mode of conduct, and Christian morals "none other than the well-known duties of life." It was Priestley who transformed the deism of the early century into unitarianism, and introduced it into America as a result of his preaching in Philadelphia.

PRIESTLEY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

He came to this country in 1794 after his home and laboratory in Manchester had been destroyed and his friends attacked by an officially tolerated, if not assisted, half-drunken mob. His friends had been attending a dinner on 14 July, 1791, in honor of the fall of the Bastille in France in 1789.³⁹ Priestley himself was not at the dinner, but he was in thorough sympathy with the principles of the French Revolution. When Edmund Burke, the conservative statesman and defender of the American colonies, came out with his diatribe upon the French Revolution in 1790 (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*), Priestley answered: "that an avowed friend of the American revolution should be an enemy to that of the French, which arose from the same general principles, and in a great measure sprang from it, is . . . unaccountable." "If the principles that Mr. Burke now advances . . . be admitted, mankind are always to be governed as they have been governed, without any inquiry into the nature, or origin, of their governments. The choice of the people is not to be considered, and though their happiness is awkwardly enough made by him

³⁹See p. 342.

the end of government, yet, having no choice, they are not to be judges of what is for their good." The principles of Burke's pamphlet are "no other than those of passive obedience and non-resistance, peculiar to the Tories and the friends of arbitrary power, such as were echoed from the pulpits of all the high church party, in the reigns of the Stuarts, and of Queen Anne." "A whole people is not apt to revolt, till oppression has become extreme, and been long continued, so that they despair of any other remedy than that desperate one." Priestley condemns Burke for his support of an established state (Anglican) church. The Anglican church was an obstacle to pure Christianity and should be destroyed. "The spirit of free and rational inquiry is now abroad, and without any aid from the powers of this world, will not fail to overturn all error and false religion, wherever it is found, and neither the church of Rome, nor the Church of England will be able to stand before it."⁴⁰

PRIESTLEY ON PROGRESS

Priestley had a high opinion of the "human species," which he thought "capable of . . . unbounded improvement." If, he thought, one would "attend to every advantage which the present age enjoys above ancient times," he would see "marks of things being in a progress towards a state of greater perfection." "The great instrument in the hand of divine providence, of this progress of the species towards perfection is society and consequently government."⁴¹ Under their auspices labors will be divided, and "all knowledge will be subdivided and extended; and knowledge, as Lord Bacon observes, being power, the human powers will, in fact, be increased; nature, including both its materials, and its laws, will be more at our command; men will make their situations in this world abundantly more easy and comfortable; they will probably prolong their existence in it, and will grow daily more happy, each in himself, and more able (and, I believe, more disposed) to communicate happiness to others. Thus, whatever was the beginning of this world, the end will be glorious, and paradisaical, beyond what our imaginations can now conceive."⁴² "As all things (and particularly whatever depends upon science) have of late years been in a quicker progress towards perfection than ever; we may safely conclude the same with respect to any political state now in being." "Together with the general prevalence of true principles of civil government, we may expect to see the extinction of all national prejudice and enmity, and the establishment of universal peace and good will among all nations." "This is a state of things which good sense, and the prevailing spirit of commerce, aided by Christianity, and true philosophy cannot fail to effect in time. But it can never take place while mankind are governed in the wretched manner in which they now are. For peace can never be

⁴⁰Anne Hold, *A Life of Joseph Priestley*, pp. 147 ff.

⁴¹F. Le Van Baumer, *Main Currents of Western Thought*, pp. 439, 440.

⁴²Willey, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 195.

established, but upon the extinction of the causes of war.”⁴³ It is, however, to the leadership of the wealthy that we look for our progressive deliverance, for “Men of wealth and influence, who act upon the principles of virtue and religion and conscientiously make their power subservient to the good of their country, are the men who are the greatest honour to human nature, and the greatest blessing to human societies.”⁴⁴

VOLTAIRE (FRANÇOIS AROUET) AND WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT

Voltaire (1694–1778), the best known of France’s philosophers when he came to England, met Alexander Pope and later made a French version of the *Essay on Man*. He could not quite swallow the Leibnitz-Pope doctrine that this is the best of all possible worlds, and that whatever is, is right, because he could not stomach the idea that present evil is but a part of God’s plan for universal good. In fact, Voltaire made a resounding attack upon the notion in his celebrated novel *Candide*. One of the events which caused him particular difficulty was the Lisbon earthquake of November, 1755, when between thirty and forty thousand people lost their lives almost instantaneously. Voltaire was moved to write a poem on the event, “an inquiry into the maxim ‘Whatever is, is right.’” In a preface to the poem he remarks that “the maxim, ‘Whatever is, is right,’ appears somewhat extraordinary to those who have been eye-witnesses of such calamities. All things are doubtless arranged and set in order by Providence, but it has long been too evident that its superintending power has not disposed them in such a manner as to promote our temporal happiness.” “Compassionating the misery of man,” he declares against the abuse of the new maxim “whatever is, is right.” He maintains the “ancient and sad truth acknowledged by all men, that there is evil upon earth; he acknowledges that the words ‘whatever is, is right,’ if understood in a positive sense, and without any hopes of a happy future state, only insult us in our present misery.”⁴⁵

POEM ON THE LISBON EARTHQUAKE

Could one after viewing the physical and human destruction of the earthquake

Then eternal laws maintain,
Which God to cruelties like these constrain?
Whilst you these facts replete with horror view
Will you maintain death to their crimes was due?
And can you then impute a sinful deed
To babes who on their mothers’ bosoms bleed?
Was there more vice in fallen Lisbon found,
Than Paris, where voluptuous joys abound?

⁴³Hold, pp. 153–154.

⁴⁴Wiley, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 203.

⁴⁵Ed. Ray Redman, *The Portable Voltaire* (Viking), pp. 556–569.

Was less debauchery to London known,
Where opulence luxurious holds her throne?
Earth Lisbon swallows; the light sons of France
Protract the feast, or lead the sprightly dance.

.

All's right, you answer, the eternal cause
Rules not by partial, but by general laws.
Say what advantage can result to all,
From wretched Lisbon's lamentable fall?
Are you then sure, the power which could create
The universe and fix the laws of fate,
Could not have found for man a proper place,
But earthquakes must destroy the human race?
Will you thus limit the eternal mind?
Should not our God to mercy be inclined?
Cannot then God direct all nature's course?
Can power almighty be without resource?

.

When I lament my present wretched state,
Allege not the unchanging laws of fate;
Urge not the links of the eternal chain,
'Tis false philosophy and wisdom vain.

.

Our evils do you cure when you deny?

.

I could not from a perfect being spring,
Nor from another, since God's sovereign king;
And yet, sad truth! in this our world 'tis found,
What contradictions here my souls confound!

.

Man his own nature never yet could sound,
He knows not whence he is, nor whither bound.

.

All may be well: that hope can man sustain,
All now is well: 'tis an illusion vain.

VOLTAIRE AND PASCAL

Voltaire reacted also against the attempts of Christian theologians and moralists to belittle man, as well as to bind him to a chain of being, or imprison him in a social organism. The very brilliant French mathematician and scientist Pascal⁴⁶ had, after conversion, set down a series of reflections (*Pensées*) preparatory to writing a large work against atheists and freethinkers. Voltaire felt bound to answer these. Of the *Pensées* as a whole he writes: "It appears to me that M. Pascal's design in general was to exhibit mankind in an odious light. He exacts the uttermost efforts of his pen to make us all appear a wicked and wretched set of beings. . . . He ascribes to the essence of our nature things that are peculiar to some men only, and with all imaginable eloquence abuses the whole race of

⁴⁶See p. 146.

mankind. I shall be so bold as to defend my fellow creatures against the invectives of this sublime misanthropist. I will venture to affirm that we are neither so wretched nor so wicked as he declares us to be." The spirit of his defense of man is that of the rationalist who prefers a profession of ignorance to the adoption of mystery. When Pascal calls original sin "this mystery, which is of all others the most incomprehensible," and says that without it "we are incomprehensible to ourselves," Voltaire exclaims, "What an unaccountable way of reasoning! Man is incomprehensible without this incomprehensible mystery? Certainly it is enough to be wholly ignorant of our origin, without going about to explain it by a thing we know nothing of; we are wholly in the dark as to the manner in which man comes into the world, how he grows, how he performs the various functions of life, and how his members are made to act subservient to his will. How should I be looked upon if I went about to explain these obscurities by an unintelligible system? Would it not be better to confess I know nothing of the matter? A mystery never was the explanation of anything; it is something divine and wholly inexplicable in itself." When Pascal says, "If there be a God, he only is to be loved, and not the creatures," Voltaire replies, "it is the duty of man to love, and that with the utmost tenderness, the creatures; it is incumbent on him to love his country, his wife, and his children. . . . To argue upon contrary principles would answer no other purpose than to make men brutal and inhuman." To Voltaire, who is here being influenced by Shaftesbury, man is raised above the level of the brutes because of the instinct of benevolence toward his kind. This makes him a social being. He needs society to realize his human nature and capacity. This did not make Voltaire believe in equality. The people, he thought, "will always be stupid and barbarous. They are oxen which require a yoke, a goad, and some hay."⁴⁷

VOLTAIRE AND ENGLISH THOUGHT

Voltaire visited England in 1726. It was from English writers and thinkers that his chief intellectual stimulation came, and a good part of his literary labors consisted in passing on to the French, and all in Europe who read French, the result of his English studies. Bacon, Newton, Locke, and the Deists were of exceptional importance to his thought, though he read deeply in English literature proper. He sought to express his debt to the English in the *English Letters* and by popularization of Newton. Such a man as Newton, "hardly to be met with in ten centuries," is not to be compared with generals and statesmen, "commonly but so many illustrious villains." "It is the man who sways our minds by the prevalence of reason and the native force of truth, not they who reduce mankind to a state of slavery by brutish force and downright violence; the man who by the vigor of his mind, is able to penetrate into the hidden secrets of na-

⁴⁷*Portable Voltaire*, p. 42.

ture, and whose capacious soul can contain the vast frame of the universe, not those who lay nature waste, and desolate the face of the earth, that claims our reverence and admiration." Bacon is called a great man, "the father of experimental philosophy," and his *Novum Organum*, "the scaffold by means of which the edifice of the new philosophy has been reared"; of Locke, "surely never was a more solid and more methodical understanding, nor a more acute and accurate logician." He rejoices also in his repudiation of the notion that man is born possessed of innate ideas.⁴⁸ "I don't find myself in the least more disposed than he to think that, a few weeks after I was conceived, my soul was very learned, and acquainted with a thousand things that I forgot the moment I came into the world, and I possessed to very little good purpose in the uterus, so many valuable secrets in philosophy, all of which abandoned me the instant they could have been of any advantage, and which I have never since been able to recover."⁴⁹

VOLTAIRE THE REFORMER

Voltaire thus came to believe, under the tutelage of English science and philosophy, in the power of reason to reveal the nature of the world, and thus to restore it to its proper functioning. For Voltaire was no mere arm-chair humanist. He thought that "Virtue, when it is enlightened, changes into paradise the hell of this world." Before going to England he had occasion to know what particular kind of a hell France was, and upon his return, he saw only too clearly how far French politics and society were from any reasonable or natural foundation. It was not that he was a revolutionist. He thought, like Erasmus, that if enlightenment was to prevail, enlightened princes should undertake the reform of society and make it conform to ideas of natural law, natural rights, and natural religion.⁵⁰ Holding to Locke's account of the social contract and natural rights,⁵¹ he says that the English constitution has restored to all men "these natural rights, which in nearly all monarchies they are deprived of. These rights are entire liberty of person and property; freedom of the Press; the right of being tried in all criminal cases by a jury of independent men—the right of being tried only according to the strict letter of the law; and the right of every man to profess, unmolested, what religion he chooses."⁵² He complained that the variety of legal systems in France was so far from any rational consideration that one had to change his laws as often as he changed his post-horses. The legal class (*noblesse de la robe*) needed to be destroyed, and a new and simple code of laws for all France set up. The administration of law was brutish and cruel, and its punishments and use of torture unpardonably savage.

⁴⁸See pp. 172 f.

⁴⁹*Portable Voltaire*, pp. 539-540.

⁵⁰See Black's essay in Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great French Thinkers of the Age of Reason*.

⁵¹See pp. 243 ff.

⁵²Hearnshaw, p. 151.

VOLTAIRE AND THE CHURCH

Voltaire's reforming zeal was displayed with especial vehemence in the field of religion, not only because he wished to make tolerant natural religion prevail, but because he was humiliated as a decent civilized human being by the persecuting injustice and cruelty of which Catholic forces in France were still capable. It will be remembered that there had really been no Reformation in France. What reformation there had been (the Huguenots) was confused by politics and civil war and wiped out by Louis XIV with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The Church in France had not been seriously jostled from its medieval position. In his campaign against Christianity and the Church, therefore, Voltaire was a kind of eighteenth-century Luther or Calvin or, perhaps better, Erasmus, or all three of these. He was a deist. He says in the article on religion in his *Philosophical Dictionary* that in contemplating nature and admiring "the immensity, the movements, the harmony of the infinite globes which the vulgar do not know how to admire," and, moreover, "the intelligence which directs these vast forces, . . . one must be stupid not to recognize the author of it; one must be mad not to worship Him."⁵³ This is the "eternal geometer," the "architect of the universe," the "machinist . . . Who first created and set in motion the gigantic machinery of nature, but now remains forever removed from His handiwork, a spectator and not a participant, a veritable *Deus ex machina*."⁵⁴ But to man he has given an affection of benevolence which has made possible the growth of a moral order. Jesus brought not a new but an old religion, as old as the universe. "Love God with all your heart and your fellow creatures as yourself, for that is man's whole duty."

VOLTAIRE ON TOLERANCE

He defines a theist as "a man firmly persuaded of the existence of a Supreme Being, as good as He is powerful, who has created all beings . . . who perpetuates their species, who punishes crimes without cruelty and rewards virtuous actions with kindness. . . . He submits to this Providence, although he perceives only a few effects and a few signs of [it]. . . . United by this principle with the rest of the universe, he does not embrace any of the sects, all of which contradict one another. His religion is the most ancient and the most widespread, for the simple worship of God has preceded all the systems of the world. . . . He believes that religion does not consist either in the opinions of an unintelligible metaphysic, or in vain display, but in worship and justice. The doing of good, there is his service; being submissive to God, there is his doctrine." Such a religion cannot be intolerant, for intolerance is no longer possible in a world where philosophers have shown that absolute truth is impossible except perhaps for mathematics, "that all sects are merely

⁵³*Portable Voltaire*, p. 187.

⁵⁴This is Black's phrase in Hearnshaw, p. 154.

'titles of error,' and that it would be easier to subjugate the whole universe by force of arms than to subjugate the minds of men in a single town." In fact, Voltaire wants complete liberty of conscience. "The following," he writes in the *Philosophical Dictionary*, "is the substance of all the discourses ever delivered by the intolerant: You monster: who will be burned to all eternity in the next world, and whom I will myself burn as soon as ever I can, you really have the insolence to read [those] who have been put on the index at Rome! When I was preaching to you in the name of God how Samson had killed a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass, your head . . . showed me by a slight movement from left to right that you believed nothing of what I said . . . I saw a small contraction of your lips, in Latin called *cachimms* (a grin), which plainly indicated to me that in the privacy of your mind you hold the history of Asmodeus in derision.

"And as for you, Isaac Newton; . . . John Locke; . . . John Milton; . . . Shakespeare; . . . Leibnitz . . . the Parliament of England . . . in short, all you who do not believe one word which I have taught in my courses on divinity, I declare to you, that I regard you all as pagans and publicans. . . . You are a set of callous miscreants; you will all go to gehenna where the worm dies not and the fire is not quenched; for I am right and you are all wrong; and I have grace, and you have none. I regularly confess those devout ladies of my neighborhood, while you do not confess a single one; I have executed the mandates of bishops, as you have never done; I have abused philosophers in the language of the fishmarket, while you have protected, imitated, or equaled them; I have composed pious defamatory libels, stuffed with infamous calumnies, and you have never so much as read them. I say mass every day in Latin for fourteen sous, and you are never ever so much as present, any more than Cicero, Cato, Pompey, Caesar, Horace or Virgil were ever present at it—consequently you deserve each of you to have your right hand cut off, your tongue cut out, to be put to the torture, and at last burned at slow fire; for God is merciful.

"Such, without the slightest abridgment are the maxims of the intolerant, and the sum and substance of all their books. How delightful to live with such amiable people."⁵⁵

THE CASE OF JEAN CALAS

The most famous case that led Voltaire to take up arms against the Church and the administration of French justice concerned a resident of Toulouse, the Protestant Jean Calas. One of Calas' sons hanged himself in his father's shop, and the father and family were accused of murdering the son because he wanted to become a Catholic. Torture was used in the course of a trial held under the spell of religious fanaticism

⁵⁵*Portable Voltaire*, pp. 135–136.

with frequent violation of the law. At that, the trial brought no proof of the actual guilt of the family.⁵⁶ On 9 March, 1762, Calas was "sentenced to undergo the ordinary and extraordinary torture," to reveal his accomplices and thereafter to be executed. "The ordinary and extraordinary torture consisted partly of forced drinking of water, at the ordinary torture eight cans of water, at the extraordinary torture sixteen cans; partly of the Spanish shoe which meant that the leg of the tortured victim was put between two boards which were screwed together as firmly as possible, after which wedges were driven between them with heavy blows of the hammer. As a rule the bones were crushed during this process." The sentence was carried out on March 10th. After torture and public penance, clad only in "a shirt, bareheaded and bare-foot," he was taken to be executed. "He was tied face-outward on a St. Andrew's cross, and laid on the scaffold. Over niches in the cross lay the extremities that were to be broken with an iron rod by the executioner. Next came a few blows on the chest. . . . Then the body was tied to a coach wheel in such a way that the toes touched the back of the head." Calas stood up to this brutality. "At each blow from the executioner he made only one cry. When his broken hands and feet were being tied to the wheel, one of the two Dominican monks who had accompanied him, tried once more to extort a confession from him. Calas could only murmur that he was hurt that the monk too believed him guilty." If the sentenced man survived the wheel, he was ultimately strangled. When Calas was about to be strangled, one of the aldermen responsible for his fate "approached the tortured man once more, to extort a word from him that could be interpreted as a confession. Calas, however, did not answer, simply turned his face away."⁵⁷

When Voltaire became convinced of Calas' innocence, he did not cease his efforts on his behalf and that of his family. The victory came on 28 February, 1765, when the Parlement of Paris found Jean Calas innocent and ordered the restoration of his property. The other members of his family were acquitted. Voltaire wept for joy at this triumph over injustice and persecution. It turned out that Jean Calas was to be the last French Protestant to suffer on the scaffold for his religion. In this interval (1763) Voltaire had published anonymously his *Treatise on Toleration* (*Traité sur la Tolérance à l'Occasion de la Mort de Jean Calas*), which he managed to smuggle to certain influential members of the royal court, urging that "one should regard all human beings as one's brothers" since we are "all children of the same father and creatures of the same God." Voltaire ends the pamphlet in a prayer to this God: "I turn, therefore, no longer to my fellow-men, but to you, O God of all creatures, all worlds, all times. If it is vouchsafed to us, miserable insects who are lost in the immensity of the universe, if such are per-

⁵⁶I am following the account of George Brandes, *Voltaire*, II, 175 ff.

⁵⁷Brandes, II, 182-183, 184.

mitted to ask something of you, you who are the source of everything, you whose law is immutable and external, consider us worthy of your pity for the errors which are part of our nature! May our misdeeds bring no misfortune upon us! You did not give us hearts in order that we might hate one another, hands that we might slay one another. Help us to help our fellow-man in bearing the burden of a painful and insufficient life! Do not let the trifling differences in the clothing with which we envelop our puny bodies, in our poor languages, in our ridiculous customs, in our imperfect laws, our foolish opinions, our stations in society, which seem so far apart to us yet so equal to you—let not these petty differences be signals for hatred and persecution among the puny atoms called mankind! . . .

“May all men remember that they are brothers! May they all abhor the oppression of souls as they abhor the robbery which snatches away the fruits of their toil and peaceful industry! Should the misfortune of war be unavoidable, let us at least not hate and tear each other to pieces in the midst of peace, and let us make use of the brief moment we have to live, to bless equally in a thousand languages your goodness which has given us this moment.” It has been remarked that “Humanity may never find its salvation until Voltaire (‘the greatest humanist of the Age of Enlightenment, . . . the world’s greatest champion of intellectual liberty’) is canonized.”⁵⁸

BARON HOLBACH AND CONDORCET

Voltaire was one of the philosophers grouped about Diderot in the publication of the *Grand Encyclopedia* (1751-1765). Baron Holbach and the marquis de Condorcet were others. When Priestley went to Paris in 1774 he was entertained by the generous baron. He had been warned beforehand that he would find all the philosophers to whom he was introduced at Paris “unbelievers in Christianity and even professed atheists.” It may have been at the Holbach’s that he was told that he “was the only person they had ever met with, of whose understanding they had any opinion, who professed to believe Christianity.”⁵⁹ At another dinner Priestley sat across from the bishop of Aix and the archbishop of Toulouse and was assured “they were no more believers” than he. When Priestley insisted that he was a believer, it was thought incredible. Le Roi, the philosopher, told the English visitor that he was “the only man of sense he knew that was a Christian.” If Priestley was the kind of materialist who founded modern unitarianism, Holbach was the kind of materialist who transferred the epithets and qualifications of God to Nature (to which one could pray). He was seriously religious in his general approach to philosophy. Of German origin, he possessed sufficient private means to engage in a lifetime of study and writing while

⁵⁸N. L. Torrey, *The Spirit of Voltaire*, p. 283.

⁵⁹Willey, *Eighteenth Century*, pp. 171-172.

acting as host to the less affluent philosophers. His contributions to the *Encyclopedia* were on scientific subjects. If Holbach deified Nature, Condorcet gathered together the opinions of his generation and deified human perfectibility and progress. The Baron's gospel of materialism was summarized in his *System of Nature* (1770) and Condorcet's gospel of progress in his *Sketch of a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind* (1795).

HOLBACH'S MATERIALISM

Holbach was an uncompromising materialist. Science had taught him that "Nature acts by simple, uniform and unvariable laws," and that "the universe, that vast assemblage of everything that exists, presents only matter and motion; the whole offers to our contemplation nothing but an immense, an uninterrupted succession of cause and effects."⁶⁰ Holbach saw no need to go with the Deists in attributing the creation of this universe to a God. "The moment a man can admit the God of theology, there is no longer anything else in religion that he cannot admit."⁶¹ "It is thus evident that the deists or theists have no real ground for distinguishing themselves from the superstitious . . . it is impossible to fix the line of demarcation which separates them from the most credulous men." "If therefore, it be asked, whence came matter? it is a very reasonable reply to say, it has always existed . . . it moves by virtue of its essence . . . all the phenomena of Nature are ascribable to the diversified motion of the variety of matter she contains; and which, like the phenix, is continually regenerating out of her own ashes."⁶²

HOLBACH ON RELIGION

Holbach is hostile to religion because it, rather than nature, has become the basis of morality. "The idea of God so generally diffused over the earth is no more than a universal error of the human species." Religion is but "the art of intoxicating men with enthusiasm, so as to divert their attention from the evils with which their rulers load them here on earth . . . [men] are made to hope that if they agree to being unhappy in this world, they will be happier in the next." "Religion, in all countries, far from being favourable to morality, shakes it and annihilates it. It divides men in the room of uniting them; in the place of loving each other, and lending mutual succours one to the other, they dispute with each other, they despise each other, they hate each other, they persecute each other, and they frequently cut each other's throats for opinions equally irrational: the slightest difference in their religious notions renders them from that moment enemies, separates their interests, and sets them into continual quarrels." Instead of telling men that God and religion have

⁶⁰Baumer, . . . *Western Thought*, pp. 397 ff.

⁶¹Wiley, *Eighteenth Century*, p. 163.

⁶²Cf. *ibid.*, p. 158.

prohibited and will punish debauchery, crime and vice, we should say "that all excess is harmful to man's conservation, makes him despicable in the eyes of society, is forbidden by reason which wants each man to conserve himself, and is forbidden by nature which wants him to work for his lasting happiness."

RELIGION AND NATURE

"Religious morality is an infinite loser when compared with the morality of nature, with which it is found in perpetual contradiction. Nature invites man to love himself, to preserve himself, to incessantly augment the sum of his happiness; religion orders him to love only a formidable God, that deserves to be hated; to detest himself, to sacrifice to his frightful idol the most pleasing and legitimate pleasures of his heart. Nature tells man to consult reason, and to take it for his guide; religion teaches him that his reason is corrupted, that it is only a treacherous guide, given by a deceitful God to lead his creatures astray. Nature tells man to enlighten himself, to search after the truth, to instruct himself in his duties; religion enjoins him to examine nothing, to remain in ignorance, to fear truth; it persuades him that there are no relations more important than those which subsist between him and a being of whom he will never have any knowledge. Nature tells the being who is in love with his welfare to moderate his passions, to resist them when they are destructive to himself, to counterbalance them by real motives borrowed from experience; religion tells the sensible being to have no passions, to be an insensible mass, or to combat his propensities by motives borrowed from the imagination, and variable in itself. Nature tells man to be sociable, to love his fellow-creatures, to be just, peaceable, indulgent, and benevolent, to cause or suffer his associates to enjoy their opinions; religion counsels him to fly society, to detach himself from his fellow-creatures, to hate them when their imagination does not procure them dreams conformable to his own, to break the most sacred bonds to please his God, to torment, to afflict, to persecute, and to massacre those who will not be made after his own manner. Nature tells man in society to cherish glory, to labour to render himself estimable, to be active, courageous, and industrious; religion tells him to be humble, abject, pusillanimous, to live in obscurity, to occupy himself with prayers, with meditations, and with ceremonies; it says to him be useful to thyself, and do nothing for others. Nature proposes to the citizen for a model, men endued with honest, noble, energetic souls, who have usefully served their fellow-citizens; religion commends to them abject souls, extols pious enthusiasts, frantic penitents, fanatics, who for the most ridiculous opinions have disturbed empires. . . . Nature says to the philosopher, occupy thyself with useful objects, consecrate thy cares to thy country, make for it advantageous discoveries calculated to perfectionate its condition; religion says to him, occupy thyself with useless reveries, with endless dis-

putes, with researches suitable to sow the seeds of discord and carnage, and obstinately maintain opinions, which thou wilt never understand thyself. . . . Nature tells princes they are men; that it is not their whim that can decide what is just, and what is unjust, that the public will maketh the law; religion sometimes says to them, that they are Gods, to whom nothing in this world ought to offer resistance; sometimes it transforms them into tyrants whom enraged Heaven is desirous should be immolated to its wrath.”⁶³

CONDORCET

Condorcet was originally a promising mathematician who turned his attention to political, economic, and social questions, and in the school of the salons of Paris came under the influence of such friends as Voltaire and the economist and statesman Turgot. He became finally the secretary of the French Academy of Sciences,⁶⁴ and from Turgot as minister of finance he received the post of inspector of the mint. He was a philosopher able to implement his ideas by participating in the events of the Revolution from 1789 to 1794. He was ultimately its victim for being unable to cater to the views of the Jacobins as to what a constitution for France should be like. Before the Revolution broke out he helped to organize and draw up the statutes for the antislavery Society of the Friends of the Negroes.

HIS REVOLUTIONARY CAREER

When Louis XVI abandoned the Revolution, Condorcet gave up the monarchy, calling it a “corrupt and dangerous institution.” “We no longer live in the days when, to assure the power of the laws, we must depend on the impious superstition which makes of the king a kind of divinity.”⁶⁵ He wanted a democratic republic with universal suffrage for women (an unheard of demand) as well as for men. He was elected a member, and eventually became the president, of the Legislative Assembly (1791-1792). Here he was chairman of the Committee on Public Education and wrote a report outlining a system of free public education for France that had to wait until the following century for partial fulfillment. He was also a member of the Convention (1792-1795) and refused to follow its majority in voting the death penalty for Louis XVI. He was chairman of the committee to draw up a republican constitution for France, and the draft he proposed was put aside by the Jacobins for one of their own, based to a large extent upon Condorcet’s work. He opposed the adoption of this constitution in an anonymous pamphlet that argued its lack of protection of individual rights. The Jacobins chose to regard this as treason and voted his arrest (8 July, 1793). Con-

⁶³Holbach, *System of Nature*, Part II, Chapter xix.

⁶⁴See p. 164.

⁶⁵J. S. Schapiro, *Condorcet and the Rise of Liberalism*, p. 89.

dorcet then went into hiding for nine months, and when he felt that he was endangering the security of the lady who was protecting him he escaped her surveillance. Unable to take care of himself, he wandered as a fugitive from Jacobin justice about one of the suburbs of Paris, hungry and exposed, and died in a prison cell the day after his arrest (8 April, 1794).

CONDORCET ON PROGRESS IN HISTORY

It was while hiding from the Convention that he wrote without the help of a library his extraordinary synthesis of history, *The Sketch of a Historical Picture*, meant to be the outline of a much larger work of a kind all historians must long to write, a reasoned summary of the achievement of mankind to provide guidance for the future. Condorcet wrote from the point of view of an eighteenth-century *philosophe*. To him the history of man spelled out the progress of man, based chiefly on the expansion of, and ever wider utilization of, his knowledge. To him also the future was one of illimitable progress, for mankind was perfectible. His knowledge would go on expanding and he would make better and better use of it. The past gave every reason to be optimistic.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

The idea of progress was a powerful, new idea of which Condorcet gave an early summary. It was a product of the early modern development of the West. The Greeks and Romans did not know it. They thought of human history as a repetitious cycle of regression from and progress toward a succession of similar golden ages. It was no part of a Christian theory of history, for Christianity taught that man's history since the Fall was the miserable report of his sinful conduct, except when redeemed by the grace of God. The progress of redeemed man was toward sainthood, and its achievement was in heaven and not on earth. It left many unredeemed by the way. Its ends, heavenly or hellish, were supernatural. Still Christianity did hold up the possibility of a happy ending for all and accustomed the western world to think in these terms. The doctrine of progress was a kind of secular and earthly version of Christian redemption. Its original impulse came with the Renaissance, when man was credited with some nobility and some potentiality. The revival of concern with the ancient world proved in the end an emancipation from any dogmatic tutelage to it. The stimulation it gave to art, literature, science, and thought provided such extraordinary results that western man thought himself superior to the ancients. He had progressed beyond them. His science had discovered the natural laws of the universe and promoted the rationality of the new philosophy. It had inklings of an evolution of life from simple to complex. When applied to the solution of human problems it could relieve the estate of man. Man possessed scientific, as well as artistic, literary, and philosophic,

genius. He was a product of his environment. The sensations which came to him from it determined his mind. It was difficult to imagine the limits of the educative process of the environment. Man was, moreover, innately good. He possessed a sympathy and a benevolence, a sensitivity as well as a rationality that made possible the development of the individual in society. Knowledge was cumulative. Its enlightenment could no longer be permanently obscured. As it spread, the nature of the world and man would be better understood, and an environment created taking this understanding into account. Under these circumstances man would continue indefinitely to better his world. There was no static kingdom of man. The fires of hell would be extinguished, and earth would merge into heaven.

CONDORCET'S NINE EPOCHS OF PROGRESS

Condorcet divided the history which gave him this faith into nine epochs based on the expansion of man's knowledge. In the first epoch the beginnings of the arts, sciences, and morality by man himself laid the foundation of progress. His original superstitious nature led him also to a belief in gods created in his own image, and to faith in the existence of a future life. With these beliefs came the priests who, taking advantage of man's superstition, kept him in ignorance. The beginnings of agriculture, commerce, and industry are relegated to the second and third epochs, and with the fourth epoch Condorcet comes to the Greeks, "whose genius opened all the avenues of truth and whom nature had prepared and whom fate has destined to be the benefactors and guides of all nations and of all ages." Christianity was introduced during the fifth epoch, and, since it had little use for knowledge, there ensued the "complete breakdown of science and philosophy" after the brilliance of the Hellenistic period. The sixth and seventh epochs are given over to the Middle Ages, truly a dark age. "Barely did a glimmer of the light of talent or of human goodness and greatness pierce its profound darkness. Theological moonshine and superstitious delusions were then the only characteristic of human genius, and religious intolerance was then the only morality."⁶⁶ But the rationality of scholasticism was a step forward, serfdom was at least a step up from slavery, and gunpowder helped to destroy the domination of the feudal classes.

With the eighth epoch progress became notable because of the invention of the printing press, with which "knowledge became the object of an active and universal commerce." This age saw the discovery of the new world and the first great advance in modern science. It saw the end of a tyranny of the Latin language dividing the West into learned and unlearned, and a Reformation which however unfortunate as a whole inevitably contributed to the freedom of thought. The ninth epoch was

⁶⁶Schapiro, pp. 248, 249.

the eighteenth century, the greatest of centuries, in which "Truth has conquered and mankind is saved."

Condorcet's last epoch is the future, and here he becomes in part a prophet. It will see the establishment of the equality of nations, the equality of the individual members of the nation, and the growing perfection of all mankind. Imperialism, the superiority of European over colonial peoples, will cease, but western civilization will spread to Africa and Asia. "The day will arrive when the sun will shine upon free men only, who will regard reason alone as their master, and when tyrants and slaves, priests and their treacherous tools will exist only in the pages of history and in the scenes of the theater." War will come to be regarded as "the greatest of plagues and as the greatest of crimes." A league of nations will maintain a universal peace cemented by a universal language. Individual states will concentrate on the abolition of all inequalities that are not rooted in natural capacities, such as wealth and education. Condorcet envisages a system of social security to break down economic inequality. There will be a "complete destruction of those prejudices which establish between the sexes the inequalities of rights that are bad even for the favored male sex." A universal system of education will remove inequalities in education. A natural system of morality will make it as impossible for one to disregard the rights of others "as at present it is impossible for most people to commit a barbaric act in cold blood." Science, machinery, and birth control will prevent the growth of population from pressing on the food supply. Men will become more long-lived. All disease can be destroyed, and the time will come "when death will be nothing more than the result either of an unexpected accident or of the slow destruction of the vital force." "If the unlimited perfectibility of mankind is, as I believe, a universal law of nature, man should not regard himself as a being circumscribed by a fleeting and isolated existence and destined to disappear after a succession of good and evil fortune for him and for those whom chance has placed in his way. He is an active part of the great whole, and a participant in an eternal work. Existing for only a brief moment on a point of space, he can, through his labor, embrace all places, unite himself to all ages and be effective long after his memory has disappeared from the earth."⁶⁷

Science

FRENCH SCIENTIFIC SUMMARIES

What had given Condorcet his vision of progress was mathematics and science. It was the same with his English counterpart Priestley, although it so happened that as a scientist Priestley, while making pos-

⁶⁷Schapiro, pp. 256, 257, 259, 260, 261.

sible the progress in chemistry of a Lavoisier, actually defended thereafter what was the unprogressive chemical view. The eighteenth century continued the work of the "century of genius" in all fields and made possible some special advances in the fields of biology and most notably in chemistry. Such mathematicians as the Swiss Bernoullis and Leonhard Euler as well as the Frenchman Joseph Louis Lagrange developed further the specialization of mathematics. Lagrange in his *Analytical Mechanics* built mechanics upon the new system of natural laws. (The French displayed a special talent for bringing together in masterful treatises whole fields of learning.) Laplace in his *System of the World* (1796) summarized the history of astronomy in its Newtonian form and put forth his long-lasting nebular hypothesis of the origin of the solar system. His large *Celestial Mechanics* in five volumes (1799-1805) brought Newton's astronomy up to date.

CARL LINNAEUS AND BUFFON

Botany and zoology had long suffered from the lack of an adequate system of classification able to reduce to some order the great amount of detail added from exploration outside Europe. The work of the Swedish biologist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) provided the subsequent framework for classifying plants and animals from a study of their natural characteristics. Linnaeus was helped by contemporary work on the sexuality of plants, but had no notion of the evolution of species, taking it for granted, as Scripture indicated, that every species was still as it had been established by its original parents. The various fields of science became the object of much amateur cultivation. The hard-working French naturalist count de Buffon (1707-1788) spent a lifetime putting into the thirty-six volumes of his *Natural History* a description of the whole world of nature. In so doing he popularized considerably the study of biology. He refused to be tied down by systems of classification, and, unlike Linnaeus, came to think in terms of the origins of new species, and at times of a kind of evolutionary principle in nature. Like Newton, he became a popular scientific idol. Men were not only astonished at the new results of scientific discovery but they had renewed evidence of the power of science to improve the lot of man. The work of Edward Jenner, the English physician, on a vaccine for smallpox provided an "antidote that is capable of extirpating from the earth a disease which is every hour devouring its victims; a disease that has ever been considered as the severest scourge of the human race!"⁶⁸

LAVOISIER

If the sixteenth century set astronomy, and the seventeenth century physics upon their modern ways, the eighteenth century did the same for chemistry. It is often disconcerting for the laymen to learn how little the

⁶⁸Quoted in A. Wolf, *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 491.

scientist knows about the fundamental matters of his science. Before Boyle, the chemist had no clear idea of what an element was,⁶⁹ and before Lavoisier he had no correct notion of what combustion actually was. He had, however, something that was almost as good, a theory of combustion which encouraged him to carry on purposeful experimental work that finally destroyed the theory itself. The eighteenth-century theory of combustion involved a substance called phlogiston. Phlogiston was what made a thing burn, the material essence responsible for inflammability. In the process of burning, the phlogiston was released into the atmosphere. If you heated mercury the phlogiston escaped, leaving what was called the calx (or oxide) of mercury. If you heated this calx with carbon, the phlogiston in the carbon rejoined with the calx to make the original metal. Experiments made in weighing the calx of mercury showed that it weighed more than the original mercury in spite of the loss of phlogiston, but that did not bother the chemists too much, some of whom spoke of phlogiston's possessing a "negative weight" which made things lighter. Mercury with phlogiston was naturally lighter than a calx of mercury without it.

It did bother Lavoisier, however, a rich French businessman who had early turned to science. He had discovered in 1772 that when he burned sulphur and phosphorus in a limited space, air was absorbed and the residue weighed more than the original sulphur and phosphorus. "This discovery . . . had led me to think that what is observed in the combustion of sulphur and phosphorus may well take place in the case of all substances that gain weight by combustion and calcination [the making of calces, or oxides]; and I am persuaded that the increase in weight of metallic calces is due to the same cause." But Lavoisier did not know precisely what this air was. He thought at first it was "fixed air"—the carbon dioxide of the eighteenth-century chemists.

PRIESTLEY AND LAVOISIER

Priestley gave him the idea that it was not fixed air. Priestley had without knowing it discovered oxygen. He explained his experiment to Lavoisier in October, 1774. He had burned the calx of mercury and found that it "gave off an 'air' which allowed things to burn in it with exceptional vigour."⁷⁰ Priestley thought at first that this was "laughing gas," and later called it "dephlogisticated air," since it admitted the phlogiston from the burning calx of mercury more readily than did ordinary air. Lavoisier then set to work with experiments of his own. He burned mercury in a given quantity of air and measured the amount of air absorbed when the calx of mercury was formed. He then burned the calx of mercury and re-established the amount and kind of air in which the original mercury was burned. It was not necessary to use

⁶⁹See pp. 160 f.

⁷⁰W. P. D. Wightman, *The Growth of Scientific Ideas*, p. 190.

phlogiston to account for these changes. Yet he identified the air absorbed and given off by the calx of mercury in a report ("confused to put it mildly") to the French Academy (Easter, 1775) as "not only common air but . . . more respirable, more combustible and consequently . . . more pure than even the air in which we live."⁷¹ By this time Priestley had discovered that the gas in question was not laughing gas but an entirely new gas. He read Lavoisier's Easter report of 1775, thought it mistaken and confused, and corrected it in a published paper. When Lavoisier read this paper, he realized his mistake and had a chance to correct his Easter report before the Academy published it, and without mentioning Priestley (1778). What Priestley discovered and called dephlogisticated air Lavoisier called oxygen.

When the experiments of the English chemist Cavendish (1731-1810) established the composition of water as a combination of oxygen and hydrogen (Lavoisier's name), Lavoisier knew he could test that result with the calx of mercury by heating mercury with steam. The product should be mercuric oxide (the calx) plus hydrogen, and of course Lavoisier found this to be true in the laboratory. As late as 1783 Lavoisier, in his *Reflections on Phlogiston*, was trying to show that the discovery of oxygen made the phlogiston theory unnecessary. But Priestley, the man who had really discovered oxygen, refused to believe it until his death. He fought with Lavoisier over the matter until the end of his life. It will be remembered that he had come to the United States after a Manchester mob had destroyed his home and laboratory because of his radical religious views. Lavoisier was guillotined on 8 May, 1794, by French authorities of the Terror⁷² on trumped-up charges of corruption. Lagrange remarked on the day after his death, "Only a moment was needed to cause that head to fall, and a hundred years perhaps will not suffice to raise another like it."⁷³

The Social Sciences

THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

One of the very great accomplishments of eighteenth-century humanism was to conceive and to try to work out a science of man. A successful science of nature had disputed and contradicted traditional theology and morality and attempted to set up a natural religion and morality. If progress were to be made in abandoning God's heavenly kingdom for man's earthly kingdom, it was thought that the laws of man's (human) nature would have to be discovered, and related to his living together with his kind in society. The *philosophes* of the eighteenth century thus

⁷¹J. B. Conant, *Science and Common Sense*, p. 187.

⁷²See pp. 363, 366.

⁷³Wightman, p. 204.

conceived of a social science to balance a natural science. Its basis was to be a science of human nature (psychology) as applied to man's social (sociology), political (political science), or economic (political economy, economics) relationships. The methods to be adopted in building new social sciences were those used with such brilliance in establishing the natural sciences: rational and empirical, or experimental. The social sciences were thus born under the aegis of a scientific humanism. If they have lagged behind the accomplishment of their natural parents, this can be explained not only by difficulties in reducing man to a matter of science but to the fact that the social sciences began some two centuries later than modern physical sciences and were without a comparable medieval or classical inheritance. In history as elsewhere it is difficult to make up for lost time.

THE OBSTRUCTION OF NATURAL LAW

It has already been suggested⁷⁴ that the *philosophes* developed certain axioms concerning man inherited from the humanistic tradition. Man was a creature of great, noble, rational, and artistic capacities. His gifts were thwarted by a society which functioned badly in that the natural laws which governed it were being constantly interfered with. Man's great potentiality could thus be realized only if a "natural" society were set up that permitted his natural morality to dominate. This could be done. Man was thus perfectible, and there was no limit to the progress possible in creating the earthly kingdom of man.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SENSATIONS

The scientific theory back of these hopes was contained in the sensationalist psychology of Hobbes and Locke as developed in the eighteenth century. These men were unaware of the laws of physical heredity, and they abandoned talk about the predispositions of the soul. If man's happiness were to be earthly instead of heavenly, then it would have to be founded upon the avoidance of painful and the accumulation of pleasurable sensations, for it was man's nature to avoid the one and seek the other. Man's mind, they thought, was formed solely from the sensations of the external world which entered his brain through the organs of sense. These sensations combined or associated with each other in the brain in definite ways (laws of association) to form ideas or notions in accordance with which man thought and acted. If these sensations were painful, they would lead to ideas that caused him to avoid the action that produced them; if they were pleasurable, they would lead to ideas that caused man to cultivate the action that produced them. Men's actions could be determined therefore by providing alternative sensations of pain and pleasure.

⁷⁴See pp. 254 ff.

ENVIRONMENTALISM

A science of legislation properly worked out in accordance with these principles could get men to act the way it wanted them to. It was not only legislation but education (in a large as well as narrow sense) that could determine what sensations entered the human mind, and therefore what ideas men would have and how they would act. At birth all men's minds were equally blank. Their contents were determined by sensations organizing into thoughts responsible for action. These sensations could thwart or develop man's natural nobility, goodness, rationality, benevolence, sensibility, artistic capacity, and self-interest. Thus man's development for better or worse was determined by the education and laws of his environment. They could and should be fashioned to promote his terrestrial happiness. What contributed to man's happiness was useful; what hindered it ought to be modified.

HELVÉTIUS AND BENTHAM

Two men, one French and another English, Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), helped to promote this point of view. Helvétius, a *philosophe*, did so by writing a work entitled *Concerning Man* (1772), and Bentham, a disciple of Helvétius, by a work called *The Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789). In *Concerning Man* Helvétius argues with Locke that "our ideas . . . come to us by the senses; and from this principle . . . it may be concluded that our understanding is nothing more than an acquisition." This understanding "is independent of the greater or less acuteness of the senses; . . . men of different constitutions are susceptible of the same passions and the same ideas." Thus it is that "education makes us what we are; that men the more resemble each other as their instructions are more similar; and consequently that a German resembles a Frenchman more than an Asiatic; and another German more than a Frenchman; and in short, if the understanding of men be very different, it is because none of them have the same education." Men may therefore learn "that they have in their own hands the instrument of their greatness, and their felicity, and that to be happy and powerful nothing more is requisite than to perfect the science of education."⁷⁵

BENTHAM'S PRINCIPLE OF UTILITY

Bentham begins his work with the remark that "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*." "The *principle of utility* recognizes this subjection, and assumes it for the foundation of that system, the object of which is to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and law." The principle of utility is further defined by Bentham as "the principle which approves or dis-

⁷⁵Baumer, pp. 406 ff.

approves of every action whatsoever, according to the tendency which it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question."⁷⁶ It is this principle of utility which has given to Bentham's whole system the name of *utilitarianism*.

BENTHAM ON ASCETICISM

He explains further that the interest of an individual is promoted when something "tends to add to the sum total of his pleasures; or what comes to the same thing, to diminish the sum total of his pains." Since the interest of a community is "the sum of the interests of the several members who compose it," an action is in accordance with the principle of utility when "the tendency it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any it has to diminish it." Bentham asserts that the "principle of asceticism" is constantly opposed to the principle of utility, and defines it accordingly as "approving of actions in as far as they tend to diminish his [man's] happiness, disapproving of them in as far as they tend to augment it." They who support it have fallen "in love with pain." They say "for every grain of pain it costs us now, we are to have a hundred grains of pleasure by and by." The pleasure which God has in seeing "ourselves as unhappy as we can make ourselves in this present life [is] a sure proof of the satisfaction it will give him to see us as happy as he can make us in a life to come." The principle of asceticism is thus "the principle of utility misapplied."

THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER

"Pleasures . . . and the avoidance of pains are the ends which the legislator has in view." "The business of government is to promote the happiness of the society, by punishing and rewarding." "The value of the punishment must not be less in any case than what is sufficient to outweigh that of the profit of the offense." A properly worked out social arithmetic can calculate the exact amount of punishment needed to avoid unsocial acts and the corresponding amount needed to encourage desirable action. It is always the greatest happiness of the greatest number that must be kept in mind.

THE TRADITION OF EQUALITY AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The ancient Stoics had said that men were born free and equal in an original state of nature, and this doctrine had been taken over and modified by the Fathers of the Church.⁷⁷ Christianity, moreover, had its own special doctrine of the equality of souls in the sight of God.⁷⁸ Its teachings on brotherly love ignored differences in the wealth and status of all

⁷⁶Ed. E. A. Burt, *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, pp. 791-857.

⁷⁷See Vol. I, p. 355.

⁷⁸See Vol. I, p. 366.

children of God, and had always been taken seriously by certain elements in the Church. The tradition of human equality thus established was strengthened by the psychological doctrines of the Enlightenment emphasizing man's equal capacity and potentiality at birth. Equality was to become a watchword of the French Revolution.

THE TRADITION OF SOCIAL-CONTRACT THEORY

Liberty too was one of its watchwords, whose tradition had been established in antiquity among Greek city-states and the Roman Republic.⁷⁹ Hebrew prophets talked about a covenant between God and man, and Greek Stoics wrote about a compact among men creating society and government in a state of nature where natural law prevailed. The Christian Fathers took over natural law from the Roman lawyers⁸⁰ and made it over into the law of God. When medieval popes excommunicated German emperors, their supporters justified their actions by saying that the emperors had violated the agreement between sovereign and people.⁸¹ Feudal government was held together by the contract between suzerain and vassal, and this idea was transferred to feudal monarchy. Magna Carta and the English parliament were outgrowths of the feudal contract. When Dutch theorists justified rebellion from Spain, they used social-contract theory; and when England overthrew the Stuart dynasty in the person of James II, John Locke sanctioned the revolution by reference to the social contract. When political theorists of the Enlightenment, men like the baron de Montesquieu or Jean Jacques Rousseau, sought to build government on scientific or rational foundations, they turned again to social-contract theory. The American and French revolutions were results of this theory. To be sure a sceptic like the Scotch philosopher David Hume argued that there had never actually been such a thing as a social contract.⁸² But for the destruction of tyranny and the science of government the social-contract theory was as useful an explanation of the facts as the phlogiston theory for the science of chemistry.

MONTESQUIEU'S "SPIRIT OF THE LAWS"

In his *Spirit of the Laws* (*L'Esprit des Loïs*) Montesquieu (1689-1755), by way of establishing a science of politics, tries to relate climate to the character of a people, and forms of government to certain qualities of this character. He thinks, for example, that "if it be true that the temper of the mind, and the passions of the heart are extremely different in different climates [as they are], the laws ought to be relative both

⁷⁹See Vol. I, pp. 87 f., 193 ff.

⁸⁰See Vol. I, p. 355.

⁸¹See Vol. I, pp. 524 ff.

⁸²See his essay "Of the Original Contract," in *Social Contract*, essays by Locke, Hume, and Rousseau.

to the variety of those passions and to the variety of those tempers." Climate had made the English so "cold and phlegmatic" that they could not enjoy opera as the Italians. It also made them "so distempered . . . as to have a disrelish of everything, even of life." "The government most suitable to the inhabitants [of England] is that in which they cannot lay their uneasiness to any single person's charge, and in which, being under the direction of the laws rather than of the prince, it is impossible for them to change the government without subverting the laws themselves." Climate has, at the same time, given the English "a certain impatience of temper, which renders them incapable of bearing the same train of things for any long continuance." "This temper in a free nation is extremely proper for disconcerting the projects of tyranny, which is always slow and feeble in its commencements, as in the end it is active and lively! which at first only stretches out a hand to assist, and exerts afterwards a multitude of arms to oppress. Slavery is ever preceded by sleep. But a people who find no rest in any situation, who continually explore every port, and feel nothing but pain, can hardly be lulled to sleep."⁸³ Forms of government must not only fit the characters and traditions of peoples, as determined by their environments and history, they also have certain principles of their own. Monarchies are best for large, republics for small states. Monarchs could be despots or constitutional rulers; republics, aristocratic or democratic. The guiding principle of despotic monarchies is fear; through it, subjects can be terrorized into slavery. Limited monarchies are best served by honor, for this challenges its citizens to seek the privileges the state has to offer. Republics of any kind must be governed by men of virtue, patriotism, and devotion to the public good. Democracies must be governed by principles of equality and unselfishness, and must take steps to avoid the formation of aristocracies.

MONTESQUIEU, ENGLAND, AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

Montesquieu was critical of the French monarchy because he thought it had become a despotism where once it had been limited by an aristocracy through such institutions as Estates-General and *Parlement*. He hearkened back to the primitive state of the Germans as described in Tacitus, thinking that "the beautiful system of constitutional monarchy was invented in the forests of Germany." He visited England in 1729-1735 while writing his book and returned with great enthusiasm for the English, since here was a government of law which valued and protected individual liberty. In analyzing the institutions of English monarchy for a principle that would explain its excellence in guaranteeing individual freedom, he hit upon the separation of powers. The English monarchy was still what the French had once been, a monarchy checked

⁸³Quoted in Wolf, *Science in Eighteenth Century*, pp. 696, 697.

by the aristocratic classes in Parliament (Estates-General) and the courts of law. Its aristocracy was still honorable and its people virtuous. The rule of law was predominant because the main functions of government were in the hands of separate institutions, and thus no one authority could dominate the whole. The executive power was in the hands of the king, the legislative in the hands of Lords and Commons, and the judicial in the hands of the courts, each with the power to check upon the other. "When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty. . . . Again there is no liberty if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers." The manner in which the king is checked by law and by Parliament, the manner in which the Lords check the Commons through the veto, and Parliament as a whole is checked by the king provide a system of checks and balances that reduces governmental machinery to "a state of repose or inaction" and makes England "the finest country in the world." While the development of cabinet government was destroying the independence of legislature and executive in England in a way that Montesquieu did not understand,⁸⁴ the separation of powers, as a guarantee of individual liberty, was put into the American constitution, the French constitutions of 1791 and 1795 and various other constitutions and political practices of Europe in the nineteenth century.⁸⁵

HUMANISM AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

The humanistic point of view is to be associated with the expansion of the individualistic democratic tradition of the West, which at a later point will be called liberalism.⁸⁶ This democratic tradition has sought to protect the individual from tyranny or absolutisms of various kinds, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it sought to free the individual from absolute monarchy by insisting that the government must not tell the individual what to believe (religious freedom) or say or write (freedom of speech and press). The individual must be given some political means to limit the power of kings or governments (representative legislatures, constitutions), and he must be protected by law from arbitrary government with respect to his person and property. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" were natural rights which no government should be allowed to destroy. The social contract originally setting up a society or a government did not allow for the destruction of these rights. Indeed, its chief task was to guarantee the individual their enjoyment. In so far as it was possible, he was to be free from the state.

⁸⁴See pp. 326 f.

⁸⁵See Franz Neumann ed., "Introduction," *The Spirit of the Laws*.

⁸⁶See p. 499.

The theocratic tradition, whether ecclesiastical or secular,⁸⁷ was, in the sense of this book, antihumanistic or ascetic. It was inclined to make men slaves of church-states or state-churches. Hobbes used the social-contract theory to enslave man to an absolute sovereignty.⁸⁸ Jean Jacques Rousseau, in his political theory, used the social contract to subordinate the individual, if not to an absolute monarchy, then to a state which could force one to be free in much the same way as Augustine and Calvin could talk about forcing one to be saved.

It may not be unimportant to his political thought that Rousseau was born and spent his early years in Calvin's city as the son of as gay and irresponsible a watchmaker as the Geneva elders would tolerate. It is probably more important that he came to look upon civilized society with rebellious insight, and tried to provide some democratic basis for its reform. In order to be certain that such reform might be in the proper direction and at the proper speed, he was willing to sacrifice the recalcitrant individual to it. The community was a unity or whole whose general good was more important than all the individual goods of its members put together. Rousseau begins his treatise on political theory (*The Social Contract*) with the dramatic statement that "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains," and he proposes to answer the question of what can make it (the change from freedom to slavery) legitimate. The change is by way of a social contract. When man found the state of nature no longer tolerable, he joined with his fellows in making a contract. In it there had to be a "complete alienation by each associate member to the community of all his rights." "As soon as the act of association becomes a reality, it substitutes for the person of each of the contracting parties a moral and collective body made up of as many members as the constituting assembly has votes." This body "receives from this very act of constitution its unity . . . and its will." "The public person thus formed by the union of individuals [is called] *The Republic* or *Body Politic*. This, when it fulfills a passive role, is known by its members as *The State*, when an active one, as *The Sovereign People*. . . . In respect of the constituent associates it enjoys the collective name of *The People*, the individuals who compose it being known as *Citizens* in so far as they share in the sovereign authority, as *Subjects* in so far as they owe obedience to the laws of the State."⁸⁹

THE GENERAL WILL

The Republic or Body Politic possesses a "general will" which is something more than the sum of the wills of the individuals who form

⁸⁷See pp. 217 f.

⁸⁸See p. 241.

⁸⁹Trans. Gerard Hopkins (Oxford), pp. 181-182.

the sovereign people. The general will is what is good for the whole community. It is the spirit which goes beyond the individual wants of the citizen and cares for them as a group. Rousseau conceives of the possibility of the desires of the individual citizen's being contrary to the general will, and it must therefore be understood in making the social contract that "whoever shall refuse to obey the general will must be constrained by the whole body of his fellow citizens to do so; which is no more than to say that it may be necessary to compel a man to be free." Just how the individual is to be constrained by the whole body of his fellow citizens Rousseau does not make clear. He maintains that "sovereignty, being no more than the exercise of the general will, can never be alienated, and that the sovereign, who is a collective being only, can be represented by no one but himself." If nothing else, this makes Rousseau's ideas, democratically interpreted, quite impractical for a modern state. In a small city-state the sovereignty of the people might be exercised directly by an assembly of citizens as in the case of Greek and Roman cities. But in a large state if this sovereignty is indivisible, as Rousseau claimed, and inalienable, and unrepresentable, government becomes impossible, or else is exercised by nonrepresentatives, those, not elected, who claim to know what the general will is better than the citizens themselves and in case of disagreement are only too willing to compel all good citizens "to be free." This is tyranny, whatever its form. Rousseau can further say that "the general will is always right and ever tends to the public advantage."⁹⁰

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

While it is thus possible to argue that in the *Social Contract* Rousseau was not actually democratic—he relegates real democracy to the direct urban democracies of the ancient world and uses social contract to set up a government which, in claiming to express the general will, could use force to crush the opposition of individual citizens and thus establish a tyranny of whatever form—this is not the way he was interpreted by his contemporaries. To them Rousseau was a true democrat. Political authority rested upon the whole body of the people and not upon kings and aristocracies, whether of birth or wealth. This meant that all men had the right to vote. There was nothing especially sacred about government itself, for it was only set up to carry out the will of the sovereign people. The petty wants of selfish individuals trying to manipulate the state in their own interests had to give way to the generous impulses of unselfish leaders anxious to sacrifice themselves to the general good. In any case, whether or not the people lost its identity in choosing agents to represent it, it did not voluntarily abandon its right to give its consent to what the government did. In

⁹⁰Hopkins, pp. 190, 231.

projects for the political reform of Corsica and Poland Rousseau did not consider himself bound altogether by the principles enunciated in the *Social Contract*. No matter how he may be interpreted in particular, it is clear that he is not in the succession of Locke and Montesquieu. He does not necessarily wish to free the individual from the state, but is willing to consider the state an agent of freedom. Leviathan is to be built up and not torn down.

ROUSSEAU'S NONPOLITICAL WRITING

Rousseau's influence has not been confined to his authorship of the *Social Contract*. His essay for a competition set up by the Academy of Dijon on the question "Has the Progress of the Arts and Sciences Contributed to Corrupt or Purify Morals?" (1749) and his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754) stimulated the growth of an early socialist and communist literature. His novel *Émile* is the source of much of the theory of modern progressive education. His second novel (*The New Héloïse*) and his *Confessions*, indeed all his writings, made him one of the founders of a revolt from rationalism called the Romantic movement.⁹¹ Together with Voltaire, an inspirer of the French Revolution, he broke with the encyclopedists and has led many to have contempt for his sentimental and unrestrained individualism.⁹² He withdrew from a world he failed permanently to crash, the elegant Parisian society of the salons, to the slums and to a loyal, illiterate barmaid who bore him five children that he promptly turned over to state institutions. He condemned the artificiality of civilization in his *Essay* for the Academy of Dijon. In a state of nature, man, the noble savage, lived a life of exemplary innocence, goodness, and happiness. The growth of knowledge and excessive refinement brought him to his present misery from which he can only escape by returning whence he comes, back to nature. This escape to a secular Eden with its renunciation of the responsibilities of this world is an ascetic trait, however difficult it is to speak of the asceticism of Rousseau.

THE "DISCOURSE ON INEQUALITY"

The *Discourse on Inequality* attributes man's present unhappy state to his creation of private property. In the state of nature man was happy because he had no property and had no need of any. Inequality began when man took things, land included, for himself and joined with other owners of private property in the defense of this wealth. It was under such circumstances that the possession of private property had become the natural right that men like Locke thought it was. In the state of nature "men had neither houses, nor huts, nor any kind of property

⁹¹See pp. 394, 399.

⁹²Cf. Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, Vol. I.

whatever; everyone lived where he could, seldom for more than a single night; the sexes united without design, as accident, opportunity or inclination brought them together. . . . The produce of the earth furnished them with all they needed and instinct told them how to use it." Society and private property repudiated this blissful state: "The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying, 'This is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars and murders; from how many horrors and misfortunes, might not anyone have saved mankind by pulling up the stakes or filling up the ditch and crying to his fellows: 'Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and earth itself to no one.'"⁹³ In his project of reform for Corsica he wanted the state to own all property. "So far from wishing the State to be poor I should wish on the contrary to see it the sole owner; the individual taking a share of the common property only in proportion to his services."⁹⁴ Such a system is called state socialism today.

OTHER ATTACKS ON THE NATURAL RIGHT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Rousseau was not the only writer of the Enlightenment who repudiated the doctrine of the natural right of property. Such men as the curé Jean Meslier, Morelly, the abbé Gabriel de Mably, Brissot de Warville, and Simon Linguet wrote to condemn private property and excessive reliance upon enlightened self-interest or uncontrolled individualism.⁹⁵ Meslier, who condemned in extravagant terms what he called vermin kings, aristocrats, and the church which upheld them, wanted a society based upon community of goods and equality of services. Such a society would mark a return to the "true doctrines of Christ" and to the "ideals set . . . by the early Church when 'all things were in common' and distribution was regulated by the needs of the weakest, not the might of the strongest."⁹⁶ Morelly thought that private property was responsible for avarice, and this was the only vice he knew. "All the others, whatever names they may be given, are only forms and degrees of that . . . everything resolves itself into this subtle and pernicious element, the desire to possess." "Destroy property, the blind and pitiless self-interest which accompanies it, wipe out all the prejudices and the errors which support them, and there is no more offensive or defensive resistance among men, there are no more furious passions, ferocious actions, notions or ideas of moral badness." He wanted compulsory and free public education from the age of five in order that among other things "all

⁹³Quoted in Hearnshaw, *Some French Thinkers of the Age of Reason*, pp. 187-188.

⁹⁴Quoted in Kingsley Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the 18th Century*, p. 210.

⁹⁵For Morelly and de Mably see Hearnshaw; for the rest, Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-259.

⁹⁶Martin, p. 241.

pernicious ideas about property will be carefully eradicated.” Mably believed that nature meant all men to be equal. She says to them, “You are all my children and I love you all equally. The whole earth is the patrimony of each of you.” “Since Nature has placed no difference between her children; since she gives to me as to you the same rights to her favours; since we have all the same reason, the same senses, the same organs; since she has not created any masters, subjects, slaves, princes, nobles, traders, rich, poor,—how can political laws, which ought to be only the development of natural laws, establish a crushing and cruel difference among men? All legislation is partial, and consequently unjust, which sacrifices one part of the citizens to the other.”⁹⁷ Brissot de Warville can say that there is no “sacred right of property to travel by carriage while we have legs, or to eat the food of twenty men when one man’s share is enough.” Linguet, called an eighteenth-century Marx, wrote that the laws are primarily enacted to protect property. “As one can take away much more from the man who has than from him who has not, they are clearly a guarantee accorded to the rich against the poor. It is difficult to believe, and yet clearly demonstrable that the laws are in some respects a conspiracy against the majority of the human race.”⁹⁸ To men of this opinion, a revolution in the name of life, liberty, and property was not enough.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

The attempts of the Enlightenment to create a social science of political economy or economics were more typical than those to create a political science. It has been noted⁹⁹ that early modern capitalism in its commercial and first imperialistic phase developed an economic policy called mercantilism. Mercantilism understood the accumulation of national wealth to be the result of a favorable balance of exchange, the excess of exports over imports. It utilized a formidable amount of regulation of all kinds, including high tariffs, to promote this balance. By the end of the eighteenth century an industrial revolution¹⁰⁰ had begun to transform the economic life of England, and to a lesser degree, of France, and the men who were leading it and profiting from it saw themselves obstructed on all sides by a mercantilist policy made by landowners and merchants engaged in domestic and foreign commerce. They were feeling this restraint at a time when critics were talking about the establishment of freedom by the restoration of a system of natural law. The world would come to its own if nature and her laws could be permitted to function without human interference.

⁹⁷Hearnshaw, pp. 236, 237.

⁹⁸Martin, pp. 252, 254.

⁹⁹See pp. 204 ff.

¹⁰⁰See pp. 551 ff.

THE PHYSIOCRATS AND CLASSICAL ECONOMISTS

Obviously the theory of natural law could come to the rescue of those who felt themselves circumscribed by the regulations of mercantilism if it could be assumed that there were natural economic as well as natural human, social, and political laws and that the policy of states should limit itself to removing all those restrictions (mercantilistic) which kept these natural economic laws from operating freely. In both France and England men primarily interested in economic life developed this point of view. The French group is known as the *physiocrats*; the English group as the *classical economists*, since, like the literary and musical people before them, they were reducing the chaotic world of economic affairs and theory to order. The physiocrats included such men as Dr. Quesnay, Mercier de la Rivière, Dupont de Nemours, and Turgot. The founder of the English classical school of economists was the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith.

THE POLICY OF "LAISSEZ FAIRE, LAISSEZ PASSER"

The physiocrats were actually interested in agriculture rather than in industry or commerce; they were inclined to regard the latter as parasites upon agriculture. It was an agricultural surplus (and not a favorable balance of exchange) that was responsible for the accumulation of wealth. It was the healthy circulation of an increasing agricultural surplus through the French economy that they sought to promote. Adam Smith knew the physiocrats and their writings, but his economic speculation concentrated upon an English world in which commerce and industry as well as agriculture had to be taken into consideration. But both the physiocrats and Adam Smith looked upon the economic world as one where the system of natural law prevailed. There were economic laws, and these laws had to be discovered and formulated; and when once discovered and formulated, the state was to provide for their natural working. This meant that the whole mercantilist body of regulations would have to go, and no further steps be taken to interfere with economic laws. The French described the new policy as *laissez faire, laissez passer*, that is, let things be made and let them circulate. In other words, remove the restrictions on production (the guild regulations, for example) and on internal and external trade: the customs duties between parts of nations and the tariffs between the nations themselves.

ADAM SMITH'S "WEALTH OF NATIONS"

Adam Smith's chief book was *The Wealth of Nations*. He was convinced that if the restrictions on trade and industry could be removed, then man's "enlightened self-interest," as it was called, together with his instinctive sympathy, would be all that was necessary to produce a

just economy. In the economic as well as in the religious, intellectual, and political spheres man should be free. His enterprise should be free. In pursuing his own partial advantage the individual was "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention." "I have never known," he says, "much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good. It is an affectation, indeed, not very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it." Government, Smith thought, should limit itself to providing for national defense, the administration of justice, and such things as education, roads, bridges, canals, and harbors, which for lack of profit private enterprise would not provide. Yet Adam Smith was not an out-and-out free enterpriser. There were limits to the sanctity of the search for profit. It promoted conflict between employers and workers over wages in which the latter were at a disadvantage. High profits are not always in the public interest. "People of the same trade," he writes, "seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." Although he wanted the abolition of guild regulations on apprenticeship so that there would be freedom of choice in trades and freedom of trade in land, internal and external commerce, he clearly recognized that government could not be altogether passive. One individual's natural rights must not be permitted to interfere with another's. He thought interest rates ought to be limited, and did not hesitate to advocate taxing the rich "not only in proportion to their revenue, but something more than in that proportion." Yet by and large Adam Smith wished to have the competitive forces of capitalism respected and free.

Scepticism

DAVID HUME

The humanism of the Enlightenment, whether classical or scientific in origin, continued, then, its battle with the Christian ascetic view. It sought to replace the traditional Christian outlook with what it called natural religion or with a nonreligious, materialistic philosophy. It sought to create a social science to accompany natural science. It thought that by a rigid application of rational and experimental methods it could discover and free the laws of nature, and that natural, perfectible man under these conditions, freed of the ignorance and superstition of the past, could so utilize these laws as to make great progress in establishing for himself an earthly paradise. The century was in general optimistic and enthusiastic in its hope for the future. But there was one, another Scot and indeed a friend of Adam Smith, David Hume (1711-1776), who, like Montaigne, reminded his fellow philosophers

that there were limits beyond which the human reason could not reach. Like Locke, Hume was an empiricist, that is, one who insisted that philosophical views cannot be built upon preconceived (*a priori*) notions, spun out of the air, or received from a dogmatic past. They must rest upon the experience of the individual and be constructed from the ideas furnished to the mind by the evidence of the senses. Hume's deep-seated scepticism is contained in his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748) and, with a special religious application, in the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779).

BISHOP BERKELEY AND MATTER

In the former Hume refers to the work of Bishop Berkeley "against the sceptics as well as against the atheists and free thinkers." Berkeley had sought to prove that the material substance which the scientists and philosophers talked about, with its primary qualities of solidity, figure, and motion and its secondary qualities of color, taste, and odor, did not actually exist except as a spiritual substance or idea in the mind. The independent, external world of matter he dissolved into spirit, something perceived. "For as to what is said of the absolute existence of unthinking things without any relation to their being perceived, that seems perfectly unintelligible, their *esse* is *percipi* [to be, or being, is to be perceived], nor is it possible they should have any existence out of the minds of thinking things which perceive them." "For what are all the forementioned objects [houses, mountains, rivers, and all sensible objects] but the things we perceive by sense? and what do we perceive besides our own ideas or sensations? and is it not plainly repugnant that any one of these, or any combination of them, should exist unperceived?" "By matter, . . . we are to understand an inert, senseless substance, in which extension, figure, and motion do actually subsist. But it is evident from what we have already shown, that extension, figure, and motion are only ideas existing in the mind, and that the idea can be like nothing but another idea, and that consequently neither they nor their archetypes can exist in an unperceiving substance. Hence, it is plain that the very notion of what is called matter or corporeal substance, involves a contradiction in it." Berkeley thought that in denying "that which philosophers call matter or corporeal substance" he was doing no harm "to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it. The atheist indeed will want the color of an empty name to support his impiety; and the philosophers may possibly find they have lost a great handle for trifling and disputation."¹⁰¹ When Boswell asked Dr. Johnson how he would refute Berkeley's notion that matter was merely a mental perception, he gave a stone a hard kick and said, "I refute it thus." The earl of Chesterfield wrote to his son after reading

¹⁰¹"A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge," *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, ed. E. A. Burt, pp. 524, 525-526, 534.

Berkeley's essay: "Dr. Berkely . . . has written a book to prove that there is no such thing as matter, and that nothing exists but in idea; that you and I only fancy ourselves eating, drinking and sleeping. . . . His arguments are, strictly speaking unanswerable, but yet I am so far from being convinced by them that I am determined to go on to eat and drink, to walk and ride in order to keep that matter, which I so mistakenly imagine my body at present to consist of, in the best plight possible. Common sense (which in truth is very uncommon) is the best sense I know of."

HUME'S SCEPTICISM

Hume's opinion of Berkeley was "that all his arguments though otherwise intended are, in reality, merely sceptical." This is so because "they admit of no answer and produce no conviction. Their only effect is to cause that momentary amazement and irresolution and confusion, which is the result of scepticism." Berkeley thought that by denying matter and insisting upon the sole reality of mental perceptions he was supporting religion. Hume left little standing of the radical natural religion of the Enlightenment.¹⁰² He can argue in the *Dialogues* that the idea that God has a "necessary existence" is meaningless and that it is impossible to get at his nature. Since man's ideas must rest upon his experience, it is Hume's argument that he has had and can have no experience likely to make clear to him God the First Cause, the Creator of the Universe, the watchmaker God of the Enlightenment. Philo, the sceptic in the *Dialogues*, wants his fellows to be "sensible of the weakness, blindness, and narrow limits of human reason." "When we carry out speculations into the two eternities, before and after the present state of things: into the creation and formation of the universe, the existence and properties of spirits, the powers and operations of one universal Spirit, existing without beginning and without end, omnipotent, omniscient, immutable, infinite, and incomprehensible we must be far removed from the smallest tendency to scepticism not to be apprehensive, that we have here got quite beyond the reach of our faculties."¹⁰³ "Our ideas reach no farther than our experience: we have no experience of divine attributes and operations."

The sceptic Philo asks the deist Cleanthes, "Have you ever seen nature in any such situation as resembles the first arrangement of the elements? Have worlds ever been formed under your eye? and have you had leisure to observe the whole progress of the phenomenon from the first appearance of order to its final consummation? If you have, then cite your experience, and deliver your theory." "We must stop somewhere," says Philo, "nor is it ever within the reach of human capacity to explain ultimate causes, or show the last connections of any

¹⁰²See ed. H. D. Aiken, "Introduction," *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*.

¹⁰³Ed. Aiken, p. 9.

objects. It is sufficient if our steps, so far as we go, are supported by experience and observation.”¹⁰⁴

HUME ON THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

On another tack Hume says, “If we are to consider the nature of God and speak of his justice, benevolence, mercy and rectitude,” then the existence of evil in the world makes these qualities seem strange indeed. “Is he willing to prevent evil, but not able? Then is he impotent. Is he able, but not willing, then is he malevolent. Is he both able and willing? Whence then is evil?” If we identify Hume with the Philo of these dialogues, he had not much use for aggressive theologians. “Divines, when they refute their speculative antagonists, suppose the motives of religion to be so powerful, that, without them, it were impossible for civil society to subsist; nor are they ashamed of so palpable a contradiction. It is certain, from experience, that the smallest grain of natural honesty and benevolence has more effect on men’s conduct, than the most pompous views suggested by theological theories and systems.” He permits his sceptic to agree, however, that such a proposition as “that the cause or causes of order in the universe probably bear some remote analogy to human intelligence” has, under many conditions, “more arguments for than objections against it.”¹⁰⁵

AN ENQUIRY CONCERNING HUMAN UNDERSTANDING”

The fundamental scepticism of the *Dialogues* was carried over from *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, where Hume doubts the ability of the human mind to arrive at conclusive answers to any fundamental philosophical or ethical, as well as religious, question. He is inclined to think that we are limited in our effectiveness to quantitative, not qualitative, knowledge. Here again it is insisted that “our reason, unassisted by experience [can never] draw any inference concerning real existence and matter of fact.” The possibility of a qualitative body of knowledge is especially attacked by saying that the relationship of cause and effect can never be really understood by the mind relying upon experience. “The mind can never possibly find the effect in the supposed cause, by the most accurate scrutiny and examination.”¹⁰⁶ Because something comes after another thing is no reason to suppose it is caused by that thing. Indeed, “the relation of cause and effect must be utterly unknown to mankind.”¹⁰⁷ “Hence we may discover the reason why no philosopher, who is rational and modest, has ever pretended to assign the ultimate cause of any natural operation, or to show distinctly the action of that power, which produces any single effect in the universe.”

¹⁰⁴Aiken, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵Ed. Burt, *The English Philosophers*, p. 758.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p. 600.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 635.

"The most perfect philosophy of the natural kind [scientific] only staves off our ignorance a little longer: as perhaps the most perfect philosophy of the moral or metaphysical kind serves only to discover larger portions of it. Thus the observation of human blindness and weakness is the result of all philosophy." "All the philosophy, therefore, in the world, and all the religion, which is nothing but a species of philosophy, will never be able to carry us beyond the usual course of experience, or give us measures of conduct and behavior different from those which are furnished by reflections on common life."¹⁰⁸

HUME ON EXCESSIVE AND MODERATE SCEPTICISM

Hume is well aware of the futility of what he calls "excessive scepticism." "No durable good can ever result from it while it remains in its full force and vigor." In fact, the sceptic "must acknowledge, if he will acknowledge anything, that all human life must perish, were his principles universally and steadily to prevail. All discourse, all action would immediately cease; and men remain in a total lethargy, till the necessities of nature, unsatisfied, put an end to their miserable existence." There is no need to fear, however, that this will happen. "The first and trivial event in life will put to flight all his doubts and scruples. . . . When he awakes from his dream, he will be the first to join in the laugh against himself, and to confess, that all his objections are mere amusement, and can have no other tendency than to show the whimsical condition of mankind, who must act and reason and believe; though they are not able, by their most diligent inquiry, to satisfy themselves concerning the foundation of these operations, or to remove objections which may be raised against them." A moderate, rather than an excessive scepticism, will help to restrain the intemperate dogmatists, "inspire them with more modesty and reserve, and diminish their fond opinion of themselves, and their prejudice against antagonists." "There is a degree of doubt, and caution, and modesty, which in all kinds of scrutiny and decision, ought forever to accompany a just reasoner." A moderate scepticism will also limit our "inquiries to such subjects as are best adapted to the narrow capacity of human understanding." Philosophers will not be tempted "to go beyond common life, so long as they consider the imperfection of those faculties which they employ, their narrow reach, and their inaccurate operations."¹⁰⁹

Hume's final word in this essay is to avoid those reaches of the mind that are beyond it. "The only objects of abstract science or of demonstration are quantity and number . . . all attempts to extend this more perfect species of knowledge beyond these bounds are mere sophistry and illusion." "When we run over libraries, persuaded of these prin-

¹⁰⁸Burtt, p. 677.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 686, 687.

ciples, what havoc must we make? If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance, let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matters of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames; for it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.”¹¹⁰ Hume was nevertheless a good friend and companion. “I dine, I play a game of backgammon, I converse, and am merry with my friends, and when after three or four hours’ amusement I would return to these speculations they appear so cold and strained and ridiculous that I cannot find in my heart to enter into them any further.”¹¹¹

The Enlightened Despots

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND REVOLUTION

As Hume well knew, his scepticism did not deprive the Enlightenment of its optimism and promise. But what chance was there that this program could be anything more than a hope and promise? Some items of its political program were in fact already a part of English political practice, and this meant that the rest of its program had a better chance for gradual adoption in England than elsewhere. This was the case because of the two revolutions, the Puritan and the Glorious. The English political tradition as summarized by Locke had been transplanted to North America with the English colonists, and it was again revolution, the American Revolution, that was to vindicate it. The American Revolution was thus the Enlightenment’s most striking victory before 1789. In France, the program of the Enlightenment confronted the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons, and here, under the stimulation of events in North America, it was again to produce revolution, the French Revolution and Napoleon. In central and eastern Europe the program of the Enlightenment confronted princes and kings who were trying to build up their states upon the model of French practice in the seventeenth century. The societies of these states were even more medieval than those of France and England. They possessed no middle classes even of the limited size of France’s. They were dominated by rural aristocracies supported by serfs whose status approached actual slavery in the eastern areas. It was with the aid of these aristocracies that princes in the eighteenth century were building centralized, militaristic, absolute states. Upon these the program of the Enlightenment, essentially borne by the middle class, was to have actual effect only when the French Revolution had spread to Europe in various forms.

¹¹⁰Burtt, p. 688.

¹¹¹Quoted in Wolf, *Science in Eighteenth Century*, p. 759.

THE SPREAD OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The leaders of the Enlightenment did not plan revolution. They felt that as the gospel of reason and nature spread to the kings, princes, and aristocracies of the states of Europe, reform programs would inevitably be undertaken to bring these states in line with enlightened policy and practice. To be sure, the Enlightenment did spread. It spread to the colonial world of North America, and from western (France) to southern, central, and eastern Europe. Its spread was but a continuation of an expansion of French culture that had begun in the seventeenth century under the auspices of French classicism and the political ascendancy of the French monarchy under Louis XIV. As it spread, it was taken up by some members of the European ruling classes, who became enthusiastic devotees of French literature. They read and spoke French, praised, consulted, and corresponded with French authors, invited them to their courts, and took great pains to be publicly associated with the most advanced and fashionable thought and opinion of the French salons. Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-1786) and Catherine II of Russia (1762-1796) were monarchs of this kind. D'Alembert told Frederick that "the philosophers and men of letters in every land have long looked upon you, Sir, as their leader and their model,"¹¹² and Voltaire in his correspondence with Catherine II displayed little classic restraint in praise of her. But because they read and praised the *philosophes* did not mean that the rulers introduced into their states the kind of radical reforms that the former were calling for. Central and eastern Europe were a century or more behind the political development of France, even as France herself was in the eyes of the *philosophes* a century or more behind the political development of England. The enlightened despots cared far less for the enlightenment that came to them from France than for their absolute strength. For the most part their efforts were spent in promoting reason and the laws of nature only when these contributed to making themselves more powerful.

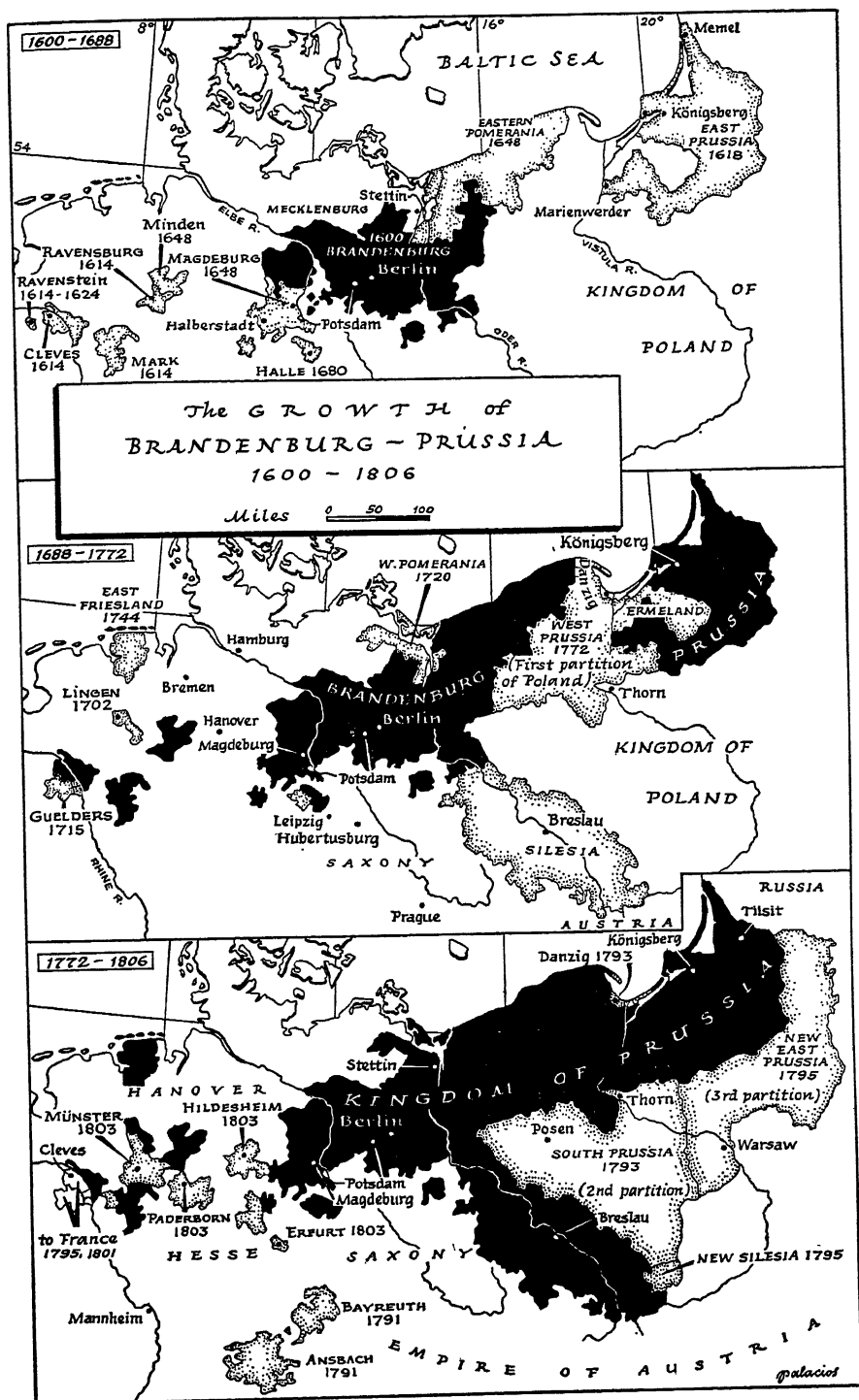
BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA

The political contrast between France and central Europe in the eighteenth century was medieval in origin. France's growth as an absolute monarchy reached its climax in the seventeenth century.¹¹³ Central Europe developed as the Holy Roman Empire, that is, as a congeries of independent feudal principalities,¹¹⁴ over two hundred at this date, to which the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) had given the right to conduct their own foreign policy, thus producing something like political chaos. At the middle of the eighteenth century two of these principalities were the potential unifiers of the little German states: Brandenburg-Prussia

¹¹²Quoted in P. Hazard, *European Thought in the 18th Century*, p. 333.

¹¹³See Chap. iv, pp. 215 ff.

¹¹⁴See Vol. I, pp. 527 ff.



under the Hohenzollerns and Austria under the Hapsburgs. Each was colonial in origin, that is, formed by German settlers advancing from older homelands in Saxony and Bavaria and elsewhere. Brandenburg-Prussia was originally inhabited by Slavic and Baltic peoples of northern Germany beyond the Elbe.¹¹⁵ Brandenburg was carved out of Slavic lands of German princes who in part exterminated the Slavic tribes and in part promoted their absorption by new German colonists. Prussia was established by a crusading order of Teutonic Knights who did the same with native Baltic Prussians. Similar principalities created under similar circumstances were Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Silesia. The advance of the German people beyond the Elbe, bearing with them the Christianity and advanced civilization of the West, created a strong feeling of superiority on the part of Germans toward Slavs and Balts that was resented. The German eastward trek was halted by the Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians.¹¹⁶ The last grand master of the Teutonic Order before its secularization was a Hohenzollern, thus making possible the union under the Hohenzollerns (1618) of the quite separate Mark of Brandenburg with East Prussia. In 1648 Brandenburg reached the Baltic by incorporating eastern Pomerania and adding Magdeburg and Halberstadt. Previously (1614) it had succeeded to the separate little principalities of Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg in western Germany. In 1701 this collection of states was made into a kingdom. It then became a question whether Brandenburg-Prussia could join the great powers of Europe.

FREDERICK THE GREAT AND PRUSSIAN EXPANSION

This is what Frederick the Great attempted to do by invading Silesia in 1740, an area whose acquisition doubled the population and resources of Prussia. His ancestors made possible this aggression by concentrating on the building of a bureaucracy and an army—essentially the same thing in Prussia—able in emergencies to act with speed and efficiency. It was this rapid growth of a standing army which determined the militaristic character of the Prussian state,¹¹⁷ built as it also was upon the crusading mentality of centuries of warfare against primitive, pagan Slavs and Balts. As early as the reign of the Great Elector (1640-1688) more than half the income of the state was being spent on the army.¹¹⁸ This army and bureaucracy were in the hands of the Junker nobility who lived on their large serf-cultivated estates. By joining with Austria and Russia in the first partition of Poland, Frederick also added (1772) West Prussia (the Corridor) to his holdings, thus connecting Brandenburg with East Prussia. This growth of Prussia was a serious dislocation within the Holy

¹¹⁵See Vol. I, pp. 504 ff.

¹¹⁶See Vol. I, pp. 512 ff.

¹¹⁷See Walter Dorn, "Eighteenth Century Militarism," *Competition for Empire (1740-1763)*.

¹¹⁸F. L. Carsten, *The Origins of Prussia*, p. 266.

Roman Empire, a challenge to its Hapsburg emperor and, indeed, to Europe, and one it would take long to meet.

THE AUSTRIAN HAPSBURGS

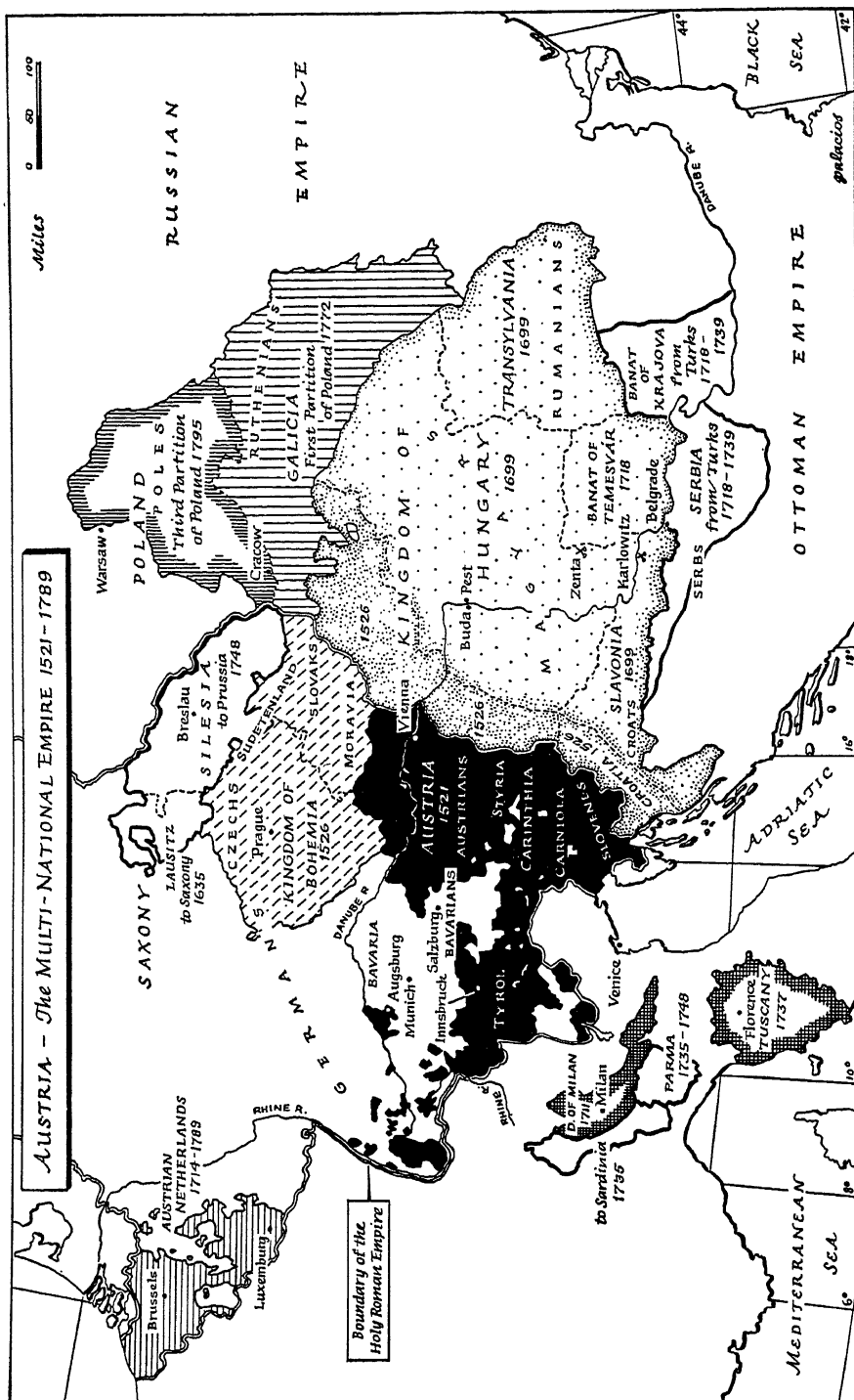
The Hapsburgs held the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in the thirteenth century when first they acquired Austria. Austria was a colonial offshoot of southeastern Germany (Bavaria) into a land partly inhabited by Slavs, whom these Germans in part intermingled with and in part pushed back into Carinthia and Carniola. To this original Austria was added in the sixteenth century the Slavic kingdom of Bohemia and the kingdom of Hungary. German colonists settled also in parts of Transylvania, Bohemia (the Sudetenland), and Silesia so that in southeastern Europe, as in northern, western civilization was dominant in an expanding German form. Through intermarriage the Austrian Hapsburgs had inherited the Burgundian and Spanish kingdoms and empire,¹¹⁹ but this almost global state had been divided between Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs upon Charles V's retirement (1556). When Charles II of Spain chose as his heir the grandson of Louis XIV in 1700, the Austrian Hapsburgs joined in the War of the Spanish Succession¹²⁰ to prevent this upset in the balance of power. The Treaty of Utrecht granted them Milan, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily), and the Spanish (now Austrian) Netherlands. Utrecht was modified in 1738 when the Hapsburgs exchanged in a roundabout way the kingdom of the Two Sicilies for Tuscany, the former going to the Bourbons, who now had France, Spain, and southern Italy and Sicily. In 1772 Maria Theresa took Galicia as her share of the first partition of Poland. With such various territories as the Netherlands (Belgium), Milan, Bohemia, and Galicia, the Hapsburg state was even more heterogeneous than Prussia, and it can be understood that its rulers sought to bring it together by suppressing local assemblies (Estates) and building a centralized bureaucracy and a strong army. The Austrian state had moreover served as a bulwark against the attempts of the Ottoman Turks to invade southeastern Europe. It had with help beaten back an attack on Vienna in 1529, and another in 1683, after which the tide began to turn against the Turks. In 1697 a reorganized Austrian army won the battle of Zenta, and in the Peace of Karlowitz (1699) Austria recovered Hungary, including Transylvania and Croatia. The political vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the Turks into the Balkans created one of Europe's chief difficulties in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

The chief concern of emperor Charles VI of Austria (1711-1740) was to preserve the widespread Austrian state intact for his daughter Maria

¹¹⁹See p. 211.

¹²⁰See p. 220.



Theresa (1740–1780), she who was to hold the young Mozart in her lap. By concessions of many kinds he had secured the guarantee of the leading powers of Europe to the peaceful accession of his daughter, but it was nevertheless the occasion for the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), a scramble to partition the Austrian empire while at the same time maintaining the balance of power among the European powers. Frederick the Great's aggression upon Silesia began the war, the first of a series of German aggressions upon Europe precipitating major wars.

Frederick wished to make Prussia a great power by taking advantage of a moment of Austrian weakness to appropriate a part of her empire. In this he was joined by all the leading European states—Bavaria, Saxony, Spain, and France. Holland and England supported the Austrians with money. The war, fought overseas between Spain, France, and England (King George's War) as well as in Europe, was ended by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), causing little change in political geography except for the important retention of Silesia by Frederick the Great. If the Austrian empire was not partitioned, the rivalry for leadership among the German states was now intensified.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

As it was, Maria did not intend to abandon Silesia. By 1756, war (The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763) had recommenced in Europe as well as in North America (The French and Indian War) and India. The Austrian foreign minister, Count Kaunitz, managed to convince the great powers that to permit the growth of a new great power was a mistake. It would be better to partition Prussia. In a reversal of her traditional policy of interfering in the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire only at the cost of Austria, France now joined Austria against Prussia. Sweden and Russia did likewise. Britain changed sides and joined Frederick, partly in the interests of the Hanover which still belonged to her German kings, and partly by way of keeping France busy in Europe while she attacked her overseas empire. In the face of these odds, the Prussian king's defense of his expanded Prussia was extraordinary. The withdrawal of Russia from the war in 1762 at the death of the Tsarina Elizabeth relieved Frederick of some of the intensity of the struggle. By the Treaty of Hubertusburg ending the war (1763) he retained Silesia. The Prussian great power was there to stay.

RUSSIA AND SWEDEN

Russia's joining with Austria in the war against Prussia was her first major intervention in the affairs of central Europe. It was a stage in her Europeanization, or perhaps we should say in her western-Europeanization. Medieval Russia was an outpost of Byzantine civilization,¹²¹ cut

¹²¹See Vol. I, pp. 498–504.

off from the major developments of medieval western Europe. When German monks and colonists appeared in the thirteenth century as advance agents of the West, the princes of northwest Russia were quick to learn from them what they could about western advances in military technology. They also did what they could to stem the advance of the Germans eastward. The Romanovs were elevated to the throne of Russia in 1613 at a moment when Sweden was about to emerge as the dominant Baltic power. The Swedes had established themselves in northern Germany and the eastern Baltic, and under the remarkable Charles XII (1697-1718) invaded Russia. This challenge was met by Peter the Great (1682-1725), who defeated the Swedes at Poltava and then drove them from the southern shores of the Baltic. As a mark of his interest in opening his country to the western European world, he founded at the mouth of the Neva River a new Russian capital, St. Petersburg (1703).

PETER THE GREAT

Since the days of the overthrow of the Tartar dominion and the development of the autocracy of the tsars,¹²² Russia, and the rest of eastern and southeastern Europe, had been further separated from the West by the lack of such experiences as the Renaissance, Reformation, scientific humanism, and capitalism. Russia was a land which had faced the East rather than the West. Russian colonists had finally, after several centuries, crossed Siberia to the Pacific. In the eighteenth century her population consisted largely of illiterate peasant-serfs who worked the estates of the aristocracy, the descendants of people who had once been free medieval colonists. There was no middle class, no real towns, little trade, commerce, or industry. Realizing the importance of these things to the more advanced western Europe, Peter had not only started St. Petersburg and the adjoining port of Kronstadt. He had visited western Europe in an anxious effort to learn how it built its ships and organized its armies. He had induced hundreds upon hundreds of western experts to come to Russia. He took impatient, ruthless steps to get his nobility to forsake customs identifying them with an unchanging Russian past and strengthened the autocratic character of the government. The Russian church, for example, was deprived of its independence when Peter attached a procurator, or governmental supervisor, to the Holy Synod, which he substituted for the patriarchate. By the time of the accession of Catherine II in 1762, Russia was still cut off from access to the Black Sea, and only after a humiliating succession of reigns was it ready to accept further western ways.

CATHERINE THE GREAT

Catherine was herself a German princess (Anhalt-Zerbst) who had been brought to Russia to become the wife of the future Tsar Peter III

¹²²See Vol. I, p. 503.

(1745), himself a son of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp and Anne, the elder daughter of Peter the Great. Catherine is thus an example of the growing German influence upon eastern Europe. But she had been brought up on the French culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in her enthusiasm for the *philosophes* is a proponent of that enlightened despotism they were so fond of praising.¹²³ She carried on a warm correspondence with Voltaire, and finally bought both his and Diderot's libraries. She corresponded with the German Melchior Grimm, who helped the Mozarts when they were in Paris, and subscribed to Grimm's *Literary Correspondence*, a newssheet for the high society of Europe on the affairs of the French court and the fashionable world of the Parisian salons. She read Montesquieu and Beccaria, the Italian writer on penal reform, and loved to talk and write French. She was interested in civilizing the Russian nobility by introducing them to French literature. She wanted d'Alembert to come to St. Petersburg to teach mathematics to her son, the Grand Duke Paul, and Diderot to come to Russia and finish the *Encyclopedia* when the authorities in France suspended its publication.

There were other things which Catherine took more seriously than the French Enlightenment. She was careful to plan the abdication, if not the actual assassination, of her childish husband, Peter III. In so far as her own personal conduct was concerned, there perhaps have been few if any queens so devoted to the laws of nature and the heart. Indeed, she was something of a nymphomaniac, taking as many as twenty-one lovers during her reign, preferably young, handsome officers whom she housed in an apartment beneath hers in the palace, after they had been "duly examined by her Scottish doctor and then tested by her principal lady-in-waiting." She explained it as follows: "I was attractive, that was the halfway house to temptation, and in such cases human nature does the rest. To tempt and to be tempted is much the same. Despite the inculcation of moral precepts, directly the senses begin to speak one is carried much further than one imagines, and I know not how they can be kept in check. Flight may perhaps help, but how could one flee in the midst of a court? Moreover, that too would cause tongues to wag. If therefore one does not flee, nothing in my opinion is more difficult than to resist what gives us pleasure. All arguments to the contrary are prudery. They do not spring from the human heart, which no one can command."¹²⁴ At sixty she let the laws of nature still take their course with the twenty-two-year-old Platon Zuboff.

She treated her son Paul, who looked upon her as a usurper of his throne, with familiar contempt, if not cruelty. She joined with Maria and Frederick in the first partition of Poland, added Courland to the

¹²³I am following G. P. Gooch, *Catherine the Great and Other Studies*.

¹²⁴Gooch, pp. 38, 8.

Russian outlook upon the Baltic, and in wars with the Turks annexed the northern shore of the Black Sea, in all some 219,704 square miles of territory and seven million subjects. Russia now had an outlet to the Mediterranean as well as to the Baltic.

She was clear in her ideas about the necessities of political authority in Russia. "The sovereign is absolute. The extent of the empire necessitates absolute power in the ruler. . . . The aim of monarchy is the glory of the citizen, the state, and the sovereign." When Catherine was faced with a revolt of peasants in 1773 led by the illiterate Cossack Pugachov, she could only refer to them as "a collection of coquins [rascals] with an impostor as their head. . . . Hurry up and exterminate these criminals who disgrace us in the eyes of the world." Despite her love for the *philosophes*, when their doctrine turned France toward revolution she speedily revealed the true nature of her sentiments. When the Bastille fell, she exclaimed, "I cannot believe in the superior talents of the cobblers and shoemakers for government and legislation." "Instinctively I feel the greatest contempt for all popular movements." The French were finally "regicide bandits and the scum of the human race." "I shall remain an aristocrat, that is my *métier*."¹²⁵

Catherine learned from Montesquieu to admire the English government but admitted that Russian conditions did not permit of its operation there. She was interested in working out a new code of laws for Russia and, in fact, herself drew up a draft for one. "For two years I read and wrote and for eighteen months consulted no one, being guided solely by my heart and reason." She also summoned a body of 564 elected members of a commission to draft a code, and submitted her own draft to them, along with instructions as to how they were to proceed. In these instructions Russians are referred to as citizens, and "the equality of the citizens consists in this; that they shall all be subject to the same laws. No citizen should stand in fear of another." In the passages of her draft on the reform of the criminal law Catherine used Beccaria's *On Crimes and Punishments* extensively, and suggested that "all maiming ought to be abolished." But nothing ever came of this project of a new code of laws for Russia.

Catherine was tolerant of other religious views than those held by the Orthodox state church. Frederick the Great, a rationalist and adherent of no religious creed, also practiced tolerance in his realm. "All religions," he thought, "should be tolerated. . . . [In Prussia] everyone shall get to heaven in his own fashion." He was also a legal reformer and abolished torture in criminal investigations. Except in time of war the Prussian press was relatively free. As the avowed "first servant of the state" and a staunch mercantilist Frederick worked hard to improve the economic foundations of Prussian society.

JOSEPH II OF AUSTRIA

Joseph II of Austria, Maria Theresa's son (1780-1790), was no close student of the Enlightenment but was still the most radical reformer of all the so-called enlightened despots. He wished to establish intellectual and religious freedom in the state, to subordinate the church to the state, to suppress monastic orders not engaged in work useful to society, to establish a more uniform legislation and administration, to reform the whole administration of justice with a more humane system of criminal law and the abolition of inquisitorial procedures and torture, to improve the status of the peasant, and even, in some regions, to abolish serfdom. But the extent and variety of this reform program aroused discontent throughout the empire, and in the Austrian Netherlands the States-General deposed him and attempted to set up a republic of Belgium (1789). Autocratic reform, however enlightened, when too rapidly imposed did not work.

HUMANITARIANISM

Elsewhere similar reforms were successfully instituted. Sweden established a free press in 1766. Not only in Prussia, Russia, and Austria was torture abolished, but also in Sweden, Poland, Switzerland, Hesse, Tuscany, and Denmark.¹²⁶ The treatment of the mentally ill and the shocking conditions in prisons aroused public concern. Revulsion over the use of cruelty and anxiety over the existence of pain, suffering, poverty, and disease among the "vulgar" classes, the agitations over slavery and the slave trade, and the extension of sympathy to animals marked the beginnings of humanitarianism. The rational character of humanism, classical or scientific, was enlarged and suffused by emotional concern over man's indignity to man, and by the spirit of Christian love which new religious revivals such as John Wesley's Methodism stirred. "The humane spirit that sees clearly enough and feels keenly enough the wrongs of the lowly and disinherited to make strenuous efforts to redress those wrongs and to diffuse happiness among all classes, is, in its extent and nature, a decidedly recent phenomenon . . . [and] the most important new element in the moral tone of the Enlightenment."¹²⁷

IMPERIAL WARS IN NORTH AMERICA AND INDIA

France and England fought each other in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and India, as well as in Europe during the years of the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. The primary issue of this conflict was whether in North America and India the English or French colonial systems, and accordingly the English or French version of the western tradition, was to prevail. Fully aware of what was

¹²⁶See P. Smith, "Persecution and Tolerance," *Modern Culture*, II.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, II, 588



involved in the war, English statesmen such as William Pitt did not engage themselves too heavily on the Continent, concentrating instead on the destruction of French sea power and the French empire. With the taking of Louisburg (1758), Forts Duquesne, Ticonderoga, Niagara (1759), and finally Quebec and Montreal (1760), New France in North America passed to the English. In India two economic rivals, the English and French East India companies, were fighting for the possession of each other's trading ports. But under the leadership of Joseph Dupleix the French company began to expand trade and commerce to politics by controlling the governments of native Indian princes. The English company under Robert Clive followed suit, so that the war in India was actually for the extension of political as well as trading rights. In the Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the colonial phase of the Seven Years' War, France surrendered to Britain all her territory in North America east of the Mississippi except her Canadian fisheries (St. Pierre and Miquelon). In the West Indies she gave up Grenada and retained her chief sugar islands, Guadeloupe and Martinique. She kept her share of the African slave trade (Gorée), giving up Senegal and Minorca to Britain. In India she kept her trading posts but agreed not to fortify them or maintain soldiers in them and not to pursue further political alliances with Indian princes. The political future of India as well as of North America was now in English hands. Spain had entered the war in its last phase and was obliged to surrender Florida to Britain, being compensated by France with the territory west of the Mississippi (Louisiana).

The American Revolution and the Enlightenment

THE GROWTH OF CABINET GOVERNMENT

Between 1763 and 1789 the principles of the Enlightenment won their most striking victory in the American Revolution and the establishment of the republic of the United States of America. At the beginning of the eighteenth century (1707), England joined with Scotland in a common Parliament, and in the course of the century developed further the parliamentary victory of the Glorious Revolution with the new cabinet system. The powers left to the king in 1688-1689 to appoint his own officials and choose his own policy made it impossible for Parliament to control the monarchy easily and smoothly without the threat of civil war and further revolution. The accession of a new German-speaking dynasty (the Hanoverian) in 1714 and the further crystallization of the Whig and Tory parties facilitated the shift to the practice of the king's choosing his ministers or cabinet automatically from the strongest party represented in Parliament, through a chief, or prime, minister who was the acknowledged leader of the dominant party. Such a cabinet under the presidency of the prime minister was collectively responsible not to

the king but to Parliament, and had to resign as a body if Parliament did not approve its policies and practices. Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), who controlled the government and Parliament for twenty years (1721-1742), was the first prime minister in this sense. Such a system rendered the monarch more dependent upon Parliament than previously, and it was George III's (1760-1820) hope to recover at least some of his royal prerogatives by a return to the principles of the Glorious Revolution.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Parliament, in accordance with a mercantilist policy which subordinated the interests of the colonies to the mother country, or by passing legislation that considered the interests of a whole empire rather than merely one of its parts, antagonized the American colonies, which soon began to consider the advantages of governing themselves in accordance with their own interests and needs. Irritation and discontent soon avalanched under the pressure of incidents and propaganda into active rebellion in 1775 and, on 4 July, 1776, a Declaration of Independence. By 1783, with the aid of France, Spain, and the Dutch, the American colonists had won their independence from Britain, leaving Florida and the region west of the Mississippi to Spain. By 1789 the individual states had drawn up constitutions for themselves, and a Constitutional Convention had furnished a written constitution to guide the new federal republic. The philosophy of the Declaration of Independence was reinforced by bills of rights attached to the state and federal constitutions.

STATE AND FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONS

In these documents it was the principles not only of the Enlightenment but of the whole western tradition that came to expression, selected especially by the experience of the English people and the American colonists. Here is the theory of social contract as it had been worked out from the days of the Greek Stoics through medieval feudalism to John Locke. Here is further application of the principles of the Puritan and Glorious revolutions. Here is further fruit of the long, hard struggle for religious and intellectual freedom. Here the individual, possessed of his natural rights, seeks to protect himself against the abuses of tyrannical government by setting up governments with separation and balance of powers, as analyzed by Polybius, Locke, and Montesquieu. Here are state and federal governments "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," even if the state constitutions had property qualifications for holding office and voting. The Americans not only put these western principles into their written constitutions, they tried to apply them practically in ways never tried before. Pioneers who had moved away from the settled coastal regions into the back

woods did not like heavy property qualifications for voting. After the Revolution some sixty thousand conservative American loyalists (Tories) moved to Canada, and others to the West Indies and England. Their estates, and those of wealthy proprietors such as the Penns, Baltimores, and Fairfaxes, were confiscated and sold to small farmers. Steps were taken to prevent the growth of a landed American aristocracy by preventing primogeniture and entail. Care was taken to separate church and state, notably in the case of Anglican establishments. Thomas Jefferson, the American *philosophe*, expressed the hope that "the education of the common people may be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty." Written constitutions, strict principles of representation according to population, and original adaptations of the principle of federalism (The Northwest Ordinance, 1787) were additions to the tradition.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, wanted it to be a "plain and firm . . . expression of the American mind." "When," the Declaration says, "in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . . When a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them into absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." In view of the fact that "the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having as direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states . . . the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled . . . solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states. . . ."

THE VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS

The bill of rights of the state constitution of Virginia (12 June, 1776) says in its first article "that all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." In subsequent articles it asserts "that all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them . . . that the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judiciary; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating in the burthens of the people, they should at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station." "In all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; . . . no man [may] be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers." "The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotick governments." "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; . . . it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

THE MASSACHUSETTS BILL OF RIGHTS

John Adams wrote the bill of rights for the constitution of Massachusetts. The end of government is here stated to be "to furnish the individuals who compose it [the body-politic] with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights." The body-politic is defined as a "social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen and each citizen with the whole people that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good." Here again, "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and obtaining their safety and happiness." "Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people and not for the profit, honor or private interest of any one man, family or class of men; therefore the people alone have an incontestible, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government; and to reform, alter or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity,

and happiness require it." "In the government of this commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men."

THE BILL OF RIGHTS OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

In 1787 the new American states undertook through their representatives at Philadelphia to write a constitution for a federal republican government. It was ratified and put into effect the next year. Its first ten subsequent amendments are a federal bill of rights, and they include such provisions as that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." No person "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." Thus with a stronger democratic emphasis than in Europe before 1789 the humanistic principles of the Enlightenment took root in the governments and society of the New World.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN ACTION: FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

Introduction

THE TERM REVOLUTION. Revolution is the attempt to speed up historical change with violence. Violence is taken to be necessary in order to overcome resistance to a speed-up in the rate of change, or indeed any change whatever. Its ultimate justification rests upon the feeling of revolutionary leaders and their followers that the realization of a given goal or program is so vital that its speedy inauguration must not at any cost be hindered. Historians also use the term revolution to dramatize major transformations that occur over long periods of time without violence. The term scientific revolution may be used to indicate the great changes wrought in the minds of men by the work of scientists from Copernicus to Newton; the term commercial revolution, the large economic changes wrought by the early expansion of western Europe overseas and the consequent development of merchant capitalism. The term French Revolution, however, refers to the rapid and violent transformation of France from 1789-1795.

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION IN EUROPE

Before 1789 the tradition of western Europe had already been revolutionary. The independent or autonomous town was the outcome of the

communal revolution, a violent revolt from feudalism.¹ The Swiss won their independence from the Hapsburgs in a series of wars.² The Protestant Reformation, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, or Anglican, used violence to speed up a religious reform resisted by the medieval Church. Dutch independence from Spain was achieved only by the violence of war. The victory of parliamentary over absolute monarchy in England, and of a limited tolerance and intellectual freedom over intolerance and conformity, was won only after a very violent and bloody Puritan Revolution that made possible the following, bloodless Glorious Revolution of 1688. The American colonists shook off the limitations upon their future development by a war of independence, the American Revolution. The French Revolution, inspired by this older tradition, intensified and spread it to Europe and the world.

ARISTOCRATIC REACTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The French Revolution attempted to speed up two large transformations that had been going on for centuries: (1) the decline of feudalism and (2) the growth of the middle class, or bourgeoisie. These two transformations were intertwined, for the weakening of the social and economic side of feudalism made way for the advance of the bourgeoisie. Any strengthening of a capitalistic middle class meant a corresponding decline in the importance of the aristocratic classes, the nobility and clergy. The struggle of the French kings with the feudal aristocracy was at least as old as the twelfth century.³ It was waged with the help of the bourgeoisie and reached its climax in the seventeenth century. By this time the nobility had been deprived of its local political independence. Its place in political and judicial administration had been to a large extent given to the middle class (*intendants*, members of *parlements*). Large numbers of the aristocracy, lay and ecclesiastical, now left their localities for the court at Versailles to contend for such favors and offices as were open to professional courtiers. When the king completed the consolidation and centralization of the realm there was no reason further to combat the aristocracy. The tamed nobles could now be entrusted with the chief posts in the royal administration while retaining their social and economic privileges. The numbers of the privileged were actually increased by ennobling the bourgeois who held certain (chiefly judicial) offices. Eighteenth-century France is marked by a feudal or aristocratic reaction giving again to the nobles the chief offices of state, emphasizing the distinction and superior quality of noble birth, and resisting all efforts to minimize the privileged position of the nobility. Aristocratic pedigrees became more important than ever.

¹See Vol. I, pp. 452 ff.

²See Vol. I, p. 568.

³See Vol. I, pp. 550 ff.

THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE ARISTOCRATIC STATE

The French middle classes thus saw themselves thwarted by a monarchy whose power their ancestors had helped to build, and by an aristocracy that regarded as its special privilege the holding of political office. This same monarchy, now supported by the ancient feudal classes, pursued an economic policy which the bourgeoisie knew blocked their economic progress. This policy not only tolerated such things as the medieval guilds and customs duties between the ancient feudal provinces, it permitted such impediments to trade as innumerable toll stations everywhere, and taxes on foodstuffs entering the towns. It had adopted some features of the mercantilistic policy, of regulating all aspects of trade, commerce, and industry in the interests of the wealth and power of the monarchy. The bourgeoisie came to see that such practices blocked an even larger growth of wealth in their hands than had been taking place since the end of the reign of Louis XIV. These men, in building capitalism, had created a new form of property or mobile wealth that was "marketable, divisible, accessible to women as well as to men, and subject to confiscation by the state—as distinct from the old form of feudal and ecclesiastical property, which was almost exclusively in land, could not be transferred or divided up, and belonged in common either to the family or to a collective religious body."⁴ The *philosophes* following Locke had declared that private property was a natural right. Such a statement included the new forms of mobile wealth. To protect it and to augment it the bourgeoisie needed to supplant the feudal classes in the administration and to oblige the monarchy to take the middle classes into consideration in the making and execution of economic policy. Else these classes were subject to those who, as a class, were bound to an old feudal-property system and had little sympathy with the new capitalistic system.

The Old Regime

THE FIRST ESTATE, THE CLERGY

It is surprising that after so long a struggle with feudalism there should still have been so much left of it as to make the eighteenth in some aspects the last century of the French Middle Ages. Society still preserved its medieval organization into three estates: two noble and privileged, and one ignoble and unprivileged. The first estate was the clergy, the second the aristocracy, and the third the rest of the citizens: bourgeoisie, working classes, and peasantry. The clergy themselves were split up into two groups, the upper and the lower, the upper being nobles who held the important offices of archbishop, bishop, and abbot, the lower being the commoner parish priesthood. Inequality in birth and rank was accom-

⁴G. Salvemini, *The French Revolution*, pp. 329-330.

CHRONOLOGY — The French Revolution and Napoleon

	French Rulers and Governments	French Persons and Events	Contemporary Persons and Events
1715		Voltaire (1694–1778) Rousseau (1712–1778)	
	Louis XV (r. 1715–1774)	Necker (1732–1804) Condorcet (1743–1794) Marat (1744–1793) Abbé Sieyès (1748–1836) Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) Lafayette (1757–1834) Robespierre (1758–1794)	<i>War of the Austrian Succession</i> (1740–1748) <i>Seven Years' War</i> (1756–1763) Washington (1732–1799) Jefferson (1743–1826) Lord Nelson (1758–1805) Franklin (1706–1790) <i>American Revolution</i> (1775–1783)
	Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792)	Danton (1759–1794) Babeuf (1760–1797) Saint-Just (1767–1794)	<i>Declaration of Independence</i> (1776)
1789	<i>National Assembly</i> (1789–1791)	<i>Feudalism abolished</i> (1789) <i>Declaration of the Rights of Man</i> (1789)	
	<i>Legislative Assembly</i> (1791–1792)	<i>Civil Constitution of the Clergy</i> (1790) <i>Paris Commune</i> (1792)	Francis II (1768–1835) <i>Brunswick Manifesto</i> (1792)
	<i>Convention</i> (1792–1795)	<i>The Terror</i> (1793–1794)	
	<i>Directory</i> (1795–1799)	Napoleon (1769–1821)	
1799	<i>Consulate</i> (1799–1804)	<i>Peace of Lunéville</i> (1801) <i>Concordat of 1801</i> Code Napoleon (1804) <i>Treaty of Pressburg</i> (1805) <i>Confederation of the Rhine</i> (1806) <i>Treaty of Tilsit</i> (1807) <i>Russian Campaign</i> (1812) <i>Battle of Leipzig</i> (1813) <i>Battle of Waterloo</i> (1815)	Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) Wellington (1769–1852)
	<i>First Empire</i> (1804–1815)		
	Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824)		<i>Congress of Vienna</i> (1814–1815)

panied by inequality of income. A few upper clergy enjoyed a handsome income from the large amount of land which the Church still owned in France, land on which there were still some serfs or, if not serfs, then peasants who still paid feudal and manorial dues. The main body of the parish clergy, many of whom were reading the *Grand Encyclopedia*, lived from their modest percentage of the tithes and local fees.

THE UPPER CLERGY

The upper clergy often lived at court or in Paris, not bothering to attend personally to the administration of their dioceses or the cure of souls. A bishop of Ypres refused to leave Paris, declaring "that there was such miasma in his cathedral that he fainted every time he set foot in it." The cardinal de Polignac, although the archbishop of Auch for fifteen years, died without ever having been in his bishopric or having seen one of his flock. This aristocratic upper clergy lived the life of its class. Louis XV said to the bishop of Évreux, "You hunt a great deal, as I know, but how can you forbid your clergy to hunt when you yourself set them such an example?" The bishop replied, "Sire, in my clergy it is their own fault, in me it is the fault of my ancestors." The notorious cardinal de Rohan thought it impossible to sin in good company. Many had been influenced by the scepticism prevalent in high society.⁵ One writer quipped that "a mere priest must believe a little, or he will be looked upon as a hypocrite, but he must not be too sincere in his beliefs or people will call him intolerant. A Vicar-General may permit himself a smile when religion is attacked, a Bishop may laugh, and a Cardinal may give his cordial assent." When someone sought the archbishopric of Paris for the cardinal de Loménie, Louis XV is reported to have said, "No, the Archbishop of Paris must at least believe in God."⁶ This is not to say that these men were typical of the French episcopate of the eighteenth century but only to indicate what was possible. There were also among them persecuting bigots, as Voltaire knew.⁷ If this clergy maintained the status of feudal landowners, it also collected with rigor the hated tithe. When the tithe was called by a prelate a "voluntary offering," a duke qualified the definition to "a voluntary offering against which 400,000 lawsuits are now going on in France."⁸ This wealthy and aristocratically directed church, which gave its divine sanction to the absolute monarchy, paid no regular taxes. Instead it made "free gifts" from time to time.

THE SECOND ESTATE, THE NOBILITY

The raw, untamed, feudal nobles of the ninth and tenth centuries who had arisen to protect Europe from the barbarian attack of Viking, Magyar,

⁵See p. 286.

⁶L. Ducros, *French Society in the 18th Century*, pp. 237, 238.

⁷See p. 284.

⁸L. Madelin, *The French Revolution*, p. 9.

and Saracen" would have looked with contempt upon their elegant successors, bowing and scraping in the ceremonious courts of weak-minded French kings of the eighteenth century. The medieval theory had been that this second estate deserved to be privileged because it protected and governed society. It no longer did so. These tasks had been assumed by the absolute monarchs with their standing armies and their centralized administrations. The nobility, however, still retained its privileges. Like some of the clergy it was to a considerable extent an absentee nobility living at court and leaving its large estates to be administered by agents. An increase in the cost of living in the eighteenth century led these agents to put additional pressure upon the peasants cultivating these estates. They were not serfs, but their lands paid servile dues in increased amount because of revised manor rolls regulating these dues. The nobles were not now the actual rulers of their estates, but they or their officials still presided over thousands of manorial courts the monarchy had not yet succeeded in destroying. They owned most of the 1300 toll stations on roads, bridges, and rivers throughout France. As members of the court at Versailles they participated in the round of ceremony and entertainment that centered in the sacred person of the king. They, the members of their families, and friends and relatives might be on the huge pension list that ate up something like one-twelfth of the revenues of the state. A bourgeois complains that "they give a pension of 26,000 livres a year to d'Armenonville, the Keeper of the Seals, and another of 20,000 to M. de Morville, his son. That is the way in this country. They curtail the annual income of a hundred poor families, an income which just enables them to live, . . . and then give 56,000 livres in pensions to people already occupying high positions, which permits these to amass considerable fortunes, and always at the people's expense, merely in order that these great personages may idle and do nothing. Can anything be more senseless?"¹⁰ In the pension list stood the name of the barber Ducrest, a "sometime hairdresser to a daughter of the Comte d'Artois, who died as an infant before she had hair to dress." The court nobility not only had a monopoly on the chief positions at court or in the administration but also in the church and army. It possessed many purely social and honorific privileges. Most important of all, it paid no direct taxes. A member of the Paris supreme court (*Parlement*) remarked that "all public financial burdens should be borne by the lower orders. These are subject by virtue of their birth to the imposition of the *taille* [a direct tax on property], and without any limitations whatever, to the *corvée* [forced labor on the royal roads]. The nobles, on the contrary, are exempted by birth from the imposition of all taxation."¹¹ Members of the bourgeoisie entered the ranks of the lesser nobility by buying important offices in the administration or ju-

⁹See Vol. I, p. 429.

¹⁰Ducros, p. 187.

¹¹See *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, Chap. iii, on "Finance."

diciary automatically conferring titles of nobility. This was the so-called nobility of the (judicial) robe (*noblesse de la robe*).

THE THIRD ESTATE

What made the privileged position of the second estate so galling to the third estate, which comprised 96 per cent of the population, was that it no longer earned its privileges. A former, functioning aristocracy had become something of a useless, gilded caste. The French bourgeois became more and more prosperous in the eighteenth century. The peasant too was buying up more and more land. This was done in spite of the restrictions set up by an incapable government maintaining an outworn society. It was clear to the middle classes and to the peasantry what advantages would come to them if the remnants of medieval feudalism were to be abolished. The bourgeoisie, inspired by the Enlightenment, were eager to take over the state, liberate their energies and talents from a burdensome past, and lead the world on the path of progress. The peasant was not inspired by the Enlightenment to such a noble role, but he saw only too well what it would be like to be free of the tithe, of feudal dues and customs, and of a system of taxation in which the wealthiest were exempt from the heaviest taxes. Above all he wanted to buy his land and increase the size of his holdings. The life of the peasant, the great majority of Frenchmen, was a meagre and often marginal one. Many possessed insufficient land to maintain their families. Systems of communication were still primitive enough to make him suddenly the victim of crop failure and famine. By 1789 the Industrial Revolution had begun in northern France, and the urban worker was a small additional member of a third estate which saw little reason for the perpetuation of a system of privilege. The eighteenth-century inflation made prices increase faster than wages, and in 1789 there was much unemployment. When the bourgeoisie seized the opportunity to remodel this society, it was able, when resisted by the court and privileged classes, to mobilize the violence of the town worker and peasant to carry its program to completion.

THE FAILURE OF THE MONARCHY

This opportunity came to the French middle class because of the attack of the Enlightenment upon an anachronistic society, or to use the language of the previous chapter, because humanism attempted to become active and practical as well as theoretical. It came also because of the failure of the French absolute government to do well the things a government is normally expected to do: preserve justice and maintain law and order, or, the *philosophes* might have said, its inability either to make or to carry out an enlightened policy. Kings such as Louis XV (1715–1774) or XVI (1774–1792), with their neglected wives and succession of mistresses, do not furnish especially interesting historical subject matter, and to use sacred terms to describe their persons was certainly sacrilege. Louis XV told a pro-

miscuous foreign minister (Choiseul) to be careful, for his soul was in danger. "What about yours, sire?" Choiseul asked. "Oh, my case is different: I am the Lord's Anointed!" This Lord's Anointed joined horses and dogs to his interest in women, but he was bored with government. ("He yawned his life away.")¹² His successor, in spite of his good intentions, could never make up his mind about anything. After an exhausting hunt and a heavy meal, it was difficult for him not to fall into a deep sleep, whether at table or at a meeting of the royal council. The restrained baroque splendor of the palace at Versailles gave little strength to these weaklings. It merely cut them off from the great body of their subjects and the main currents of opinion, making them victims of the gossip and intrigue of their isolated court. When more closely examined it turns out that the centralized administration of a Cardinal Richelieu was simply something imposed upon an older administration in the hands of the nobles. The older feudal provinces, some with provincial assemblies and some without, were retained when the new units of the *intendants* (the generalities) were set up. The judicial administration had its own units, coinciding with no others. Altogether this made for administrative confusion.

THE COLLECTION OF TAXES

In the field of finance the monarchy failed so badly that it had to ask for the aid of the nation. Those most able to pay direct taxes, the first and second estates, enjoyed the privilege of paying none. The chief direct tax on property was the *taille*. It fell most heavily on the peasantry, taking up, together with the other direct taxes, more than 50 per cent of the peasant's profit. The central government of the later Roman Empire did not bother to collect its own taxes but obliged the citizens of the locality to collect the amount assessed and pay it, whether actually collected or not. This was also the method of the French absolute monarchy. It cannot be surprising if anomalies appeared.

Nor did the state bother to collect the indirect taxes through an administration of its own. It farmed these out to private associations (the farmers-general) who pocketed as a profit all they were not obliged to pay the government. The state thus lost about 20 per cent of the indirect taxes to private individuals for the advantage of having a lump sum in ready cash. The farmers-general had an evil reputation among the *philosophes*. Voltaire was once asked at a dinner party to tell a story about a notorious thief, and he began with: "Once upon a time there was a farmer-general," and let it go at that. The administration of the *gabelle*, the salt monopoly, was also chaotic. The government obliged each family to buy so many pounds of salt, and the rules and regulations set up to enforce these provisions were arbitrary and unreasonable. Nor was the government able to arrange to have salt cost the same throughout France.

¹²H. A. Guérard, *The Life and Death of an Ideal*, p. 231.

The country was divided into salt districts, and prices varied. It happened that they varied most in adjoining districts, with the result that there was a great deal of smuggling from district to district. In a single year before the Revolution, there were 3700 cases in court concerning the seizure of contraband salt, and 2300 men, 1800 women, and 6600 youths were put in jail for the crime of smuggling.¹³

THE THREAT OF BANKRUPTCY

Under these circumstances bankruptcy constantly threatened the government, which borrowed from bankers on future, uncollected revenue to remove the difficulty. By 1789 half of the income of the state was used to service the debt. France's participation in the wars of the eighteenth century, the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, and especially the American Revolution, together with the burden of maintaining the military establishment between the wars, increased the public debt to the actual point of bankruptcy. It was perfectly clear to any who thought about the situation at all that the only way to raise the sum of taxes needed was to remove the exemptions given the nobility, clergy, and privileged bourgeoisie. Louis XVI understood this also, and he entrusted middle-class finance ministers with the execution of reforms entailing equality in the payment of taxes. Such reforms were resisted by the first and second estates and by the courts (*parlements*) whose responsibility it was to register the decrees instituting the reforms. This resistance often went to the point of open rebellion and set an example for revolutionary conduct. The aristocracy had a good national organization for bringing pressure and putting out propaganda. In the face of the opposition on the part of the privileged groups, who claimed to be fighting absolutism in the name of an ancient monarchy that was limited by its feudal classes, Louis XVI always gave way and dismissed his reforming ministers. Solvency was not so important to him as keeping the social system undisturbed. When the expedients used to win over the privileged classes failed (they were summoned for advice in an Assembly of Notables in 1787 and 1788), the government decided, upon their demand, to summon the Estates-General as a way out of bankruptcy.

THE ESTATES-GENERAL

The Estates-General was a medieval assembly that first met in 1302¹⁴ and had last met in 1614. It was divided into three bodies, one for each of the estates, and these bodies voted as a whole (*par ordre*). Thus there were three votes, and on all matters touching the question of privilege the vote was always two to one, the first and second privileged estates against the unprivileged third estate. The French monarchy thus yielded to its nobles in seeking to remedy the evils of a still-feudal society by an anach-

¹³Salvemini, p. 41.

¹⁴See Vol. I, pp. 555 f.

ronistic feudal assembly. Its decision turned out to be an opportunity for the bourgeoisie, with the help of workers, peasants, and liberal members of the nobility and clergy, to make a revolution.

VOTING BY ORDER OR BY HEAD

The government in calling for a meeting of the Estates-General set in motion currents of public opinion that had no normal methods of expression. This government was itself not strong, and it had no policy. It undertook in no way to direct opinion along lines it would have been willing to support. In calling for elections for an Estates-General and for the preparation of lists of grievances to be considered at such a meeting, the monarchy made it appear to its peasantry that its desires for reform were sincere. Had it been willing to meet its middle classes halfway with a program of limited monarchy and modification of the medieval class structure, there need not have been a French Revolution. The French could then have confirmed the emphasis which the English and Americans, to mention no others, had given to the western tradition. The king had yielded to his nobles in summoning the Estates-General. But he and his ministers had every reason to know that to leave the organization of this institution unchanged, that is, to permit the two privileged orders to outvote the third estate on all essential matters, was to preserve the status quo. Under these circumstances there would be no destruction of feudalism or of class privilege. It was doubtful if there would be any real solution to the financial problem. The wishes of peasants and bourgeoisie would thus be frustrated. The monarchy would be tied to political, economic, and social reaction. This the bourgeoisie was determined if at all possible not to let happen. They would have to reorganize the Estates-General if they were to lead the nation in a general reform. The Estates would have to meet as a single body voting by head (*par tête*), instead of meeting in three bodies voting by order. It was numbers rather than status that now mattered. In order, moreover, to have a majority the third estate would have to have as many representatives as the first and second estates combined. Then, joined by liberal members of the nobility and clergy, the third estate could carry through a reform.

THE INCAPACITY OF THE MONARCHY

The monarchy was unwilling to go this far in advance. After considerable delay it did announce that the third estate was to have twice as many representatives as the other two, but it did not change the method of voting, so that the concession was stultifying. The inability of the monarchy to associate itself now and later with the progressive factor in the nation, leaders who represented the great majority of its subjects, meant that the reform in France could not be accomplished peacefully. If things were to be improved, the bourgeoisie would have to take over the leadership, and if it were threatened with force by the king and his aristocratic allies,

then it would have to use force in return. In this way it may be said that the monarchy was responsible for the violence of the Revolution and for its termination in terror and military dictatorship.

ELECTIONS FOR THE ESTATES-GENERAL

The elections for the Estates-General in the spring of 1789 were accompanied by much disorder, occasioned by a crop failure in 1788 that brought famine to many parts of France. Unemployment in the larger towns increased this restlessness. The bourgeoisie set out to capture as their representatives, and did capture, the electoral assemblies of the third estate, and chose lawyers, not peasants. Their program had already been worked out in detail in a large pamphlet literature published between 1787-1789. Its tone and contents may be gathered from one of the most important of these pamphlets, *What Is the Third Estate?* written by the Abbé Sievès, a canon of Chartres. It appeared in January, 1789. Sievès begins his pamphlet by asking, "What is the third estate?" "Everything," he answers. "What has it been heretofore in the political order? Nothing. . . . What does it demand? To become something therein." Later in the pamphlet he indicates what he means by saying that the third estate wishes to be something. "It wishes to have real representatives in the Estates General, that is to say, deputies drawn from its order, who are competent to be interpreters of its will and defenders of its interests. But what will it avail it to be present at the Estates General if the predominating interest there is contrary to its own! Its presence would only consecrate the oppression of which it would be the eternal victim. Thus, it is indeed certain that it cannot come to vote at the Estates General unless it is to have in that body an influence at least equal to that of the privileged classes; and it demands a number of representatives equal to that of the first two orders together. Finally, this equality of representation would become completely illusory if every chamber voted separately. The third estate demands, then, that votes be taken by head and not by order. This is the essence of these claims so alarming to the privileged classes, because they believed that thereby the reform of abuses would become inevitable. The real intention of the third estate is to have an influence in the Estates General equal to that of the privileged classes. I repeat, can it ask less? And is it not clear that if its influence therein is less than equality, it cannot be expected to emerge from its political nullity and become something?" "The third estate must perceive in the trend of opinions and circumstances that it can hope for nothing except from its own enlightenment and courage. Reason and justice are in its favor; . . . there is no longer time to work for the conciliation of parties. What accord can be anticipated between the energy of the oppressed and the rage of the oppressors? . . . How easy it would be to dispense with the privileged classes! How difficult to induce them to be citizens."¹⁵

¹⁵J. H. Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, pp. 42, 46, 51.

The National Constituent Assembly (1789-1791)

THE EARLY MEETINGS OF THE ESTATES-GENERAL

The newly elected members of the Estates-General came to Versailles at the end of April, 1789, with a mandate against absolute government and for the granting of taxes by the Estates-General with collection by elected officials. The representatives of the third estate came in the spirit of Siéyès, determined under no circumstances to constitute themselves a third estate. This meant that at the very start they had to defy the orders of the king. They refused at first to verify their credentials as a separate order, urging upon the other two estates joint verification as a single body. This was refused by the clergy and nobles, but by 13 June some of the parish priests came over from the first estate. On the 17th, without waiting for royal consent, the third estate constituted itself a National Assembly, later to be called from its function as a maker of France's first written constitution the National Constituent Assembly. On the 19th the clergy decided to join. The crown then decided it would have to call a halt to this rebellious procedure by holding a royal session on the 23rd. When the Assembly was shut out of its meeting place on the 20th it adjourned to an indoor tennis court and took an oath "not to separate, and to reassemble whenever circumstances require."¹⁶ When, at the close of the royal session on the 23rd, Louis XVI ordered the delegates to separate and continue their deliberations as separate estates, the first and second estates departed, but the third refused to budge. When a royal officer ordered them out he was told by one member that "the nation when assembled cannot be given orders," and by another that "we will not leave except by force of the bayonet."¹⁷ When guards failed to disperse the assembly the king was unwilling to try force further. "Oh well," he said, "the devil with it—let them stay." Four days later, after a letter from the king, those nobles and clergy who had not yet joined the assembly did so, and the Estates-General became the National Constituent Assembly. "The Revolution is over!" wrote one Frenchman. "It will not have cost one drop of blood."¹⁸

THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE

It cost a great deal of blood in Paris on 14 July, 1789. Artisans and small shopkeepers, joined by other elements of the populace, and paid by bankers and wealthy merchants, made an attack upon the Bastille, an ancient royal prison and symbol of despotism. There they wished to secure arms for the defense of the victory the third estate had so far achieved. For by the 14th the king, under pressure from the aristocracy, had decided to use

¹⁶Stewart, p. 88.

¹⁷G. Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, trans. R. R. Palmer, p. 88.

¹⁸Madelin, p. 66.

force if necessary to send the National Assembly home.¹⁹ Loyal troops were summoned to the neighborhood of Versailles and Paris, and the finance minister, the banker Necker, was dismissed (11th). These events threw Paris and subsequently all France into consternation and disorder. The country was already jittery and obstreperous because of an economic crisis. Now absolutism and aristocracy seemed willing, if necessary, to take arms against the third estate. It was already suspected by many that the nobles, in league with the foreigner, were about to introduce an invasion. Perhaps a show of force on the part of the people would bring the government and the privileged classes to their senses. The Bastille fell and was subsequently destroyed. Members of the attacking mob and some of the garrison were killed. Several heads of the "enemies of the people" were put on pikes and paraded. For the moment the insurrection succeeded, for on the following day the king announced in person before the Assembly that he was removing the troops from Paris and Versailles. On the 16th Necker was put back in office, and on the 17th the king went to Paris and put on the tricolor cockade, the new insigne of the citizen militia of Paris. The threat of counter-revolution seemed to have been successfully met. A month or so later a member of the Parisian government remarked as he passed the Tuileries, the royal residence in Paris, "When the king is living there, this business may be settled. It was a great error on July 17 not to keep him in Paris. The king's place of residence should be in the capital."²⁰

FRANCE AFTER THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE

Louis XVI had been out hunting all day the 14th. When informed the next day of what had happened, he said, "This is a revolt." "No Sire," his informant told him, "it is a revolution." After what was called a second fit, or dose, of revolution, Louis and his family were brought to the Tuileries to live on 6 October, 1789. A second dose of revolution was thought necessary because the king and aristocracy could not adjust themselves to events throughout France and in the Assembly from 14 July through August. The middle classes took over the reigns of self-government and protection in all the leading towns. The peasantry destroyed with a final blow the feudal system. The Assembly, on the night of 4 August, abolished in law what remained of the feudal system and, later in the month, drafted, as a preface to the new constitution, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The Declaration was to be a summary of the thought of the Enlightenment and its transformation into law. It turned out to be the most complete and concise statement made to date of the individualistic tradition of the West, and there-

¹⁹"At the very moment of resigning themselves to unification of the orders, they [king and aristocracy] decided to resort to force to restore the obedience of the third estate. . . . The Court certainly intended to dissolve the Estates." Lefebvre, pp. 90-91.

²⁰Lefebvre, p. 191.

fore an early formulation of the western tradition. For oppressed peoples in Europe and throughout the world it was to be and continues to be a charter of liberation. It not only proclaims the doctrine of the free individual but implies that this freedom individuals must realize together in society.

PEASANT INSURRECTION

It is rather extraordinary to observe how the French, stimulated by the stubborn resistance of the third estate and by the fall of the Bastille, almost spontaneously dissolved into self-governing units protected by citizen militias or national guards, and joined together again in a loose, informal federation. The French peasant now took it for granted that the remnants of the feudal and manorial systems would be destroyed. Like his fellow citizens in the towns he was in many regions struck by a "great fear" because of the shortage in food supplies, the violence of beggars and brigands, and the potential dangers of further aristocratic conspiracy with the enemies of the people. Even before 14 July, and thereafter throughout the summer, he had taken care in regular insurrections to make sure, by the destruction of chateaux, manor houses, and manorial rolls if necessary, of the destruction of feudalism. There were at least four major insurrections in various parts of the country.²¹

4 AUGUST, 1789, AND THE FINAL ABOLITION OF FEUDALISM

Under these circumstances the Assembly itself began to act. On the evening of 3 August a group of deputies decided "to use [on the following day] a kind of magic by which . . . we would obliterate the privileges of classes, provinces, towns and corporations. . . . Only our Committee was in the secret." The plan was to take advantage of the tense mood and taut feelings of the country, and of the noble feelings which humanitarianism, sentimentalism, and revolution had inspired. These emotions would be aroused in order to get the privileged groups themselves to abandon their favored treatment. At the opening of the session on the evening of the 4th the vicomte de Noailles proposed, since the peasants "have thought themselves bound to take arms against the use of force, and today . . . are running entirely unchecked," that the Assembly should decree "equality of taxation and redemption of manorial dues by money payments." Serfdom, however, and all the forced labor and incidents of serfdom were to go without compensation. Another noble, the duc d'Aiguillon, explained the matter of compensation. "We should face," he said, "the fact that the rights in question are a form of property and that all property is sacred. But they are burdensome to the people, and all agree on the continual hardship which they cause. . . . We can hardly ask a renunciation pure and simple of the manorial rights. . . . Equity prevents our demand-

²¹See Lefebvre, "The Peasant Revolution," *op. cit.*, pp. 131-155.

ing the surrender of any property without just indemnity to the owner who foregoes his own convenience for the public advantage.”²² The duke proposed that the abolition of all dues and services should be compensated for. It was the vicomte de Noailles whom the Assembly supported after a night of competitive generosity and enthusiasm that sometimes involved giving away the privileges of someone else.

The Assembly spent the following days (5th to 11th) reducing to precise legislation the general abolitions of the night of the 4th. These decrees begin with the very wonderful statement that “the National Assembly abolishes the feudal regime entirely.” They continue with such provisions as the following: “The exclusive right of hunting and open warrens is . . . abolished; and every proprietor has the right to destroy and to have destroyed, on his own property only, every kind of game.” “All hunting preserves . . . are likewise abolished.” “The President [of the Assembly] shall be charged with requesting the King for the recall of persons exiled and consigned to the galleys simply for hunting.” “All seigniorial courts of justice are suppressed without any indemnity.” “Tithes of every kind and dues which take the place thereof . . . are abolished.” “All perpetual ground rents, either of kind or in money, of whatever species, whatever their origin, to whatever persons they are due . . . shall be redeemable.” “Venality of judicial and municipal officers is suppressed henceforth. Justice shall be rendered gratuitously.” “Pecuniary privileges . . . in matters of taxation are abolished forever. Collection shall be made from all citizens and on all property.” “All special privileges of provinces, principalities, . . . cantons, cities, and communities of inhabitants, whether pecuniary or of any other kind, are declared abolished forever, and shall be absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen.” “All citizens may be admitted, without distinction of birth, to all ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments and offices.” “The National Assembly, in concert with the King, shall undertake the suppression of those [pensions, favors, and stipends] which are excessive.” It “decrees, that, in memory of the impressive and momentous deliberations just held for the welfare of France, a medal shall be struck, and that, as an expression of gratitude, a *Te Deum* shall be sung in all parishes and churches of the kingdom.”²³ Thus after many centuries of existence these features of the feudal and manorial systems that had caused much hardship and annoyance to the peasant, together with other features of the system of privilege, were abolished. Those that had their origin in serfdom were not to be redeemable. In any case, whether redeemable or not, the peasant simply refused to compensate his lords for their abolition. He felt that he had already paid enough in one way or another. He was finally relieved of any legal obligation to pay by a law of the Convention (1793).

²²Lefebvre, pp. 158, 163.

²³The complete document is in Stewart, pp. 107–110.

One of the great hopes expressed in the lists of grievances (*cahiers de doléances*), prepared by the assemblies electing representatives to the Estates-General, was that France might have a constitution, a written document limiting the powers of the absolute king. The Americans had been the first to draw up such a document. Almost all the political theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had said that absolute government was limited by a natural law that gave to every individual certain natural rights—inalienable or indefeasible. The chief function of government was to secure the individual in the possession of his natural rights, among which were ordinarily named life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness. The American Declaration of Independence had incorporated this natural-rights philosophy, and the constitutions of such states as Virginia and Massachusetts had listed them in bills of rights that were reaffirmed in the first amendments to the federal constitution of the United States.²⁴ These things were perfectly well known to the French National Constituent Assembly. When they began to consider a constitution the American ambassador was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and a friend of Lafayette, with whom he discussed these matters. The deputies of the Assembly decided to preface their new constitution with a similar declaration, which they called a Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, another reaffirmation of western faith. It begins with the statement that “ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes and of the corruption of governments,” proclaims these rights “natural, inalienable and sacred,” and expresses the hope that their formulation may result in governments and citizens more conscious of their respective rights, duties, and limitations. “Accordingly, the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being the following rights of man and citizen:

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights; social distinctions may be based only upon general usefulness.
2. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no group, no individual may exercise authority not emanating expressly therefrom.
4. Liberty consists of the power to do whatever is not injurious to others; thus the enjoyment of the natural rights of every man has for its limits only those that assure other members of society the enjoyment of those same rights; such limits may be determined only by law.

²⁴See pp. 328 ff.

5. The law has the right to forbid only actions which are injurious to society. Whatever is not forbidden by law may not be prevented, and no one may be constrained to do what it does not prescribe.

6. Law is the expression of the general will; all citizens have the right to concur personally, or through their representatives, in its formation; it must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal before it, are equally admissible to all public offices, positions, and employments, according to their capacity, and without other distinction than that of virtues and talents.

7. No man may be accused, arrested, or detained except in the cases determined by law, and according to the forms prescribed thereby. Whoever solicit, expedite, or execute arbitrary orders, or have them executed, must be punished. . . .

8. The law is to establish only penalties that are absolutely and obviously necessary; and no one may be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offence and legally applied.

9. Since every man is presumed innocent until declared guilty, if arrest be deemed indispensable, all unnecessary severity for securing the person of the accused must be severely repressed by law.

10. No one is to be disquieted because of his opinions, even religious, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. Free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Consequently, every citizen may speak, write, and print freely, subject to responsibility for the abuse of such liberty in the cases determined by law.

12. The guarantee of the rights of man and citizen necessitates a public force; such a force, therefore, is instituted for the advantage of all and not for the particular benefit of those to whom it is entrusted.

13. For the maintenance of the public force and for the expenses of administration a common tax is indispensable; it must be assessed equally on all citizens in proportion to their means.

14. Citizens have the right to ascertain, by themselves or through their representatives, the necessity of the public tax, to consent to it freely, to supervise its use, and to determine its quota, assessment, payment and duration.

15. Society has the right to require of every public agent an accounting of his administration.

16. Every society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured or the separation of powers not determined has no constitution at all.

17. Since property is a sacred and inviolable right, no one may be deprived thereof unless a legally established public necessity obviously requires it, and upon condition of a just and previous indemnity."

THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN TO VERSAILLES

The king and court were unable to accept the decrees of 5–11 August, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and the early discussions on a new constitution. Louis took no action to support the Assembly by the beginning of October. In fact new troops were concentrated at Versailles, indicating further possible plans for dissolving it. Under these circumstances leaders of the third estate felt that another display of popular feeling would help to secure the new decrees. Accordingly, on 5 October six or seven thousand hungry and harassed Parisian women set out for Versailles. They were followed by 20,000 men, members of the new national guard directed by Lafayette, and others. The king promised food to a delegation of women. On the morning of the 6th a crowd broke into the palace. The intervention of Lafayette and the willingness of the king to go to Paris quieted the situation. There had been some bloodshed and more heads on pikes. A long and jubilant procession, including some members of the Assembly, accompanied the royal family back to Paris. They were, to one of the crowd, "the baker and his wife and the baker's little boy." The rest of the Assembly followed at a later date. Henceforth the Parisian populace could supervise more closely the activities of the king and the Assembly.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1791

The Assembly then went ahead to work out a constitution for the new and excited nation, to solve the financial problem, and to inaugurate a radical reorganization of the Church. Although debates on the main features of the constitution were finished early in 1790, a final draft was not finally approved by the king until 13 September, 1791, and is thus known as the Constitution of 1791. The early part of the document (Preamble and Fundamental Provisions Guaranteed by the Constitution) re-emphasized and went beyond the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. "Neither nobility," it says, "nor peerage, nor hereditary distinctions, nor distinctions of orders, nor feudal regime, nor patrimonial courts, nor any titles, denominations, or prerogatives derived therefrom, nor any order of knighthood, nor any corporations or decorations requiring proofs of nobility or implying distinctions of birth, nor any superiority other than that of public functionaries in the performance of their duties any longer exists." "Neither venality nor inheritance of any public office any longer exists." "Neither privilege nor exception to the law common to all Frenchmen any longer exists for any part of the nation or for any individual." Among the "natural and civil rights" which the constitution guarantees are

1. "Liberty to every man to come and go without being subject to arrest or detention. . . ."
2. "Liberty to every man to speak, write, print, and publish his opinions

without having his writings subject to any censorship or inspection before their publication, and to worship as he pleases.”

3. “Liberty to citizens to assemble peaceably and without arms in accordance with police regulations.”

4. “Liberty to address individually signed petitions to the constituted authorities.”

A long look into the future is taken with such a guarantee as that “a general establishment for public relief shall be created and organized to raise foundlings, relieve the infirm poor, and furnish work for the able-bodied poor who have been unable to procure it for themselves.” “Public instruction for all citizens, free of charge in those branches of education which are indispensable to all men, shall be constituted and organized. . . .”

LIMITED MONARCHY AND PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

The constitution provides for a monarchy limited by law and a unicameral legislature. The king is given a suspensive veto over all legislation lasting until “two legislatures [each of two years’ duration] following the one in which the decree was introduced have again successively presented the same decree in the same terms.” But while the king was made the “supreme head of the general administration” and “the supreme head of the army and navy” with power to appoint to the highest offices, his ministers were responsible to the Assembly, which he could not dissolve and which of course retained the power of the purse. The course of events made this Assembly the actual ruler of France. The complete decentralization undertaken spontaneously by the people after 14 July, 1789, and their self-protection with a National Guard were recognized by the constitution. The old conflicting administrative units were abolished, and France was divided into eighty-three new provinces, or *departments*, which were further subdivided into districts, cantons, and municipalities, all self-governing and provided with elected assemblies and officials. The whole judicial system was likewise reorganized and put upon an elective basis. Resort was not made at this date to an unqualified system of universal manhood suffrage. Instead only “active” citizens could vote, and active citizens were those who paid “a direct tax equal to the local value of three days’ labor.” The rest were “passive” citizens. The property qualifications for holding office were proportionately raised with the office, until “in order to be eligible to the National Assembly it shall be necessary to pay a direct tax equivalent to the value of one *marc d’argent* [silver mark] and moreover to possess some landed property.” This made voting and office holding essentially a privilege of property owners and the bourgeoisie.²⁵ Radical journalists of Paris who wished no property

²⁵There were some 4,298,360 “active” citizens out of a total population of 23–24,000,000.



qualifications for voting were outspoken. "The *marc d'argent*," wrote one, "hands France over to aristocratic government. To show how absurd this is, it is sufficient to point out that under its provisions Rousseau, Corneille and Mably would not be eligible for the Assembly, and Jesus Christ would be relegated to the *canaille* [rabble]. Active citizens are those who have taken the Bastille, they are those who till the fields; while the idlers of Church and Court are parasitic plants that should be thrown to the flames, like the barren tree in the Bible." Maximilien Robespierre, a future member of a government of terror and an advocate at this date of universal manhood suffrage, wrote: "You say that the people, who have nothing to lose, should not exercise full rights of citizenship. People who have nothing to lose! How unjust and false this insolent language sounds in the ears of truth! These people, if they live, have the means to live. And if they have such means, they possess something to lose, or to preserve. True, the coarse clothes I wear, the humble abode in which I pay for the right to live in peace, the scanty wages out of which I feed my wife and children, are not the same, I admit, as lands, houses and carriages. My possessions are worth nothing in the eyes of those who live in affluence. But they mean something to humanity. They are a form of sacred property; just as sacred, doubtless, as the resplendent possessions of the great. But what am I saying? Freedom, life, the right to justice for myself and those dear to me, the right to resist oppression, and the right to free exercise of every faculty of mind and heart—all these dear possessions, the first of these bestowed on man by nature, are confided, no less than yours, to the protection of the law. Yet you say that I have no interest in the law! And you would therefore despoil me of the part that concerns me no less than you in the administration of public affairs: for the simple reason that you are more rich than I am."²⁸

RELIGIOUS REFORMS OF THE ASSEMBLY

One of the reasons for the Reformation of the sixteenth century was the desire of rulers to take over the wealth of the Church and make of the Church a department of state. French, no less than other, medieval kings and princes had been successfully engaged in reducing its independence. It may be that the force of the Reformation in France was tempered by the fact that the crown exercised the control it did over the Church. Still the French church was independent, intolerant, and powerful enough to stimulate the wrath of the *philosophes*, and its identity with, and support of, the absolute monarchy and the privileged classes subjected it to the criticism of the National Assembly. While some of the actions of the Assembly reveal the anticlerical mentality of the *philosophes*, the main reforms undertaken were a continuation of the old, old efforts to subject the church to the state. The resistance of the Church to these reforms

²⁸Salvemini, pp. 161, 207.

brought a subsequent attempt to destroy it and make the religion of the *philosophes* prevail.²⁷

ABOLITION OF MONASTIC ORDERS AND CONFISCATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

The Assembly, in a decree of 13 February, 1790, struck a sharp blow at asceticism in recognizing "no longer . . . monastic vows of persons of either sex. Accordingly, the regular orders and congregations in which such vows have been taken are and shall remain suppressed in France, and no similar ones may be established henceforth." Exception is made "for the present with regard to houses in charge of public education and charitable establishments." This work of secularization was continued when the Assembly, considering the property of the Church not so sacred, decided to take it over, sell it, and use the proceeds to reduce the public debt and get rid of the threat of bankruptcy. The Assembly decreed (2 November, 1789) that "all ecclesiastical property is at the disposal of the nation, upon condition of providing in a suitable manner for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the relief of the poor."²⁸ This property was then used as the security for issues of what became new paper money (*assignats*).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "ASSIGNATS"

Such an extraordinary step reveals the secular temper of the French bourgeoisie. Religion was a matter of politics and economics. The confiscated church lands were put up for sale and purchased by peasants and middle classes. A sufficient amount was sold to help to create a nation of small peasant proprietors, who, having already helped to destroy the feudal system, now became staunch supporters of the Revolution responsible for an increase in their lands. What the peasants acquired they were determined to keep. In this way lovely Gothic chapels of monasteries became peasant barns, and the cells of monks dwelling places of the homeless. The issue of paper money on the security of confiscated church lands meant that the revolution was to develop in an increasingly tense atmosphere. The amount of *assignats* issued increased so much that finally they became worthless and had to be repudiated. In the midst of revolution, France also had to undergo the hardship of a radical inflation.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY

The sequestration of church property helped to make of the clergy a counterrevolutionary force. The reorganization of the Church in accordance with the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," without negotiating with the papacy, completed this development. The old unequal diocesan organization of France was now destroyed. Each new *department* was to

²⁷See pp. 369 ff.

²⁸Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, p. 158.

be a diocese, and the bishops and the parish clergy were to be elected. "The new bishop may not apply to the Pope for confirmation but shall write to him as the Visible Head of the Universal Church." The newly elected clergy were paid by the state, since the Church had lost its property, and the provisions for salaries abolished the old inequality in income between higher clergy and parish priests. The salaries of bishops varied from 12,000 to 50,000 livres (francs), depending upon the size of the episcopal city, while the salaries of parish priests varied similarly from 1200 to 6000 livres. In November, 1790, the Assembly felt it necessary to require all clergy to take an oath supporting the changes introduced by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The oath required the clergy "to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, and to maintain with all their power the Constitution decreed by the National Assembly." Those refusing to take, and those recanting, their oath were to be punished as "rebels resisting the law" and "disturbers of public order." This legislation and those who took the oath were condemned by Rome. Those who did take it (the "juring" as opposed to the "nonjuring" clergy) were perhaps from one-half to three-fifths of all the clergy.²⁹ In the minds of all "patriotic" citizens the nonjurors were a counterrevolutionary force, as of course they were, who, together with the nobles and the king, were potential, if not actual, conspirators against the success of the new regime. In the minds of many of the faithful they were to become heroes and martyrs.

THE END OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

This legislation was a serious offense to the king, none too happy over his confinement in Paris after 6 October, 1789. Since the fall of the Bastille the aristocracy had begun to leave France (the *émigrés*) and to think of organizing Europe to put down the Revolution. The king and queen thought also of escaping the country and joining the counter-revolutionary forces. Marie Antoinette was, after all, an imperial Hapsburg princess. The Assembly and the populace of Paris were therefore alert to the possibility of their escape. On 20 June, 1791, the king and royal family, after months of planning, did manage to leave the city on their way to the frontier. But they were stopped at Varennes on the following day and brought back to Paris. In their absence the Parisians had hung a card with "House to Let" on the palace door. After their return, the Tuileries was closely watched by the national guard, its doors kept shut. "The king was safe, but the throne was lost."³⁰ Confronted with this attempted desertion, the Assembly suspended the king from office for three months. Thus the National Constituent Assembly gave way to the new Legislative Assembly under the new constitution, and under circum-

²⁹See A. Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, pp. 18 ff. Crane Brinton's figure (*Decade of Revolution*) is 52-55%.

³⁰Madelin, p. 194.

stances making France more of a republic than a monarchy. In his proclamation ending the Assembly (28 September, 1791) the restored monarch, Louis, "by the grace of God and the Constitutional Law of the State, King of the French," announced: "I have accepted the Constitution; I shall exert every effort to maintain it and to have it enforced. The Revolution is over."³¹

The Legislative Assembly (1791-1792)

THE REVOLUTION AND WAR

It was not, of course, over. It was not over because the Legislative Assembly managed to get involved in war, and war, when combined with counterrevolution, enabled the more radical leaders of the Revolution to try to carry it beyond a bourgeois to a democratic phase, one that would bring benefits not only to the middle but to the working classes. It is easy and true to say that it was likely from the beginning that revolutionary France would become involved in war with Europe. War brings additional power to ruling groups and serves usually to unify the warring country against the enemy. For a while the king and queen were interested in war, or the serious threat of invasion from without, as a means to enhance their waning power and bring the country once more under a monarchy that might thus find it possible to undo the Revolution. But after the failure of the escape of 20 June, 1791, the king and queen actually wished to precipitate an invasion of European powers that would defeat revolutionary France, restore the monarchy to its ancient absolute position, and undo the revolutionary legislation of the past two years. In this they were supported by the *émigrés* who had left France for the Austrian Netherlands, the German principalities on the left bank of the Rhine, and elsewhere to build up military contingents for the armies of European monarchs. After the defeat of their fellow countrymen, they intended to resume, together with their property and privileges, their former places in society. They joined the royal family in bringing pressure on European princes to intervene.

In taking over the property of the Church and nationalizing its organization, the National Constituent Assembly had not only antagonized the clergy (at least half, including nearly all the upper clergy); it had antagonized the papacy and those Catholic powers which supported it. There can be no doubt therefore that the French church contained a large element which welcomed a foreign invasion that would restore it to its former position. The successful French Revolution confronted the rest of Europe with the prospect sooner or later of a similar experience. When revolution came, France had been a leader and model for European states

³¹Stewart, p. 263.

for some two centuries. The societies of southern, central, eastern, and Scandinavian Europe were similar to French society before 1789; they were absolute states, built upon aristocratic classes which in turn were supported by peasant-serfs cultivating the large estates of the nobles. Even to a greater extent than in France there was feudalism to be destroyed, as well as absolute monarchy. The enlightened despots had not succeeded in sufficiently modernizing their states. It was understandable, therefore, if the conservative and reactionary states of Europe should respond to the call of the French king and queen imprisoned in the Tuileries, heeding the French nobles and clergy outside and inside the kingdom, and planning through invasion to restore the Old Regime in France to secure their own thrones from revolution.

THE PARTIES IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Any invasion of a foreign power would strengthen the government. In the fall of 1791 that government was a limited monarchy whose king was thoroughly distrusted by all revolutionary parties. In the new Legislative Assembly the struggle for power was between the liberal monarchists (*Feuillants*), who wished to give the Constitution of 1791 a thorough trial, and a group of republicans representing the department of the Gironde (*Girondins*) and Paris (*Jacobins*) no longer interested in the monarchy. The course of events put the republicans in power, brought on the war, and by invalidating the Constitution of 1791 made necessary the summoning of a new body to make a new republican constitution (the Convention, 1792-1795).

DANTON AND ROBESPIERRE ON WAR

The world today is quite familiar with a Communist revolution become aggressive in not only an ideological but also a positive, military sense. The French Revolution had become aggressive not only as an ideological threat to the European Old Regime but in the sense that it became quite willing to spread the principles of the revolution and enlarge the French state, by force if necessary. When challenged by Europe, the French Revolution thus became tied up with French nationalism in a way that Russian communism has become associated with Russian nationalism, and other communisms with other nationalisms. There is much to be learned by way of analogy between the French and Russian Revolutions.³² The members of the National Constituent Assembly with all sincerity inserted into their constitution the provision that "the French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view of making conquests, and it will never use its forces against the liberty of any people." But the leaders soon thought of spreading the blessings of the Revolution by force if necessary. The violent leader of the Parisians, Danton, could speak of

³²See Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, and I. Deutscher, *Stalin*.

flinging "down to the kings the head of a king as a gage of battle." Brissot, the leader of the Girondins in the Assembly, talked about "a crusade whose aim is nobler and holier than the medieval crusades, a crusade on behalf of universal liberty." He thought that war would be "a triumphant progress of revolutionary doctrine throughout the countries of Europe."³³ In answer to Danton, Robespierre first paraphrased this view: "Our generals . . . are to be missionaries of the Constitution; our camps are to be schools of public law; and the satellites of foreign princes, far from putting obstacles in the way of this plan, will fly to meet us, not to repel us by force, but to sit at our feet and to listen to the gospel of freedom." To his own paraphrase Robespierre, an opponent of the war, then made an answer: "No one likes an armed missionary and no more extravagant idea ever sprang from the head of a politician than to suppose that one people has only to enter another's territory with arms in its hands to make the latter adopt its laws and its constitution. . . . Before the influences of our revolution can be felt abroad, it must be fully established at home. To expect to give freedom to foreign nations before we have achieved it ourselves is a sure way to slavery, both for France and for the world. . . . The Declaration of Rights is not like the sun's rays, which in one moment illumine the whole earth: it is no thunderbolt, to strike down a thousand thrones. It is easier to inscribe it on paper, or to engrave it on brass than to retrace its sacred characters in the hearts of men, from which they have been erased by ignorance, passion, and despotism."³⁴

THE FRENCH DECLARATION OF WAR

As early as 27 August, 1791, the Holy Roman emperor and the king of Prussia, in response to appeals of *émigrés*, had declared that the position of Louis XVI was "a matter of common concern to all the sovereigns of Europe. They hope that the sovereigns of Europe can cooperate in employing in proportion to their forces the most effective means for enabling the King of France to consolidate with complete freedom the foundations of a monarchical government, equally suited to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation." On 20 April, 1792, the Legislative Assembly declared war against Austria, an ally of Prussia, with only seven votes against.

THE COMMUNE AND THE END OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The war was slow in getting started and was at first disastrous for France. It precipitated measures against counterrevolutionary groups and the king, who was actually conducting traitorous negotiations with the enemy. On 25 July the commander of the Austro-Prussian forces, the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, in a manifesto from his headquarters at Coblenz made it quite clear what Frenchmen were to expect in case of

³³J. M. Thompson, *The French Revolution*, p. 280.

³⁴J. M. Thompson, *Robespierre*, p. 267.

defeat. The emperor and king of Prussia wanted "to terminate anarchy in the interior of France, to check attacks on the Throne and the Church . . . to give the king the security and liberty of which he is deprived and to enable him to exercise the legitimate authority which is his due." Those who resist the invading armies are to be punished unmercifully "according to the vigor of the law of war, and their houses demolished or burned." Should Paris resist, those responsible are to be held "personally responsible with their lives for whatever may happen, to be punished by military law, without hope of pardon. If any harm is perpetrated on the King or Queen or Royal family, the allies . . . will exact an exemplary and ever-memorable vengeance thereon by delivering the city of Paris to military punishment and total destruction, and the rebels who are guilty of outrages, to the punishment they deserve." These threats combined with the counterrevolutionary conduct of the king and queen led to the formation of a new revolutionary government for Paris called the Commune, and an attack by the mob on the royal family in the Tuileries on 10 August. The National Guards at the palace refused to fire on the attackers, but not so the Swiss Guards, who killed some four hundred of the crowd and lost some eight hundred in turn. The government of the limited monarchy of the Constitution of 1791 had quite obviously collapsed before the attack inspired by the Commune. The king and queen sought refuge from the mob in the Assembly. The king was suspended from office until a new assembly, the Convention, could be elected. The king and the royal family were turned over to the Commune to be imprisoned in the Temple. Danton became the leading spirit in an emergency council appointed to exercise the suspended executive power. On 11 August elections by universal manhood suffrage were called for the Convention.

THE DEMAND FOR REVENGE FOR 10 AUGUST

The elections were held in the midst of military reverses, which inspired further fear of conspiracies by traitors and counterrevolutionaries, and led to the massacres of early September at Paris and in some of the provincial cities. The firing of the Swiss Guards upon those who attacked the Tuileries on 10 August led the violent press to cry for revenge. One of the most violent, Marat, the editor of the paper *Friend of the People*, wrote in his sheet on 11 August: "Your enemies will not spare you, if they have their way. No one abhors bloodshed more than I do, but if you do not want a veritable sea of blood, you must exact a few drops yourselves. To reconcile the public welfare with the needs of humanity, I propose that you decimate the counter-revolutionary members of the Commune, the magistrature, the departments and the National Assembly." He wanted revenge on the remaining Swiss Guards. On the 19th he wrote: "What is the people's duty? . . . The people have two ways only open to them. The first is to bring the traitors held in the Abbaye prison to

judgment, to surround the courts and the Assembly, and, if the accused are absolved, to massacre them without more ado. . . . The other way is safer and more wise; it is to go armed to the Abbaye, drag out the traitors, in particular the Swiss officers and their accomplices, and put them to the sword. What madness to bring them to trial. The trial has already taken place! You have seized them with arms in their hands, in the act of fighting against the nation; you have killed the rank and file; why do you spare the officers, who are incomparably more guilty?"³⁵

THE SEPTEMBER MASSACRES

The Commune leaders decided by 23 August to kill the prisoners in the Paris jails in revenge for 10 August and as a way of cleaning out royalists, émigré families, priests, and other suspected counterrevolutionaries. This, also, to provide a suitably violent atmosphere to influence the elections for the Convention. Massacres began on 2 September with the undoing of some twenty priests being taken to the Abbaye prison. One hundred and twenty-two prisoners of the Abbaye were slaughtered that night.³⁶ At the Carmes prison, "All the imprisoned priests were put to death; more than two hundred thieves and debtors were murdered at the Chatelet, and a number more including the queen's friend, the Princess de Lomballe, at La Force."³⁷ On 3 September at the Bicêtre reformatory the 160 victims were boys and girls. Finally, on the morning of September 4, 'popular justice' was at last appeased by the murder of thirty-five female inmates of the Salpêtrière hospital. By the 5th there had been 1,100 massacred—300 priests, 150 royalists implicated in the affair of August 10, 50 Suisses, and 600 common criminals." A Committee of Vigilance of the Commune took care that the bodies were "removed from Paris and buried in deep trenches well covered with earth; that all bloodstains were to be washed with water and vinegar, then sprinkled with sand, and that, above all, the work was to be carried out with speed and no trace of blood allowed to remain."³⁸

The Convention (1792-1795)

THE ABOLITION OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

At the first official meeting of the Convention on 21 September, it was decreed by unanimous vote that "the monarchy be abolished in France." France was then, at least for the time being, a democratic republic governed by a unicameral legislature and the provisional Executive Commit-

³⁵Salvemini, p. 301.

³⁶I am following Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 271 ff.

³⁷Her head was severed from her body, stuck on a pike, and paraded by a jeering mob before the queen's window at the Temple.

³⁸Salvemini, p. 314.

tee that had been set up after 10 August, 1792. This Convention would have to draw up a new constitution to determine the precise form of the republic.

THE REVOLUTION AND AGGRESSIVE WAR

It was unlikely, however, that under the circumstances a democratic government could be set up that would go on dealing with the problems of reform. First of all, France was at war in the defense of her Revolution. Indeed, the revolutionary army had managed to take the offensive. After the conquest of Belgium in October and November the Convention declared that "it would accord fraternity and aid to all peoples who should wish to recover their liberty." In December, after the conquest of Savoy, it was announced that France would treat as "enemies the peoples who, refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to preserve, recall, or treat with the prince(s) and the privileged castes," and that "having consulted the archives of nature, France could have no frontiers but the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine." Revolutionary France at war meant the spread of the Revolution and the enlargement of the country. Dutch and English protests against the expansion northward to the Rhine led to declarations of war on Holland and England in February. Thereafter Spain, the Kingdom of Sardinia, and the Holy Roman Empire entered the coalition against France. The Convention had taken on the leading powers of central and western Europe, and the prestige of the Revolution came to be tied up with successful aggression as well as defense against counterrevolution. The enthusiasm which new reforms inspired became infused with the pride of military victory. A new spirit of patriotism stirred the hearts of most Frenchmen. By August, 1793, the whole nation was summoned to aid in the military effort, "the first complete wartime mobilization of a nation in modern history." "Henceforth," the summons reads, "until the enemies have been driven from the territory of the Republic, the French people are in permanent requisition for army service. The young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothes, and serve in the hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the old men shall repair to the public places to stimulate the courage of the warriors and preach the unity of the Republic and hatred of kings."³⁹

FRENCH CIVIL WAR

While facing a coalition of the leading powers of Europe, the Republic was by no means a unity. The reforms of the National Constituent Assembly created domestic enemies. The nobles who had not, and the families of those who had, emigrated were ready to restore the Old Regime if possible. The nonjuring clergy were active promoters of counterrevo-

³⁹Stewart, p. 472.

lution in provinces where, as in La Vendée, revolt broke out. The Girondins in the Convention who represented the provinces did not like the Jacobins who represented Paris and used the mob on short notice to carry the Revolution to extremes. The Jacobins, moreover, wished to see a strong, centralized government created in order to make France equal to her task; the Girondins, on the contrary, sensitive to what in a former day would be called feudal localism, wanted a decentralized government. When they were eventually expelled from the Convention they went home to promote rebellion. France then had to deal with civil as well as foreign war.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE

Some also wanted to go beyond the limits the Revolution had so far set up. The Parisian workingmen and small shopkeepers upon whom the leaders depended for violent measures were restive under the hardships created by inflated prices, low wages, and short supplies. They lacked sympathy with the kind of economic freedom preached by bourgeois theorists, and wanted the state to intervene to protect them from the unpredictable hazards of economic life. Among the leaders themselves there were a few who felt that the Revolution had yet to reach the high moral level set by the *philosophes*. It had not caused all Frenchmen to glow with, and exhibit the fruits of, revolutionary virtue. The kingdom of man lacked spiritual drive, and progress was too much confined to material gain. Among such leaders the chief was Maximilien Robespierre, a lawyer who had come to the National Constituent Assembly from Arras, and whom we have met advocating universal manhood suffrage in the National Constituent Assembly and opposing the war in the Legislative Assembly.⁴⁰ He now represented Paris in the Convention. As a young man he had read all the *philosophes* and had met Rousseau, who told him what virtue was. He had memorized hundreds of pages of the Master and always kept a copy of the *Social Contract* in his desk. He it was, a trim little man in elegant clothes, who kept the assemblies reminded of the most advanced principles of revolution. A preacher and a prophet, he turned out to be something of a Puritan ("this new Cromwell"), quite willing to use persecution and terror to save the Revolution and usher in the kingdom of man. The character of his revolutionary idealism can be read in his "Report" of 5 February, 1794, long after the Jacobin party had won its supremacy, on the principles of political morality that should guide the National Convention in the internal administration of the Republic. Here he says that the aim of the Revolution is "the peaceful enjoyment of liberty and equality, and the reign of that eternal justice whose laws are engraved, not on marble or stone, but in the hearts of everyman, whether of the slave who forgets them, or of the tyrant who denies their truth.

⁴⁰See pp. 351, 356.

We desire . . . an order of things in which all base and cruel feelings are suppressed, and all the beneficent and generous sentiments evoked by the laws; in which ambition means the desire to merit honour, and to serve one's country; in which rank is the offspring of equality; in which the citizen obeys the magistrate, the magistrate the people, and the people the rule of justice; in which the country guarantees the well being of every citizen, and every citizen is proud to share in the glory and prosperity of the country; in which every soul grows greater by the constant sharing of republican sentiments, and by the endeavour to win the respect of a great people; in which liberty is adorned by the arts it ennobles, and commerce is a source of public wealth, not merely of the monstrous opulence of a few households. We want to substitute, in our country, morality for egoism, honesty for love of honour, principles for conventions, duties for decorum, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, the fear of vice for the dread of unimportance; we want to substitute pride for insolence, magnanimity for vanity, the love of glory for the love of gold; we want to replace 'good company' by good character, intrigue by merit, wit by genius, brilliance by truth, and the dullness of debauch by the charm of happiness. For the pettiness of the so-called great we would substitute the full stature of humanity; in place of an easy-going, frivolous, and discontented people create one that is happy, powerful, and stouthearted; and replace the vices and follies of the monarchy by the virtues and the amazing achievements of the Republic." These things can be accomplished in republican France as they were in the ancient world if the citizens possess public virtue, that is, "love of one's country and of its laws." "It was that which accomplished such miracles in Greece and Rome, and which can produce in republican France results still more astonishing. Why so? Because French democracy is reinforced with something which was missing from the democracies of the ancient world: the French are the first people in world history to establish a real democracy, by inviting all men to share equality, and the full rights of citizenship." Equality and virtue are to be supported by taking "every measure that tends to arouse love of the country, to purify morality, to edify souls, and to direct the passions of the human heart towards the public welfare." "A bad man, a bad citizen and a corrupter of morals are all counter-revolutionists." "Virtue is a natural quality of the people," and in normal peaceful times "a wise government will 'trust the people, and be severe upon its own agents.'" But in time of war, external and internal, it is necessary to "manage the people by argument and the enemies of the people by intimidation [*terreur*]." "If the basis of popular government in time of peace is virtue, its basis in a time of revolution is both virtue and intimidation—virtue, without which intimidation is disastrous, and intimidation, without which virtue has no power." "Intimidation is merely justice—prompt, severe, and inflexible. It is therefore an emanation of virtue, and results from the application of democracy to the most pressing needs of the

country.”⁴¹ Obviously this intimidation, or terror, is related to Rousseau’s “forcing men to be free.” It is ordinarily called tyranny. It may be argued that tyranny is sometimes necessary to defend a revolution, but it is frightening to have a self-confessed and self-righteous democrat be so callous and certain about it.

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI

At the time he made this speech Robespierre was a member of a collective dictatorship, the Committee of Public Safety, consisting at first of nine, and later twelve members. Its power rested upon a party, the Jacobin party, which had destroyed its opponents and come into almost complete control of the Convention. It had destroyed its first opponents, the Girondins, in early June, 1793, after having defeated them in the Convention on the issue of what to do with Louis XVI. The Girondins wanted, by and large, to save the king from death; the Jacobins wanted an immediate execution—some, like Robespierre, without trial. He told the Convention on 3 December, 1792: “This is no question of a trial; Louis is not a defendant; you are not judges. You are not, and cannot be, anything but statesmen, and the people’s representatives. You have not to give a verdict for or against an individual, but to adopt a measure of public safety, to safeguard the future of the nation. A dethroned king is a lasting menace to a republican government: if anything can make him more dangerous, it is to waste time discussing your competence, or his fate. Louis cannot be tried, for he has already been tried and convicted by the institution of the Republic; even his crimes are, from this point of view, irrelevant. There is no constitution, no law, no pact, to which he can appeal. An insurrection such as that of August 10 leaves nothing standing but the law of nature and the safety of the people. . . . If we fall back upon questions of form, it is because we have no principles; if we make a point of scruples . . . it is because we lack energy; we make a show of humanity only because we are not really humane; we reverence the shadow of a king only because we have not learned to respect the people; and if we have a soft spot for our oppressors, it is only because we have no pity for the oppressed.”⁴² For weeks upon end the case was debated. Additional incriminating evidence of Louis’s counterrevolutionary activity was found in the Tuileries. The king was brought before the Convention to answer personally for his crimes. There was almost unanimous agreement on his guilt when a vote was taken on 14 January, 1793, (638 out of 748). On the 17th the deputies finished voting on what the penalty should be. Three hundred sixty-one out of 721 voted for death without qualification, and seventy-two for death with reprieve. On the 19th a vote was taken on the question of reprieve, with 380 against and 310 for. “Citizen Capet” went to the guillotine on the 21st. He protested

⁴¹Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 450–451.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pp. 298–299.

his innocence to the people and said to those who fastened him down, "I hope that my blood may secure the happiness of the French people." When his head was shown to them they shouted *Vive la nation*, and "many danced round the guillotine, singing the Marseillaise." He was buried the same day in a grave ten feet deep, "as though to bury the Bourbon monarchy beyond hope of resurrection."⁴³

THE JACOBIN FACTIONS

The expulsion of the Girondists from the Convention on 2 June, 1793 (compare Cromwell's expulsion of the Presbyterians to form the Rump Parliament⁴⁴), left the Jacobins in power. Henceforth the internal history of the Convention was a struggle between Jacobin factions for the control of the government. The dominant bourgeois group which Robespierre represented was first opposed by the more radical leaders of the Parisian commune, to whom the government did not go far enough in laying the foundations of economic and social as well as political democracy. It was then opposed by the followers of Danton, who, after the war turned in the French favor, thought that methods of terror and the guillotine were no longer necessary. Both these groups were destroyed by the Robespierre faction (March–April, 1794), which itself was liquidated in July, 1794, after having carried the government of the Terror (June, 1793–July, 1794) to fanatically cruel heights.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TERROR

The government of the Terror rested first of all upon a Convention whose membership was gradually restricted until finally it consisted of those supporting the party of Robespierre. Its executive was the Committee of Public Safety, entrusted with the salvation of the nation from foreign intervention and counterrevolution. Its police agency was the Committee of General Security. Its special court for dealing with all foes and suspected foes of the Revolution (identified with the ruling faction) was the Revolutionary Tribunal, and its symbol of revolutionary justice was the guillotine, set up in the Place de la Revolution. This government had to raise, equip, and provision the revolutionary armies, which began to extend French frontiers again in 1794. To keep the army in line political agents were sent from the central government (Deputies on Mission). To defeat the actual rebellion in southern and western France special internal revolutionary armies had to be organized.

THE JACOBIN CLUBS

To meet all the demands upon the nation the Convention destroyed the decentralized administration set up by the National Constituent Assembly for a new centralized one held in line by special commissioners sent out

⁴³Thompson, *French Revolution*, p. 365.

⁴⁴See p. 229.

by the Committee of Public Safety. In Paris, after the day's work in the Convention was over, the Jacobin deputies repaired to the private Jacobin Club to talk over the events of the day and to work out policy, tactics, and strategy for the future. The membership of the Club, in which Robespierre was also supreme, followed the membership of the Convention. With the mother Club of Paris were affiliated some eight thousand Jacobin clubs all over France, organized since the early days of the Revolution. They followed the leadership of, corresponded with, and received material from the club in Paris. Thus the Jacobins were organized as a kind of political party throughout France, a minority party (compare the Communist party) aiming to control all local activities in the interests of the Jacobin program in the Convention. The spirit of the Revolution and the history of 1793-1794 cannot be understood without some knowledge of what went on in the Jacobin clubs during this period.⁴⁵

They engaged in propaganda to build up local enthusiasm for, and to instruct in the principles of, the Revolution. School children had to learn to recite the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the "Catechism of the Constitution" with proper effect. At Montpellier special classes were given for "the good national guardsmen and other good illiterate patriots" on the decrees of the National Constituent Assembly. The peasant was a special object of this propaganda. In some regions the clubs were told "to make every effort to persuade the inhabitants of the countryside to plant trees of Liberty and the members of the societies . . . shall explain to the people the meaning of this patriotic symbol." Elsewhere peasants were advised when receiving a letter or pamphlet to examine it carefully to see "whether it tends to make you love the Constitution. If it does not, it certainly comes from an impure source." Elsewhere Club members are instructed to "stop or buy up all incendiary writings (counter-revolutionary, royalist, clerical) that should come to their knowledge but always taking care not to be detected in so doing."

It was the job of local clubs to win all elections for the party by voting, writing, and electioneering. Bordeaux citizens were asked in July, 1790, not to vote for "men imbued from their childhood with ideas contrary to the Revolution, avid for honors, exemptions, privileges." "We must have new men for a regenerated government." The Toulouse Club in July, 1793, wanted permission from the Convention to exclude from the primary assemblies (that chose candidates) signers of a petition in favor of the Church who did not retract their signatures. Without this permission, "good citizens would in all likelihood refuse to allow the signers of an anti-revolutionary document to enter the election hall, and since this exclusion might seem to certain timid souls to be illegal and unjust, and there might be trouble about it, you (the Convention) can avoid all this

⁴⁵In what follows I am using Crane Brinton's *The Jacobins* (especially Chapter iv), copyright 1930 by the Macmillan Company and used with the Macmillan Company's permission.

in advance by a wise decree." They sought to control local governments, petitioned, denounced, and demanded public meetings. At Libourne they felt obliged to denounce a noble who "announced that he would continue to have his coat-of-arms on his sedan chair in spite of the Revolution and that he would shoot anyone who tried to prevent him," and elsewhere to tell a colonel that he had "committed an indiscretion when he said he wasn't responsible for his acts" to the Club. Those unworthy to wear the good Republican moustache were to be shaved, "taking good care to get the job done without soap and with the worst razor available." The pride of aristocratic women had to be humbled by inviting "ladies who hold themselves aloof from the wives of artisans, workmen, and peasants, the most honorable of classes . . . to an Equality Ball." "At Toulouse the Club gave fifteen virtuous young women of republican inclinations a dowry of 1,000 livres apiece to enable them to marry and produce 'little republicans for the Fatherland.'"

While upholding all the principles and beliefs connected with liberty, equality, and fraternity, the local Jacobins and their leaders were inclined to be puritanical. A Jacobin should not be a drunk, or at least a member should be expelled "if . . . [he] appears six times in the room in a state of drunkenness judged such by the society." Gambling was discouraged among members even "when playing in their own homes." Only "social games for purely recreational purposes" were to be encouraged. At Limoges some members demanded good "republican cards for the kings, queens, and jacks of the old pack," while others wanted to cut out cards altogether. Clubs established committees "to examine plays given at the theater so that they may not offend the moral purity of true republicans"; they protested against "the indecency of a picture of the Virgin nursing the child Jesus." Good Jacobin wives and maidens needed no jewelry to adorn themselves. Virtue alone was sufficient. At Tours they had a Club banner inscribed, "One must have morals to belong to us." Like the Master Jacobin, Robespierre himself, the local clubs were often inclined to be inquisitorial.

JACOBINISM A KIND OF RELIGION

Jacobinism, in the last analysis, was the first political party to become a kind of religion.⁴⁶ Its faith, compounded of the principles of the Enlightenment, revolutionary gospel, and patriotism, developed its own ritual. In the end it became persecuting and intolerant, with the guillotine substituted for the stake. Its saints were Rousseau, Voltaire, Mably, Franklin, Washington, Solon, Brutus, and Marat. Its high priest and inquisitor was Robespierre. Its creed might be the oath of the Club of Moulins: "I swear to maintain with all my might the unity and indivisibility of the

⁴⁶Thompson, *Robespierre*, p. 450, calls Robespierre "a political Loyola [who] envisaged the state as a militarized church, and its citizens as members of an Order, living under a semimonastic rule."

republic. I swear moreover to recognize as my brother any just man, any true friend of humanity, whatever his color, his height and his land. I swear moreover that I shall never have any other temple than that of Reason, other altars than those of the Fatherland, other priests than our legislators, nor other cult than that of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Long Live the Nation." The Club-house was the church, where members delivered sermons and sang hymns. They listened to sermons consisting of Robespierre's speeches. The father "of a new republican . . . asks that the christening take place in the club." There was a "revolutionary sign of the cross." Jacobins prostrated themselves before the tree of liberty and kissed the bust of Marat. A juring priest talking to the club at Bordeaux could say, "I believe in the all-powerful National Assembly, creator of good and of evil." "The cult of Liberty," one Club secretary said, "propagates itself and grows stronger every day. Already this august religion, emanating from the divinity who created all men free and equal has among us its temples, its festivals and its martyrs."

THE HUMAN COST OF THE TERROR

"Let us go," said a member of the Convention, "to the foot of the great altar [the guillotine] and attend the celebration of the red Mass." The months after the Jacobins drove their chief enemies from the Convention saw a rapid increase in human sacrifices upon this altar. Of 218 accused in March, 1794, 155 were condemned and 59 acquitted; April: 525 accused, 354 condemned, 155 acquitted; May: 408 accused and 281 condemned. Of 599 condemned in June: 143 were bourgeois and 245 beneath this social category; and for July: of the 381 condemned, some 132 were bourgeois and 166 below (33 per cent and 41½ per cent).⁴⁷ In Paris the guillotine took altogether during the Terror some 2625 victims, and the cost outside Paris of mobile guillotines and other forms of execution raised this total to 20,000 or more Frenchmen. In Paris in the last weeks before Robespierre's fall the atmosphere of persecution grew so thick that a member of the Convention, noticing that Robespierre's glance had caught him in reverie, exclaimed in terror, "Good Heavens! he will believe that I am daring to think of something."⁴⁸ If you went out for a walk, you could hear market women say to each other, "Do you see that fellow? He looks like a counter-revolutionary. He's got guillotine written all over him." Danton already had said before his arrest, "I would rather be guillotined than guillotine others . . . and besides I am sick of the human race."⁴⁹

A CONSTITUTION FOR REPUBLICAN FRANCE

The Convention, through its committees and its terror, did put down counterrevolution and rebellion, prevented invasion, and sent French rev-

⁴⁷The figures are from Thompson, *French Revolution*, pp. 538-539.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁴⁹L. Madelin, *Figures of the Revolution*, p. 231.

olutionary armies out to conquer Europe. It is interesting to speculate on what successful invasion and counterrevolution would have cost in human life and effort. A dictatorial government was not what the Convention had planned. It had been called together to draw up a constitution for the first French Republic. It rejected the constitution proposed by its first (Girondist) constitutional committee (of which Condorcet was the leading member) and set to work on a Jacobin version. In view of the external and internal war this draft too had to be shelved. It is of interest, however, because it expresses the aims and political motives of the most radical of the revolutionary parties to come to power. The Jacobins did not dispense with the idea of a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen for their republican constitution. Robespierre himself and a committee of the Parisian Jacobin Club worked hard on the draft of a Declaration of Rights of their own to counter a Girondist version. Robespierre brought his draft to the attention of the Convention on 24 April, 1793. He thought the committee draft too isolationist. It made of the French nation "a human herd plunked down in a corner of the globe—not as one of a family of nations, all of whom have a duty to help, and a right to be helped by, one another." This lack he would remedy by such declarations as:

1. Men of all countries are brothers, and the different peoples ought to help one another according to their ability, like citizens of a single state.
2. He who oppresses a single nation declares himself the enemy of all.
3. Those who make war on a people to arrest the progress of liberty, and to destroy the rights of man, deserve to be attacked by all, not as ordinary enemies, but as brigands, rebels and assassins.
4. All kings, aristocrats, and tyrants, of whatever kind, are slaves in rebellion against the human race, which is the sovereign of the world, and against nature, which is the legislator of the universe.

ROBESPIERRE AND NATURAL RIGHTS

It is the duty of Robespierre's state not only to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights but "to develop all their faculties." "Equality of rights is a law of nature," and among the most important rights of man is "freedom," "the right of every man to exercise all his faculties as he will. Its rule is justice, its limits are the rights of others, its source is nature, its guarantee is the law. The right of peaceful assembly, and the right to publish one's opinions through the press, or in any other way, are such obvious corollaries of freedom that the necessity of asserting them points either to the presence of despotism, or to recent recollection of it."

ROBESPIERRE AND PROPERTY

The definition of the rights of property goes beyond anything in the Constitution of 1791. In explaining it Robespierre said to the Convention

that "There was certainly no need of a revolution to teach the world that the present very unequal distribution of wealth is the source of many evils, and of many crimes, but we are equally convinced that it would be impossible to distribute it equally. Personally . . . I think equality of wealth even less necessary for private than for public happiness. It is much more necessary to make poverty respected than to ban billionaires. . . . No, the problem before the legislator is not to redistribute private property, but to insist upon the moral duties of property-owners." The natural rights of property were defined as follows (1-3), to which Robespierre added sentences on social charity:

1. The right of property is limited, like every other right, by the duty of respecting the rights of others.
2. It may not be exercised so as to prejudice the safety, liberty, life, or property-rights of one's fellow-men.
3. Any holding of, or dealing in, property which violates this principle is unlawful and immoral.
4. It is the duty of society to provide a living . . . for all its members, either by procuring them work, or by assuring the means of subsistence to those who are unfit to work.
5. The charity necessitated by the existence of poverty is a debt that the rich owe to the poor: it is the business of the law to settle the manner in which this debt shall be paid.
6. Citizens whose income is only sufficient for their own support need not contribute to the needs of the state; others must contribute in proportion to their means.

As a student of the Enlightenment Robespierre can insist that "society ought to encourage with all its might the progress of public intelligence, and bring education within the reach of every citizen." He adds to his list "the right of resisting oppression is a corollary of the other rights of men and citizens." "When a single member of society is oppressed, the whole body is oppressed with him. . . . Every institution is vicious which does not assume the corruptibility of public officials, and the goodness of the people."⁵⁰

THE GUARANTEE OF RIGHTS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1793

Robespierre's proposed declaration influenced the articles of the final Declaration of the Constitution of 1793.⁵¹ This constitution ends with a Guarantee of Rights consisting of "equality, liberty, security, property, . . . the free exercise of worship, universal education, public relief, unlimited liberty of the press, the right of petition, the right to assemble in popular societies, the enjoyment of all the rights of man." But-until

⁵⁰Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 351 ff.

⁵¹This can be read in Stewart, pp. 454-468.

France was free of war and the danger of counterrevolution her citizens had to forego the enjoyment of their natural rights, including the right of "self-preservation."

THE REVOLUTION AND RELIGION

If the political theory of the Enlightenment bore fruit in the constitutions and legislation of the Revolution, its religions brought religious change. After the National Constituent Assembly had led the attack with the confiscation of church property and the nationalization of the Church, there were attempts, after 1792, to establish the worship of both Reason and the Supreme Being as non-Christian cults. The cult of Reason was precipitated by the refusal of the Church to accept the ecclesiastical legislation of the National Constituent Assembly, and by its support of counter-revolution and rebellion. A non-Christian calendar avoiding Sundays and Saints' and festival days was adopted in the fall of 1793. At the same time there was such a widespread turn from the Catholic Church to a patriotic and deistic cult of Reason, promoted by the Paris Commune, local Jacobin clubs, and provincial agents of the Committee of Public Safety, that it is the opinion of one distinguished French historian that, given the essential paganism of the French peasant, Christianity might have died out if the foreign and civil wars had been prolonged.⁵²

THE FESTIVAL OF LIBERTY AND REASON

There was widespread ridicule of Christian "superstition and fanaticism," including public disrespect for relics. Many churches were closed or transformed into "temples of reason." Juring clergy married, and some abandoned their clerical functions. Images of saints were replaced by pagan or Jacobin heroes. A representative of the Committee of Public Safety wanted to "substitute the religion of the Republic and natural morality for the superstitions and hypocritical cults to which the people are still so unfortunately devoted" and had proclaimed over a local cemetery gate that "Death is an eternal sleep." The Convention recognized the "right of all citizens to adopt whatever religion they like and to suppress the ceremonies they do not like." In Paris, where the movement was almost general, church bells, "the trinkets of the Eternal Father," were melted down into cannon and coins. Belfries "which by their height above other buildings seemed to contradict the principles of equality" were found offensive and in some instances torn down. A climax to this movement came in Paris on 20 October, 1793, when the government of the city and *department* held a Festival of Liberty and Reason in the cathedral of Notre Dame. In a church where all symbols of Catholicism had been covered over and a statue of liberty had been substituted for the image of the Blessed Virgin, Liberty (an actress from the Opéra) came

⁵²F. V. Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, pp. 108 ff.

forth from a Greek temple decorated with four busts of the philosophers while Republicans stretched their hands toward her and said:

“Come holy Liberty inhabit this temple,
Become the goddess of the French people.”⁵³

ROBESPIERRE AND THE WORSHIP OF THE SUPREME BEING

All this was very distasteful to a Jacobin government not wishing further to antagonize Catholic sentiment abroad, or unnecessarily to deprive itself of the support of those whom such activities offended. To Robespierre they were the acts of atheists of the Commune whose economic demands he thought dangerous. On 7 May, 1794, he proposed to the Convention a Decree on the Worship of the Supreme Being. What is the good of trying to persuade men that “their destinies are directed by a blind force, which punishes at haphazard, now virtue, and now crime,” and of teaching them “that their souls are no more than a faint breath, dissipated at the door of the tomb”? If God and immortality were fictions, they would be “the grandest conceptions of the human mind.” In any case, to the statesman “everything which is useful to the world, and produces good results, is true.” Rousseau had pointed out the necessity of supporting some form of deistic religion, and the French Republic ought to complete the political revolution by “initiating the spiritual revolution . . . and to declare its belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, and in the immortality of the soul.” This is no concession to fanaticism, for “when compulsion and persecution cease . . . all sects will merge themselves in the universal religion of Nature. . . . Nature is the true priest of the Supreme Being: his temple is the universe; his worship, virtue; his feasts, the happiness of a great people assembled under his eyes, to renew the pleasant ties of universal brotherhood, and to present the oblation of sensitive and pure hearts.”⁵⁴

The decree presented to the Convention contained such articles as “The French people recognizes the existence of the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the Soul”; “It recognizes that the best way of worshipping the Supreme Being is to do one’s duties as a man”; “Festivals shall be instituted to remind men of the Deity, and of the dignity of their state.” Among these festivals were to be those celebrating “the Supreme Being, and Nature, the human race; the French people; the benefactors of mankind; the martyrs of freedom; liberty and equality; the Republic; the liberty of the world; patriotism; hatred of tyrants and traitors; . . . modesty; glory and immortality; friendship; temperance; . . . impartiality; Stoicism; love; conjugal fidelity; fatherly affection; mother-love; filial piety; childhood; misfortune; agriculture; . . . our ancestors; posterity; happiness.” “The National Convention invites all those whose talents are

⁵³Aulard, pp. 106, 108.

⁵⁴Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 492–493.

worthy of serving the cause of mankind to the honour of assisting in the establishment of these festivals by submitting hymns or civic songs, or anything else likely to contribute to their beauty or utility." "Any meeting of aristocrats, or any that contravenes public order, shall be suppressed." "There shall be celebrated . . . a national festival in honor of the Supreme Being."⁵⁵

THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING

It is obvious that the Supreme Being was a very patriotic French Deity. Robespierre, as president of the Convention, presided over the national festival on 8 June. It began in the Tuileries garden, where Robespierre made a speech in praise of deism and set fire to an effigy of atheism. From here, the crowd, led by Robespierre and the members of the Convention, wearing "blue suits, tricolour sashes, swords, ribbons, and plumed hats, and carrying bouquets of flowers," went to the Champ de Mars where a mound had been raised and at its summit placed a Tree of Liberty. While patriotic songs and a hymn to the Supreme Being were being sung, "incense was burnt the while on the summit of the [mound] on which Maximilien stood, and concealed him in its clouds. For one moment this most prudent of men forgot his caution; his face, usually grave, was brightened by a smile of triumph. For a moment the Vicar of God fancied he was himself God."⁵⁶

THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Robespierre had once said that to him "God [was] he who created all men for equality and happiness, he who protects the oppressed, and exterminates tyrants: the object of my worship is justice and humanity." He also referred to the "sublime and touching doctrine of virtue and equality that was taught of old by the son of Mary to his fellow citizens."⁵⁷ The equality which Robespierre and the French revolutionaries before him had been interested in was political and social equality, equality of rights, equality before the law, equality of opportunity. They had not taken up the early socialist doctrine of such men as Mably,⁵⁸ but had remained essentially bourgeois in their fidelity to private property and free enterprise. They sought no economic equality, but they facilitated the transference of property of Church, émigrés, and crown into peasant and middle-class hands. Yet Robespierre put limits on the sacred right of property and recognized the obligation of the state to provide subsistence or work for those who had to have it. The Constitution of 1793 recognized the social obligations of the rich toward the poor. The Convention recognized the obligation of the state to provide public education, and set up a far-

⁵⁵Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 494-495.

⁵⁶Madelin, p. 407, and Thompson, *Robespierre*, pp. 503-505.

⁵⁷Thompson, *French Revolution*, p. 543.

⁵⁸See pp. 305 f.

reaching system of poor relief. It recognized its obligation also in the war emergency to protect the citizen against hoarding and speculation and introduced such procedures as rationing, price control, and wage control. It did not, however, undo the legislation of the National Constituent Assembly forbidding workingmen's organizations and strikes, and it used the public requisition of labor to break strikes against its wage policy. But certain decrees of March, 1794, indicate that the Convention was willing to consider the problem of economic equality in a more concrete sense. It ordered all the communes of the Republic to "draft statements of the indigent patriots within their confines" and to forward them to the Committee of Public Safety, which then "shall make a report on the means of indemnifying all the unfortunates with the property of the enemies of the Revolution."⁵⁹ Actually nothing much came of this legislation. But one member of the Committee of Public Safety, Saint-Just, wrote a book at this moment (*Republican Institutions*) indicating that he regarded the above decrees as "a first step towards a systematic expropriation of the propertied classes in favour of the poor, and the creation of an economic democracy to balance and reinforce the political democracy of the Robespierian republic."⁶⁰

THE FALL OF THE JACOBINS

Any further steps along this line were precluded by the downfall of the Jacobin dictatorship on 27 July, 1794, and the execution of the "tyrant" Robespierre on the 28th. The Convention now ushered in the "Thermidorian reaction" (Thermidor is July in the revolutionary calendar). The machinery of the "Red" Terror was now broken up all over France and a "White" Terror introduced. The purged Convention was restored to its original composition with the return of the living Girondists, and even émigrés and nonjuring priests were permitted to come back to France. During the last days of its sitting the Convention drew up an elaborate plan for elementary, secondary, and advanced professional schools, and, undoing the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of 1791, completely separated church and state in France, without, of course, disturbing the property settlement. It passed over the democratic Constitution of 1793 and drew up a new constitution, the Constitution of the Directory, establishing a government "of the best elements" by a return to property qualifications for voting. Continued success in the war made possible a treaty with Prussia (Basel) which took her out of the coalition, and one with Holland recognizing the Republic of the United Provinces. The bourgeois reaction was so strong that it precipitated several attacks by the Parisian populace under leaders from both left and right, the last one (5 October, 1795) being warded off by a young revolutionary officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. On 26 October, 1795, the government of

⁵⁹Stewart, p. 525.

⁶⁰Thompson, *French Revolution*, p. 530.

the first French Republic under the Convention gave way to the corrupt and cynical Directory (1795-1799).

The Directory and Napoleon (1795-1815)

The government of the Directory rested upon a suffrage even more limited than that of the Constitution of 1791. If it was able to survive an attack from the extreme left, it could not survive the attack of a brilliant and victorious young general who was already suffering from delusions of grandeur that were to lead him and France upon adventures in blood-letting which make the figures of the guillotine seem paltry indeed. That France was willing to accept Napoleon in 1799 may be not only because of mankind's unfailing attraction to the successful man in uniform but because of disgust with an inefficient and corrupt government that provoked the conspiracies of radicals willing to go farther than the Revolution had yet gone in carrying out the doctrine of equality. Most Frenchmen thought that the Revolution had gone quite far enough. Its solid accomplishments ought to be made secure.

THE INSURRECTION OF BABEUF

The attack from the left (1796) came from the leadership of "Gracchus" Babeuf, whose communist program was the single example during the Revolution of a readiness to sacrifice the sacred natural right of private property. Babeuf grew up among the peasants of Picardy in northern France, where he urged a confiscation of large estates and farms for the benefit of the landless poor. Every peasant was to have his plot of nationalized land. In the course of the Revolution he turned from an agrarian communism to one that included the destruction of industrial private property. When the overthrow of the Jacobin regime turned into the reaction of Thermidor, he seems to have advanced to the compulsory labor of all citizens, the collection of all goods in government warehouses, and their equal distribution to all. He had no use for distinctions of income based on merit, talent, or intellect, thinking that only the intellectuals prized the products of their superior minds so highly. Men's stomachs were of about equal capacity. He was never able to secure any support among the peasantry for his program of nationalization of the land, although he had some followers. When Thermidor became the Directory, and it seemed unlikely that the Revolution would ever go beyond a bourgeois phase, Babeuf, through his Society of Equals, organized a carefully planned insurrection to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and introduce the new society. Its principles can be gathered from a "Manifesto of the Plebeians" (1795) published by the society. "Nature has bestowed upon each and every individual an equal right to the enjoyment of property." "The purpose of society is to defend such equality . . .

and to augment the general welfare through the co-operation of all." "Nature has imposed upon each and every individual the obligation to work; anyone who evades his share of labor is a criminal." "Both work and benefits must be common to all." "There is oppression when one person is exhausted by labor and is destitute of everything, while another lives in luxury without doing any work at all." "Anyone who appropriates exclusively to himself the products of the earth or of manufacture is a criminal." "In a real society there ought to be neither rich nor poor." "The rich who are not willing to renounce their surplus in favor of the poor are enemies of the people." "No one, by accumulating to himself all power, may deprive another of the instruction necessary for his welfare. Education ought to be common to all." "The aim of the French Revolution is to destroy inequality and to re-establish the general welfare." "The Revolution is not complete, because the rich monopolize all the property and govern exclusively, while the poor toil like slaves, languish in misery, and count for nothing in the State."⁶¹

The sources of Babeuf's ideas go back to Plato (*The Republic*), to Rousseau, and to such men as Mably and Morelly. They were carried forward by the events of the Revolution. The insurrection planned against the Directory was crushed (1796) and Babeuf executed. But his ideas and his detailed plans for a dictatorship of the proletariat are not only of interest in showing that Robespierre was not the last word in the application of the revolutionary doctrine of equality. They are also a part of the socialist tradition that ties up certain aspects of the Enlightenment with Marx and Engels.⁶² It is in this aspect of the Revolution that Communist historians are especially interested.

NAPOLEON DURING THE DIRECTORY

In 1795 France was still at war with Austria and England. She rewarded the young Corsican general who had defended the Convention with the command of the Italian army against Austria. Within two years (1796-1798) he had not only defeated Austria but reorganized Italy, guaranteed to France her long-coveted left bank of the Rhine, and provided for a complete reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire. These results were fixed in the Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria (1797). After the collapse of Austrian power in Italy, Napoleon, stimulating Italian national sentiment, regrouped Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara into a Cispadane Republic. In 1797 this Republic was transformed with the addition of Lombardy into the Cisalpine Republic. "For years," Napoleon said in proclaiming the Republic, "there have been no republics in Italy. The sacred fire of liberty was extinguished there, and the most

⁶¹Stewart, pp. 656-657.

⁶²See Harold Laski's "The Socialist Tradition in the French Revolution," in Hearnshaw, *Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Revolutionary Era*.

beautiful part of Europe was under the yoke of foreigners. It is for the Cisalpine Republic to show the world, by its wisdom, its energy, and the good organization of its armies, that modern Italy has not degenerated, and that it is still worthy of liberty.”⁶³ Genoa had meanwhile become the Ligurian Republic, and other republics, the Roman (Papal States), Parthenopean (Kingdom of Naples), Helvetian (Switzerland), and Batavian (Holland), were to surround the French Republic (1798-1799). The Treaty of Campo Formio recognized the Cisalpine Republic and turned over Venice and some Venetian territory, Istria and Dalmatia, to Austria. It recognized likewise the transfer of the Austrian Netherlands to France. The left bank of the Rhine was to become French, and in return for this concession Austria was to annex Salzburg. The princes losing territory on the left bank were to compensate themselves at a conference at Rastadt with ecclesiastical territory on the right bank. Napoleon began in this way to reduce the many German states of the Holy Roman Empire to a more manageable number, the first step in national unification. Campo Formio brought France her “natural boundaries” and, in the guise of liberation (Cisalpine and Ligurian republics), a career of imperialist expansion.

NAPOLEON IN EGYPT

It had proved impossible meanwhile to make peace with England, and after his return to Paris Napoleon, who had come to realize in Italy, he said, that “I was a superior being,” was entrusted with the command of the Army of England. Unable to see his way clear to an invasion of England at this moment, Napoleon took to the rather fantastic and romantic idea of an Egyptian campaign. His idea was to extend French influence once again in the eastern Mediterranean at a time when the Ottoman Empire was declining, and possibly get at England through India. Indeed, Napoleon was instructed by the Directory to “take possession of Egypt, chase the English from the East and destroy their country-houses on the Red Sea; he will cut the Isthmus of Suez and secure possession of the Red Sea to France.”⁶⁴ Napoleon and his army of soldiers and scholars, who were to find the Rosetta stone and thus make possible the reading of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics and the serious study of ancient Egyptian history, leaving from Toulon, managed to elude the British fleet under Nelson and arrive in Egypt in June (1798). He told his troops that “You are going to deal England the most unerring and severe blow she can receive until such time as you may give her her death blow.”⁶⁵ In a short time Alexandria and Cairo were in French hands. But when Nelson found out that the French were in Egypt he destroyed their fleet in Aboukir Bay and left them to their own re-

⁶³Stewart, p. 694.

⁶⁴R. B. Mowat, *The Romantic Age*.

⁶⁵Stewart, p. 720.

sources. Napoleon stayed in Egypt until the fall of 1799. He was bored, and wrote soon after the surrender of Cairo, "At twenty-nine I am tired of glory: it has lost its charm and there is nothing left for me but complete egotism."⁶⁶ The revolutionary successor of such earlier French crusaders as Philip Augustus and Saint Louis led his troops from Egypt in a futile assault on Acre, and then, after returning to Egypt and learning that a second coalition against France (England-Austria-Russia-Turkey) was destroying the results of his first Italian campaign, decided to go home. As lucky as upon his trip to Egypt, Napoleon evaded Nelson and the British fleet, landed at Fréjus in October, and was in Paris on the morning of the 16th. In less than a month, the Directory was succeeded, with his help, by a provisional government which set up a Consulate, making him the first of three consuls. Napoleon, who had carried through a coup d'état accompanied by a show of military force, described his conduct in the transition from Directory to Consulate (1799-1804) as "the zeal of a soldier of liberty, a citizen devoted to the Republic. Conservative, tutelary, and liberal ideas have been restored to their rights through the dispersal of the rebels." "Citizens," the new government told the people, "the Revolution is established upon the principles which began it: It is ended."⁶⁷

THE CONSULATE

It had been over many times, and was to be over many times more. Bonaparte, as first consul and then consul for life (1802), did manage, at the cost of political liberty, to consolidate the Revolution. At the same time he fought a second Italian campaign (1800), destroying the second coalition and returning France to the position held in the Treaty of Campo Formio (1801, Peace of Lunéville). As early as February, 1800, Napoleon gave France a new system of local administration that returned to the centralizing principles of the Old Regime and the Terror. France was to be governed by prefects (prefectures for departments), sub-prefects, and mayors, all appointed by the central government and subjected to the minister of the interior. The government set out to collect its own direct and indirect taxes and to consider its finances in the light of a balance between expenses and expenditures (budget). It was to be assisted by a Bank of France (1800) (largely private investment), whose capital was to be available to the national treasury. The inflation and economic uncertainty of the Directory now disappeared.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The Consulate, moreover, set up a department of Public Instruction, which carried on the promises and plans of the Revolution with respect to education. A system of secular primary and secondary schools was

⁶⁶J. M. Thompson, *Napoleon*, p. 126.

⁶⁷Stewart, p. 765.

outlined, terminating in *lycées* giving instruction in the classics and science. The government set up a system of scholarships for the able (and sons of government officials and veterans), and in two or three years the system was in operation. The Church was permitted to set up its own schools.

THE CONCORDAT

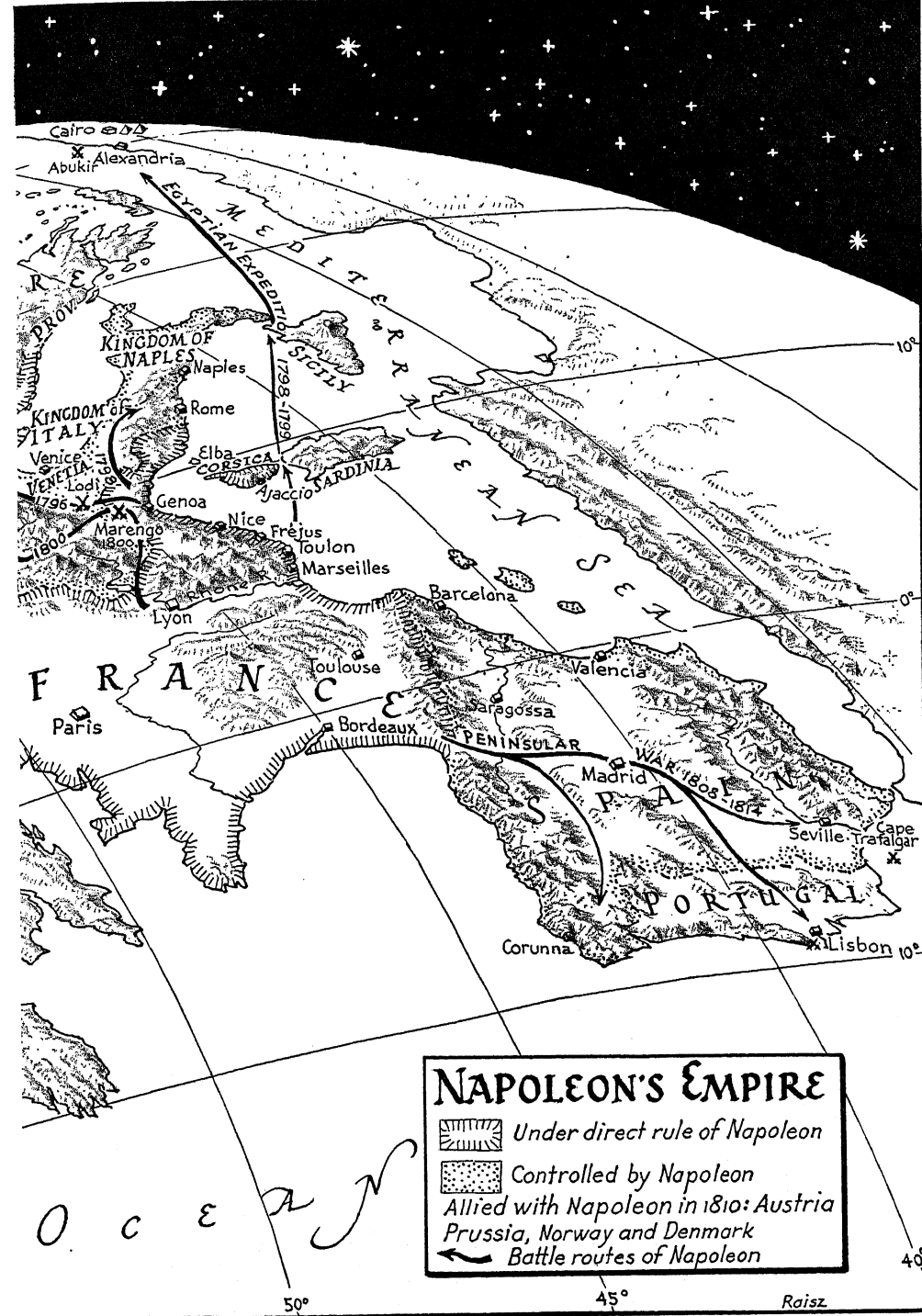
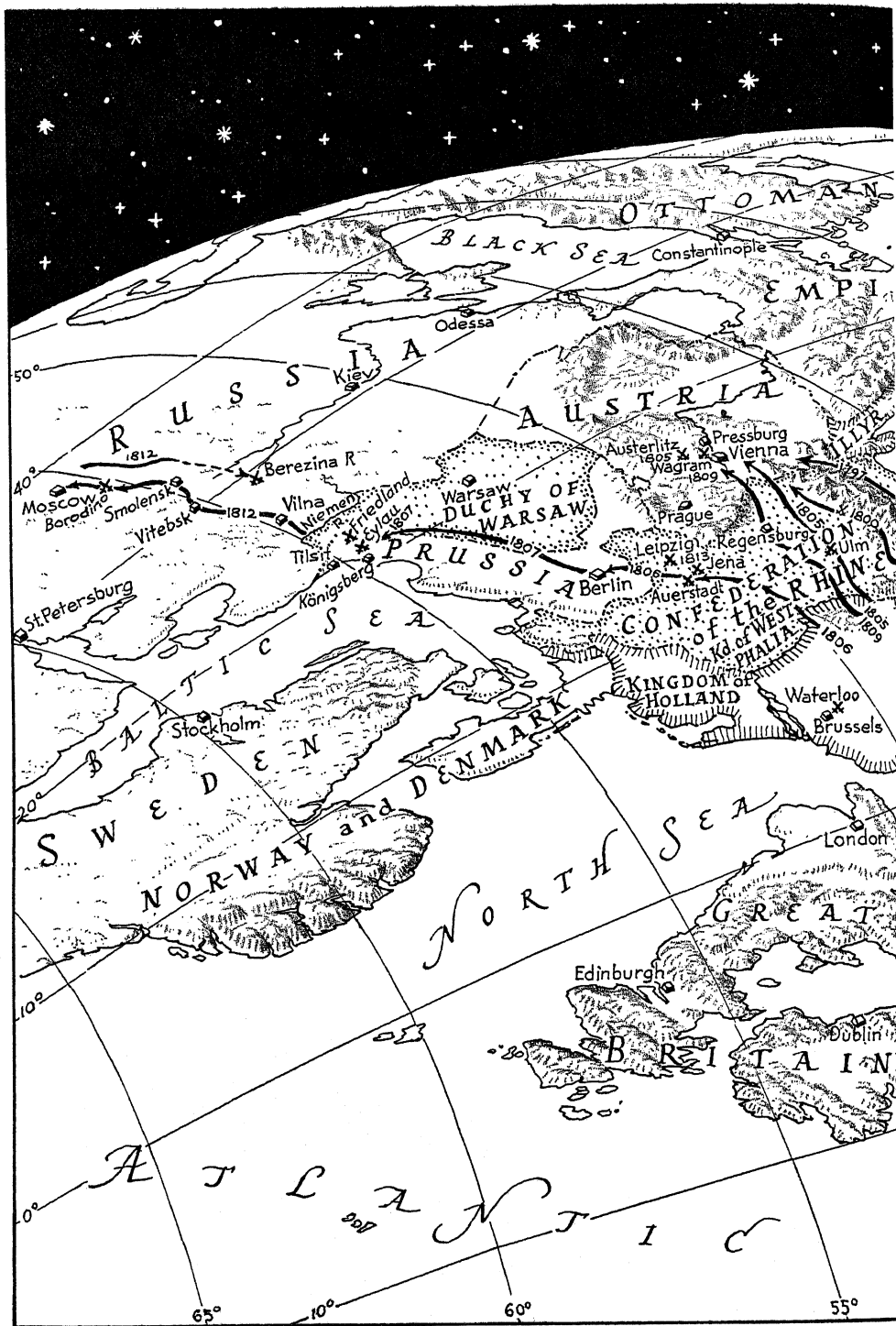
Napoleon went ahead to establish peace with the Church after the contradictory legislation of the National Constituent Assembly (Civil Constitution of the Clergy) and the Convention (separation of church and state). This he did through a "Concordat with the Pope." He himself was not what could be called a religious person. "In religion," he once said, "I do not see the mystery of the Incarnation, but the mystery of the social order. . . . Men who do not believe in God,—one does not govern them, one shoots them. . . . The people need a religion: This religion must be in the hands of the government." On his deathbed he remarked, "I am glad I have no religion. It is a great consolation. I have no imaginary fears, no fear of the future."⁶⁸

The Concordat again made the Church a department of state. The government nominated bishops and other holders of benefices. The lands of the Church remained confiscated. The state took on the payment of salaries of the clergy. Liberty of conscience was not to be disturbed. Under these circumstances the ancient organization and ritual were re-established under the spiritual control of the papacy, and the experiments with deistic religions ended.

THE NAPOLEONIC CODE

Napoleon, in the most important of the reforms of the Consulate, completed the many efforts of the revolutionary governments to end the chaotic systems of law governing France and consolidated the fundamental gains of the Revolution. This he did in a series of codes that make it proper to call him the French Justinian. The most important of these was the Code of Civil Law, the "Code Napoleon" (1804). This code made Roman law the core of French law and thus finished what had begun in the twelfth century, while adapting Roman to fit revolutionary law. The destruction of the caste system and feudalism of the Old Regime was maintained. The property transfers made by the confiscation of land of the Church and émigrés were not disturbed. The inheritance of property by all children of any sex was preserved. Religious toleration, public trials, and trials by jury were all retained. Napoleon wanted a strong, healthy family dominated by the father, and this the law provided. He had once said there was no need to bother "about the education of young girls; they cannot be better brought up

⁶⁸F. M. H. Markham, *Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe*, pp. 60, 172.



than by their mothers. Marriage is their only destination." It was this Napoleonic Code that went with the French armies into Belgium, Holland, the Rhinelands, Italy, and southern Germany. The codification made possible the spread of the fruits of the Revolution in a concrete form.

THE FIRST FRENCH EMPIRE

The cynical little son of the Revolution founded the first French empire and made himself a sacred, hereditary emperor in 1804. He who preserved the revolutionary destruction of the privileged classes in French law established, without restoring the old nobility, a new imperial court and nobility with 31 dukes, 388 counts, 1090 barons, and 1500 knights. The history of this empire (1804-1815) was largely of war and the absolutism it breeds: war to establish Napoleon's and France's domination of Europe. "Europe cannot rest except under the rule of a single head who will have kings for his officers." It was war, in Napoleon's mind, made necessary by the refusal of England to tolerate the expansion of France to a point where she dominated, by control of the lower Rhine, the English Channel. Such a control the English will, for security's sake, tolerate of no nation. Napoleon also thought that by dominating Europe France could build up strength sufficient to regain the world position lost to England in the eighteenth century. There were moments when he hoped to cross the Channel with an army and conquer England. When Lord Nelson destroyed the French and Spanish fleet off the Cape of Trafalgar in 1805, English supremacy of the seas was established for a long time to come. To preserve it England felt bound to limit "Boney's" expansion to a point where there was a balance of several powers and not the predominance of one power on the Continent. Concentrating on the navy meant that English commitments in troops on the Continent had to be limited. This she made up for by pouring out millions of pounds of subsidies to continental powers to pay for the use of their troops.

EUROPE AND THE FRENCH EMPIRE

After Trafalgar Napoleon could only hope to injure the British in an economic war which closed the continental market to them. To do this Napoleon had often to wage war on the European powers and force them to exclude English goods from their boundaries. The English, of course, replied by attempting to keep the goods of everyone else (including neutrals) from the Continent. In the end, since the French tried to supplant the English on the continental market, European powers within the Napoleonic orbit thought that they were only opposing the English to welcome in the French. The expansion and consolidation of the French empire meant also the shedding of European blood and the exploiting of European citizens for a deranged adventurer who identified his own person and power with the salvation (and therefore conquest)

of the world. Europe finally revolted, and with the help of England put Napoleon out of the way and reduced the French to their prerevolutionary boundaries. Thus it was that the fine idealism of the Enlightenment, in becoming associated with revolution in France, also became associated first with a government of terror, and then, in Napoleon, with imperialist aggression, an irresponsible waste of human life, and simple military tyranny. Such association was enough to discredit it in the minds of many who had been inspired by the early years of the Revolution.

THE WAR AGAINST THE THIRD COALITION

In 1805 Napoleon had to take up arms against a third coalition, formed by England with Russia and Austria. He beat the Austrians in October at Ulm in Württemberg, and the Austrians and Russians in December at Austerlitz in Moravia. These land victories were offset by the naval losses at Trafalgar, but they forced on Austria the Treaty of Pressburg, which, it was hoped, would keep her from fighting Napoleon again. In Italy Austria lost Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia to what had now become the Kingdom of Italy, with Napoleon as its king. She lost much territory on her borders and had to pay an indemnity of two million pounds.

THE END OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

In 1806, having set up a French empire, Napoleon could not tolerate the Holy Roman one. He organized the sixteen large states left after the consolidation of the hundreds of small states of western and southern Germany⁶⁹ into a Confederation of the Rhine under French protection. Under these circumstances Francis II of Austria abandoned his imperial dignity as supreme head of the German (Holy Roman) Empire, and contented himself with the title of emperor of Austria. The state which had been in existence since the coronation of Charlemagne as a Roman emperor in 800 was destroyed by the man who, although Italian in origin, as an emperor of the French preferred to have himself regarded as a spiritual successor of the medieval Frankish emperor. In the same year two of Napoleon's brothers became kings of Naples and of Holland. The French empire was becoming a nepotic collection of satellite kingdoms and confederations.

WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

In 1806 the Prussians took up the Napoleonic challenge and were decisively defeated in October at Jena and Auerstadt, and French armies occupied Berlin and Prussia. Napoleon pursued the Prussian government and the remnant of the Prussian army into East Prussia, whither it had fled to secure protection from the Russian army, itself a refugee from

⁶⁹See p. 375.

Austerlitz. Napoleon fought a draw with Alexander I at Eylau (February, 1807) and beat him at Friedland in June. Then, on a raft in the Niemen River and in the town of Tilsit the emperors of eastern and western Europe came to an agreement, according to which Alexander promised to bring Russia into the economic battle against England by closing Russian ports to English goods. Prussia had already been obliged to come into the continental blockade, and lost her territories west and north of the Elbe. Together with parts of Hanover they were given to another Napoleonic brother who became the king of Westphalia and joined his kingdom to the Confederation of the Rhine.

THE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND

This agreement at Tilsit (7 July, 1807) marked the peak of Napoleon's success. He had now merely to bring the English around. This he could only do with economic warfare, his so-called Continental System. It was necessary first to plug up the leaks in the blockade against England. Denmark and Portugal were ordered into the system. When Portugal refused, she was occupied by a French army. To seal Spain against English goods Napoleon forced the abdication of the Bourbons and ordered his brother Joseph to give up the Kingdom of Naples for Spain (May, 1808). The Spanish now started a revolt against the French that was soon supported by the English after Wellington landed in Portugal. Napoleon could never crush the Spanish guerillas. The Spanish was the first in a series of national revolts ruinous to the French empire.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN OF 1812

At the very end of 1810 Russia withdrew from the economic war on England, and with fatal overconfidence Napoleon decided upon an invasion of Russia (1812). With an army originally of 650,000 to 700,000 he pursued the Russians as far as Moscow (September), which the defenders set on fire soon after his arrival. It is thought that he brought with him his imperial robe, sceptre, and crown so that after prescribing the terms of peace he could be proclaimed in the Kremlin "the Emperor of the West, Supreme Head of the European Confederation, and Defender of the Christian Religion."⁷⁰ But the Russians did not come to make peace. From 15 September to 19 October he waited, but they did not come. When the retreat was begun over the same desolate route that the advance had taken the Russians followed, inflicting cruel punishment. By November a desperately cold winter had set in. "The sufferings of the retreat were now as horrible as anything imagined in Dante's Circle of Ice. With the temperature 30 degrees below zero, and a subtle,

⁷⁰A. Fournier, *Napoleon*, pp. 558-561.

keen, razor-cutting, creeping wind that penetrated skin, muscle, and bone to the very marrow, men dropped and froze by the roadside, or lay down and froze round the camp-fires at night." Except for a few thousand the Grand Army was killed, frozen, starved, taken prisoner, or had deserted. And while this was happening, "the Emperor alone had always been given proper meals . . . [and] everyday he had clean table linen, white bread [good wine], good oil, beef, or mutton, rice and beans or lentils, his favorite vegetables." To the empress he reported regularly, "My health is excellent." On 5 December, some forty miles east of Vilna, he abandoned his slow-moving army and set out for home, reaching Paris on 18 December. He talked all the way across Europe. "But one thing emerges from his companion's hour-by-hour report of their fortnight's tête-à-tête which is more significant than any record of policy and opinions; and that is, [his] seeming insensibility to the disaster from which he has just escaped, and to the fate of the army that he has left behind; the lack of any sense of responsibility, let alone remorse, for the sufferings and death of a quarter of a million men."⁷¹

THE LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON

By the end of the summer of 1813 he was back in Germany with a new army facing a new coalition of Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, and England. He was beaten at Leipzig (14-18 October) and withdrew to the Rhine. Wellington had meanwhile crossed the Pyrennees into southern France. In March, 1814, the Big Four bound each other to an alliance against France for twenty years if need be. As they made for Paris, the Napoleonic empire collapsed. Paris was entered on the 25th. On 26 April Napoleon, having failed in an attempt at suicide, abdicated as emperor. While the Allies and others forgathered at Vienna to liquidate his adventure, he was sent in exile to rule instead of Europe the little island of Elba off the coast of Italy and to make way for the Bourbon Louis XVIII in France. But he escaped from Elba and was back in France in March, 1815. It took another campaign of the Allies, ending in the Battle of Waterloo (June), to bring about the second abdication of Napoleon. This time he was sent as prisoner of war to the somewhat more remote island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic to spend the remaining six years of his life writing memoirs and talking about what he would have done if things had been otherwise. He did admit, however, that "perhaps I made a mistake in going to Moscow, perhaps I should not have stayed there so long; but there is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and it is up to posterity to judge." "I am not afraid to admit that I have waged war too much. I wanted to assure for France the mastery of the world."⁷²

⁷¹Thompson, *Napoleon*, pp. 366, 369, 363.

⁷²Markham, p. 174.

After Waterloo the Allies brought back a very fat Bourbon, Louis XVIII, to the French throne. France lost all her European empire (though no definitely French territory), had to pay a war indemnity, and was subjected to occupation by Allied troops and supervision of an ambassadorial conference. To contain France, a new Kingdom of the Netherlands was set up on her northern frontier consisting of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands, and to the Kingdom of Sardinia in the southeast was added the Republic of Genoa (Napoleon's Ligurian Republic). Outside France the Allies at Vienna tried to establish a balance of power between what were now called the Great Powers. Upon the insistence of England Prussia was greatly strengthened to act as a buffer between West and East, France and Russia. She regained the lands lost to Napoleon's Kingdom of Westphalia, added Swedish Pomerania, and in addition got two-fifths of the former Kingdom of Saxony and the Rhineland (left bank of the Rhine). She also got Posen and West Prussia from a new partition of Poland. Poland had been divided in three partitions (1772, 1793, 1795) between Prussia, Austria, and Russia (see maps, pages 315 ff.). In the wake of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow Tsar Alexander I had reoccupied Poland (Napoleon had set up a Grand Duchy of Warsaw) and was determined to re-establish a Kingdom of Poland, with a constitution, and himself as king. This extension of Russia westward was opposed by all the Great Powers. Alexander finally agreed to restore Posen and West Prussia to Prussia in case the latter took only two-fifths (instead of the whole) of Saxony. He was permitted to set up a reduced Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland). Austria retained Galicia, regained the Tyrol and Salzburg from Bavaria, and was permitted to re-establish herself in Italy by annexing the former Republic of Venice and Lombardy (Milan). Hapsburg princes took over Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Piacenza. Napoleon's consolidation of the Germanies and destruction of the Holy Roman Empire were permitted to stand. Prussia, Austria, and the remaining thirty-six German states were allowed to call themselves a German Confederation under the presidency of Austria, with each state retaining its independence. In total, Great Britain acquired Heligoland (which she took from Denmark during the war to help to break Napoleon's Continental System), Malta, and Ceylon, and retained Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. The Bourbons were restored to Spain and Naples, the pope to Rome and the Papal States. As an additional buffer state between France and Europe a neutral Switzerland was recognized. England could not get the abolition of the slave trade, but it was condemned. Measures were taken also to internationalize such rivers as the Rhine and Danube.

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

Vienna set up a Concert of Europe, consisting of the Great Powers, to maintain the peace. It provided for the periodic meeting of the members of the Quadruple Alliance (England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia) to consider their mutual interests, the preservation of the Vienna settlement, and the maintenance of European peace. The powers had come together to re-establish the balance of power after Napoleon had upset it. To them the French Revolution meant Napoleon, the disruptive forces of French and other nationalisms, and democracy. The Great Powers at Vienna were in no mood to support these movements and did not. They were, on the contrary, conservative, and if they did not choose altogether to turn back Europe to 1789, they listened attentively when the French representative at Vienna talked about "legitimacy." This meant that, other things being equal, governments and boundaries were to be what they had been under legitimate, or pre-revolutionary, circumstances. In giving Napoleon to Europe, the French Revolution not only associated reform with aggression, imperialism, and tyranny; it provoked an organized conservatism with which the principles of the Enlightenment and of the early French Revolution have had, ever since, to contend.

Conclusion

THE REVOLUTION AND THE HUMANISTIC TRADITION

It remains to determine the relationship of the French Revolution and Napoleon to the fundamental conflict between humanism and asceticism that has characterized the development of the western tradition. The previous chapter interpreted the Enlightenment as a program of critical thought stemming from the tradition of classical and scientific humanism and applied to the government and society of the Old Regime, especially in France. This chapter has described the French Revolution as the Enlightenment program, or humanistic tradition, going into action and becoming practical. The chief results were extraordinary victories for the program of the kingdom of man. The divine-right, absolute monarchy of the French was permanently overthrown in favor of a limited monarchy with a written constitution guaranteeing in a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen the basic aspirations of the western individual. At the same time the inequalities of an ancient caste society, dominated by an aristocratic and unreformed church and a privileged nobility, and perpetuating outworn features of a medieval feudal and manorial system, were abolished. The Revolution struck boldly at France's ancient religious institutions. It destroyed the monastic system in so far as it was purely contemplative; it confiscated church property. In the Civil

Constitution of the Clergy it sought to reduce the inequalities between upper and lower clergy, reorganize the Church on an elective basis, and make it a department of state. After its first two years the Revolution went on to experiment with a democratic republic elected by universal manhood suffrage and guaranteeing to men their natural rights. Among these rights there now appeared those essential to a full humanistic triumph: public education and the beginnings of social security. By the end of 1795 it had become clear to some Frenchmen that if the individualism of the privileged classes must not be permitted to obstruct the bourgeoisie, neither could the individualism of the property-owning bourgeoisie be permitted to deny to others, especially the working classes, the development of their personalities. Or as it was put, the natural rights of one man cannot be permitted to interfere with the natural rights of another. This was a fundamental victory for the doctrine of equality. At the same time the inability of the reformed state church wholly to support the Revolution led to attempts to supplant Christianity at one moment by a religion of reason and at another by a religion of the Supreme Being.

THE LIMITATIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM

These successes were made, however, at such great cost to liberty and to other fundamental humanistic principles that they came to have evil associations. The resistance of the king and the privileged orders to equalitarian individualism and to a reformed and nationalized church led the third estate to employ violence. It led finally to counterrevolution in the form of external war, the invasion of foreign nations, and internal rebellion against revolution. Under these circumstances a new spirit arose in French hearts, the patriotic or nationalistic spirit determined to protect the accomplishments of the Revolution against all foreign and internal enemies. This intense emotion was quick to use terror if necessary. The character of the war which it fought, a new kind of totalitarian war demanding every sacrifice from all its citizens, changed from a generous willingness to help spread the Revolution abroad to an aggressive imperialism. The result was Napoleon, the irresponsible militarist who destroyed liberty and reintroduced privilege, and with his own megalomania revealed only too clearly the dangers of uncontrolled individualism on the part of rulers who despise mankind. As the embodiment of French aggressive nationalism (imperialism) he evoked other nationalisms in Europe. A humanistic victory with these associations was a discredited victory. It brought a major reaction, hesitation, doubt, and a positive revulsion in the hearts and minds of western Europeans. Had not the West made too extreme and too rapid a rejection of the Christian ascetic point of view? Or had it not rather turned a humanistic program into an ascetic crusade? In any case the argument and conflict would have to go on. It

would have to go on, as of old, against the theocratic churches and theocratic states that still remained and were unable to adjust themselves to new ideas associated with the establishment of a kingdom of man. A new ascetic power had appeared in the modern nationalistic state aiming to control and discipline the lives of its citizens in the name of various mystic, secular goals. In freeing itself from the church the state itself was in danger of becoming a kind of church with its own system of morality (reasons of state). The revolutionary religions of reason and of the Supreme Being were essentially religions of the *patrie*, the Fatherland, the state. In its new revolutionary French form the state, under provocation, swept everything before it with a mad disregard for liberty, equality, and fraternity. To defend themselves against such recklessness, other European states had to become equally powerful. It was then to be a question whether they would use their power to help establish or destroy the kingdom of man. Was the modern national state to be more a humanistic or an ascetic institution?

In the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity, the French reinforced the western revolutionary tradition, which henceforth confronted the old regimes remaining in Europe and, indeed, the world.

THE REACTION TO ENLIGHTENMENT AND REVOLUTION: ROMANTICISM

Introduction

*M*an is a restless, easily bored creature, readily turning from one extreme to another. He is a capacious animal not easily satisfied with overemphasis upon one of his traits. He becomes rebellious when denied for too long an adequate fulfillment of his great variety. Such characteristics help to explain the oscillation between historical epochs. An age of reason (the Enlightenment) is succeeded by one of violence (the French Revolution and Napoleon); classicism is followed by romanticism.

THE ROMANTIC AGE

The historian gives names to periods in order to emphasize rather than to describe adequately. He knows that the age of reason is also characterized by violence, and the age of revolution by reason. Romanticism began before classicism gave way, and classicism persisted after romanticism became dominant. Life is more complicated than any historian's description of it. But if he is to clarify rather than confuse, and, above all, if he is to give meaning, the historian must simplify and generalize.

In his efforts to simplify he often uses words characteristic of one phase of an epoch to describe the whole. He uses, for example, what was originally an architectural term, baroque, to describe a whole age.

A baroque age must have baroque literature and music as well as architecture; baroque art calls for a baroque artist. There are also historians who speak of the Romantic Age,¹ using what was originally a literary term to describe a whole epoch, the early nineteenth century. To follow this practice is to use the "romanticism" of Wordsworth's poetry to characterize Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna, or the Revolution of 1830 in France. Such usage does not always make for clarity no matter how fancy it may sound.

WHAT IS ROMANTICISM?²

One major difficulty in this, as in similar cases, is that literary historians and critics do not agree on what romanticism was or is. It is not possible to be scientifically precise in a matter of this kind, but if the literary historians and critics cannot be reasonably sure of what they mean then it is hazardous for the general historian to borrow their terms to characterize an age unless he can be clearer than they.³

"Classical" has often been used in this book to refer to Greek and Roman antiquity. In this sense the art and literature of the Renaissance were often classical in their inspiration, that is, they sought to imitate the art and literature of antiquity. When the influence of antiquity promoted inflexibility and dogma, the baroque revolt took place.⁴ "Classical" and "classicism" have been used also to refer to French literature of the seventeenth century⁵ and to music of the Enlightenment.⁶ The success of French literary classicism led to a revolt against the literatures of Greece and Rome in the quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns.⁶

ROMANTICISM, SINGULAR OR PLURAL

Romanticism in France was first a literary revolt against a classicism that, as it continued into the eighteenth century, became arbitrary and anemic. Reason and good sense almost extinguished poetry. Baroque and romantic then belong to the more general category of revolt. English and German romanticism, while having features in common with French, differed clearly in their origins, for there was no comparable English or German classicism for these romanticisms to revolt against. Romanticism in these three countries, possessing common traits, will obviously vary. There is a Romantic movement in France, a Romantic school in Germany. The romanticism of Sir Walter Scott differed from

¹R. B. Mowat, *The Romantic Age*.

²"The reader who gnaws his way through the 11,396 books on Romanticism begins to feel cured of Romance for life."—F. L. Lucas, *The Decline and Fall of the Romantic Ideal*, p. 3. Arthur Lovejoy, *Essays in the History of Ideas*, p. 234, refers to "this confusion of terminology and of thought which has for a century been the scandal of literary history and criticism."

³See pp. 26 f.

⁴See pp. 53 f.

⁵See pp. 260 f.

⁶See pp. 58 f.

Byron's, that of the early Victor Hugo from the later. Goethe, whose early works were romantic, came to call romanticism a disease. It has been suggested that each author who is a strong individual has a special romanticism of his own.⁷ Yet in spite of these difficulties we must try to give some meaning to the term.

CLASSICISM AND ROMANTICISM

A professor of German Language and Literature, contrasting classicism and romanticism, refers to the former's dependence upon the theories of Aristotle and the latter's upon "the mystic Plato and his follower Plotinus." "To the Classicist the proper study of mankind was man, conceived as the highest and final product of creation, a complete harmonious type of perfect humanity independent of time and place. To the Romanticist man was but a stage in the ever-changing phases of nature, he was subject to no general limitations, but a law unto himself, and each individual was an irrepeatable link in an endless chain of history. The Classical ideal of beauty was form and order, its realization was plastic and its password renunciation; to the Romanticists beauty was synonymous with feeling, and its motive force the longing that can only find satisfaction in the chaos of unreality. Its symbol was the blue flower, the colour illustrative of the boundless sky. . . . Classic art is based on logic as opposed to fantasy, on fulfillment as against infinity, on harmony as compared with unrest. Classicism is symbolized in the static perfection of the Greek temple with its joy in the finite work of man. Romanticism soars restlessly into the unknown with the Gothic cathedral."⁸

An American scholar develops further this contrast: "Romanticism [French] in its first phase [up to 1830] was characterized by an effort to set up the individual against society. It asserted the 'natural goodness' of man, championed the free play of his spontaneous impulses and his passions, though they be destructive of the established social order, and denied society's right to pass judgment on his actions. . . . Thus, whereas classicism urged the claims of society, romanticism championed the rights of the individual and taught him to seek comfort and consolation in himself. . . . Romanticism, accordingly, in one of its aspects, is characterized by man's return to himself. In this lies the reason why it so easily escapes definition. It varies with each individual, with each age, with each race. It is marked by a perpetual flux in life and thought and feeling, which is too elusive to be fitted into formulas. It is a return to the Middle Ages, not only for subjects, but in a measure for its spirit—for its emotional and imaginative attitude toward life and the universe; it is the substitution of the individual for society and the exaltation of

⁷Lovejoy, p. 232, says that "the word 'romantic' has come to mean so many things that by itself it means nothing."

⁸L. A. Willoughby, *The Romantic Movement in Germany*, pp. 7-8.

CHRONOLOGY — Romanticism

	France	Germany and Austria	England
1750	Rousseau (1712–1778) de Maistre (1753–1821) Saint-Simon (1760–1825) Royer-Collard (1763–1845) Madame de Staël (1766–1817)	Kant (1724–1804) Herder (1744–1803) Goethe (1749–1832) Schiller (1759–1805) Fichte (1762–1814) John Paul Richter (1763–1825)	Edmund Burke (1729–1797) William Godwin (1756–1836)
1800	Chateaubriand (1769–1848) Fourier (1772–1837) Lamennais (1782–1854) Guizot (1787–1874) Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) Victor Cousin (1792–1867) Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824) Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863) Pierre Leroux (1798–1871) Hugo (1802–1885) Berlioz (1803–1869) Charles X (r. 1824–1830) <i>Revolution of 1830</i> Edgar Quinet (1803–1875) George Sand (1804–1876) Eugène Sue (1804–1857) Chopin (1809–1849) Alfred de Musset (1810–1857) Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848) Louis Napoleon (1808–1873) Louis Blanc (1811–1882) <i>Revolution of 1848</i>	August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1849) Beethoven (1770–1827) Hegel (1770–1831) Novalis (1772–1801) Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) Metternich (1773–1859) Ernst Hoffmann (1776–1822) Fouqué (1777–1843) Schubert (1797–1828) Heine (1797–1856) Mendelssohn (1809–1847) Schumann (1810–1856) Liszt (1811–1886) Wagner (1813–1883) Karl Marx (1818–1883)	Wordsworth (1770–1850) Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) Coleridge (1772–1834) Robert Southey (1774–1843) Byron (1788–1824) Shelley (1792–1822) Keats (1795–1821)
1850	<i>Second Republic</i> (1848–1852) <i>Second Empire</i> (1852–1870) Debussy (1862–1918)	Brahms (1833–1897) Nietzsche (1844–1900) Hugo Wolf (1860–1903)	

self; it is antipathy for the philistines; it is melancholy brooding and love of solitude; it is morbid introspection and self-analysis; it is a craving after stirring emotional experiences; it is nostalgic yearning after remote lands and times; it is a deep aspiration to reach out after the unknown and the unattainable; it is the rebirth of wonder and awe before the grand spectacles of the universe and before the questions of human life and destiny; it is the deification of nature; it is the glorification of instinct and passions; . . . Classicism represents man in the plenitude of his development, acting according to the dictates of the reason, enforcing these dictates through the will; it represents man as living with other men, observing the forms of society and master of himself. Romanticism represents him as hostile to society, flouting its laws and conventions, leading a solitary existence, the plaything of his impulses, insistent upon being *himself* and not *everybody else*. The Romanticist despises traditional ideas, fixed formulas, is suspicious of all external authority. Classicism shows repression in the writer and his personages; romanticism delights in spontaneity.”⁹

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND ROMANTICISM

From the above and other definitions it is clear that romanticism was not merely a literary movement confined to a changed manner of writing. Like all vital changes in literature or history, it was based upon a definite point of view or philosophy, a concept of man that cannot be isolated from the point of view of the Enlightenment. In the course of the Enlightenment the humanistic tradition of the West, classical and scientific, was brought to bear upon an archaic state and an aristocratic society. The result was a reform program that ultimately became revolutionary, aiming to establish a kingdom of man in which the perfectible individual could make progress toward the happy realization of his good and creative nature. Human nature and physical nature were both understood chiefly in terms of laws. Man, however, if subject to natural laws, possessed certain natural rights protecting his individuality against the absolute state. Free government was constitutional government that should interfere with the individual as little as possible.

Romanticism in its broader aspects was not so much the opposition to as the completion and extension of this Enlightenment point of view. It was anticlassical to the extent that the imitative literature of the eighteenth century was not creative. It emphasized poetry where rationalism had well-nigh killed poetry. It did not reject the noble example of what was, to it, the heroic Roman Republic, and it was particularly susceptible to the art, literature, and example of the Greeks. Like all ages, it too sought support for its views and aims in ancient culture.

⁹N. H. Clement, *Romanticism in France*, pp. 173-174, 175.

To the extent that French or ancient classicism was authoritative and dogmatic, prescribing rules, forms, subject matter, and methods of treatment, it was no more to be supported than the absolutism of the state or the intolerance of the Church. To the extent that classical literature, ancient or modern, was a support or adornment of aristocratic society, romantic authors were suspicious and critical of it. To the extent that it overemphasized man's rationality, they felt it inadequate. Man was not all reason and intellect, but heart and soul as well. He was not only to be explained in terms of law but, as the Revolution had shown, of caprice as well. His instincts, feelings, and passions were to be trusted as well as his intellect. This was an extension of human personality. The external nature which science had abstracted into law was not the only nature. It excluded the whole wide world of riotous color and sound, of infinite variety and mood, the unclassifiable, momentary, transient universe. And man, the primitive animal, the noble savage, was a sensitive part of this natural world. He was not only its intellectual interpreter.

INDIVIDUALISM AND ROMANTICISM

The western tradition had put emphasis upon the dignity of the individual. The Italian Renaissance had recognized and encouraged the individuality of the gifted artist. The whole recent trend of political thought had been to free the individual from tyranny, to guarantee him his natural rights. The Enlightenment had argued for his economic independence, for *laissez-faire*. The effects of Protestantism had been to recognize his spiritual independence and freedom, not only in religion, but in other departments of the mind and heart. The individual was intellectually free.

Romanticism extended this individualism. It emphasized also the free personality of the eccentric genius. It rejected ultimately no part of the political, economic, social, and intellectual independence the West had sought and gained for man. It sought to enlarge this independence by including the sensitive, instinctive, feeling, emotional, imaginative, and passionate man. For this whole man was good and to be trusted. These considerations give great force to the definition of romanticism by Victor Hugo, France's leading romanticist. He said it was liberalism, and he was thinking of a complete liberation of all individuals. Such an interpretation makes romanticism a great enrichment of the western tradition. Its wealth of human genius, especially in the fields of music and literature, reveals the Romantic as a great age.¹⁰

¹⁰Lovejoy, p. 252, at the conclusion of an essay *On the Discrimination of Romanticisms*, remarks that "any attempt at a *general* appraisal even of a single chronologically determinate Romanticism, still more of 'Romanticism' as a whole is a fatuity."

MUSIC AND THE ROMANTIC EMOTIONS

Music has often been called the most romantic of the arts. With immediate access to the emotions it was and is able to vindicate feeling over, and sometimes against, reason. The romantic emotions were often religious or mystical. If mysticism is an escape from that prison house of reality which constitutes the routine of daily life—an escape to another world—or if, in the words of Aldous Huxley, it is related to a sojourn in the “Antipodes of the mind,”¹¹ then music readily promotes this escape. It has been used by most religions to facilitate the sense of union with the divine. The romantic emotions were associated with a revolt against authority. There was a musical authority, a “classical” form and harmony, whose limitations romantic music had to contend with. The romantic emotions were connected with nature, with feelings for its beauty and wonder that often mystically identified human nature with the external world of physical nature and made man one with his surroundings. Romantic emotions were related finally to the strange and unusual, the unknown, distant, and exotic, the bizarre and macabre. Their possessors were often weary of this world, melancholy searchers for a golden age that was gone, sorrowful for “the loneliness that was and is no longer, sick and nostalgic souls.”

THE VIRTUOSO

These moods easily suffuse music. When they are expressed by unrestrained and eccentric performers they gain a special intensity. In romantic, and indeed all subsequent audiences, excitement could easily be aroused by the astounding dexterity of the virtuoso doing incredible tricks upon his instrument. Paganini could pluck the strings of his violin with his left hand, or play a melody and accompany it at the same time. When Liszt heard Paganini he wanted to do as much for the piano, the technical improvements of which had given it great sonority. He made the piano sound so orchestral that performers no longer felt it necessary to engage an orchestra to play with them. In this way the piano recital was invented. If there were no new music of sufficient difficulty to utilize the orchestral potentialities of the piano, Liszt, one of the great pianists of all time, simply transcribed symphonies for the piano (including all of Beethoven's). The virtuoso conductor contributed additional drama to the romantic scene. And if Liszt made his piano sound like an orchestra, Berlioz wrote music to make an orchestra sound like almost anything, and, if necessary to get the proper effect, he did not hesitate to add a mammoth chorus and four brass bands.

¹¹*Heaven and Hell.*

NEW MUSICAL FORMS AND HARMONY

The eighteenth century in music was the classical century, marked by a perfection of both form and harmony. The form was the sonata form, as used in the symphony, quartets, and piano and other instrumental sonatas. The harmony was monophonic, written in major and minor scales, and maintaining the tonality of one of these scales, or, if in a combination of scales, moving with careful modulation from one to another. The great musical revolutionists of the nineteenth century were Beethoven, Wagner, and Debussy.¹² Beethoven developed the sonata form in all its various uses (piano sonata, symphony, quartet) to such great fullness, power, and expressiveness, and with such harmonic originality that he really broke loose from classical form and harmony, opening an entirely new world to the composer and listener. A man whose music is inexhaustible in depth and variety, he was a colossus bridging the gap from the classic to the romantic eras. Wagner longed to develop opera to the point where as music-drama it would absorb all other forms of art and become a harmony of poetry, orchestral and vocal music, and the dance. Other romantic composers developed new musical forms. Liszt broke away from the symphony in what he called the symphonic poem. Schubert wrote art songs (*Lieder*), poetry set to music in a way to combine voice and accompaniment in emotional expression. New and smaller forms for piano were created by such composers as Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin, as well as Schubert: songs without words, fantasies, preludes, waltzes, mazurkas, polonaises, nocturnes, études, impromptus, and moments musical.

When the piano concerto was enlarged by Beethoven and Schumann and joined by a larger and more expressive orchestra, a new source of musical excitement had been established. Frédéric Chopin, however, did most for the piano as a romantic instrument, writing almost exclusively for it. He created a new chromatic harmony which in his smaller as well as in his larger and formidable works (ballades, sonatas) reaches the limit of romantic feeling and color. Many an adolescent, without endless definition, knows quite well what romanticism was and is when playing his first Chopin nocturne with a sentimental flair.

ROMANTIC MUSIC AND LITERATURE

Romantic music thus played its part in the demand for greater liberty on the part of the individual to express his whole nature. It was aided by romantic literature. The great outburst of lyric poetry in Germany was used by Schubert, Schumann, and later by Brahms and Hugo Wolf for their songs. Schubert wrote almost seven hundred of them, setting to music the poems of ninety-one romantic poets, including six of Heine, fifty-nine of Goethe, and ninety-one of Schiller. It is impossible to un-

¹²For Debussy see pp. 644 f.

derstand fully the fresh and original music of Robert Schumann without knowing something about the romantic novelist John Paul Richter.¹³ The early romanticism of Shakespeare made almost as deep an impression upon composers as upon writers. The Faust legend, particularly in the form Goethe gave it, was a favorite of the composers. Berlioz wrote a "dramatic" legend, *The Damnation of Faust*; Franz Liszt wrote a *Mephisto Waltz* for orchestra and a *Faust Symphony*; and Schubert has "Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel" singing lines from Goethe while the piano imitates the whirr of the wheel. The title of Liszt's symphonic poem *Les Préludes* comes from a poem of the French romantic poet Alphonse de Lamartine,¹⁴ that Liszt paraphrased and printed at the beginning of his score. The young Felix Mendelssohn translated into music the magical fairyland of Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* to accompany its presentation. Hector Berlioz wrote a "dramatic" symphony, *Romeo and Juliet*. In its use of literature and transcription of folklore and legend, music became descriptive, or programmatic. In this kind of music Berlioz was especially interested. His *Fantastic Symphony* cannot be properly understood unless the listener knows exactly what it is supposed to illustrate. Romantic composers sometimes wrote their own poetry for their music. Richard Wagner did over the *Eddas* and the *Niebelungenlied* to make libretti for the "Ring" cycle of operas. In the end these composers were musical critics and authors in their own right. Robert Schumann wrote extensively for a new critical journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, a treasure house of reporting on the new romantic music, and Wagner's theories on the opera were published in *Opera and Drama* (*Oper und Drama*) in 1851. Liszt was widely read and wrote extensively on nonmusical subjects, ending up as an amateur theologian and an abbé.

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN

It does not mean much to write about music. It must be listened to. One can get some of the full force of Beethoven's (1770-1827) gigantic personality by reading, but its revolutionary quality does not become clear until one listens to his music. From his conduct it is known that he was a rebel against the conventional subservience of the musician to his noble patron, but to understand the extent to which his music is rebellious one must, for example, listen to a piano sonata of Mozart or Haydn and then listen to Beethoven's *Pathétique* or *Appassionata* sonatas. He was an idealist and hoped for the unification of European humanity. He admired the early Napoleon because he saw in him a son of the Revolution who was actually establishing European unity. When he finished his Third Symphony in 1804 (the *Eroica*) he dedicated it to Napoleon. But when he learned in Vienna that Napoleon had had him-

¹³See p. 420.

¹⁴See p. 403.

self crowned as emperor of the French, in anger he tore the dedicatory page from the score with the remark, "He is no better than other men!" When he learned of Napoleon's death he remarked, with reference to the funeral march in the *Eroica*, "I have already written the music for that event." But the daring and heroic quality of this symphony cannot be understood until it is compared with any earlier symphony or, in fact, any later one.

Like that of all great artists, Beethoven's work was a steady progression or emancipation. To appreciate this fact it is again necessary to listen, first to one of the earliest of his thirty-two sonatas and then one of the latest (Op. 106, 109, 111), or to one of the earliest of his eighteen string quartets (Op. 18) and then to one of the latest ones (Op. 130 and after). Classical form and harmony of a Mozartian character no longer suffice to express Beethoven's ideas. He abandons the form and the harmony in order to move into a realm of elevated mysticism. For his last symphony (the Ninth) he felt he had to have a chorus with the orchestra. The text he gave this chorus was Schiller's *Ode to Joy*, a poem that had stirred him since youth and that he had long determined to set to music. The poem celebrates a divine joy that is to make all men brothers. It calls upon them to embrace and kneel before the Creator. This has been called "the most colossal symphonic effort of the nineteenth century, and a priceless revelation of the undying human sympathies of its creator." Beethoven thought his *Solemn Mass in D* was even better. When, in this continuation of the tradition of Bach's *B Minor Mass*, he came to the *Dona Nobis Pacem* (Give Us Peace) of the last section, the *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God), he, the child of the Napoleonic age, wanted it to be a prayer for "outward" as well as "inward" peace, "an interpretation scarcely orthodox but profoundly in accord with Beethoven's humanistic sentiment."¹⁵

RICHARD WAGNER

If with composers like Beethoven and Berlioz symphonies threatened to become operatic, with a man like Richard Wagner (1813-1883), operas, or, as he preferred to call them, music-dramas, threatened to become symphonic. Like Beethoven, Wagner was a political rebel. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in Germany he was employed as the director of the royal chapel in Dresden (Saxony). Because of his participation in the Revolution he lost his position and was driven into exile in Switzerland for fifteen years. Here he met Friedrich Nietzsche,¹⁶ and together they worked out a theory of the drama, based upon the composite nature of Greek drama, that would bring together poetry, the dance, and music into one work of art supplanting all the others, what Wagner called "music of the future." While in Switzerland Wag-

¹⁵D. N. Ferguson, *A History of Musical Thought*, pp. 381, 382.

¹⁶See pp. 623 ff.

ner wrote nearly all the music for his "Ring," a tetralogy of grand opera (*The Rhine Gold*, *The Valkyries*, *Siegfried*, *The Twilight of the Gods*), and that for the most romantic of his operas, *Tristan and Isolde*. The opera here becomes a kind of symphony, with voice and chorus playing instrumental parts. Symphonic themes related to the persons or actions of the drama (the leading themes, or motifs—"leitmotifs") become an organic part of the music-drama itself. In *Parsifal*, for example, a treatment of the legend of the Holy Grail, there is a "grail" theme constantly used throughout the opera. Wagner introduces into opera an orchestra larger than ever before used, and in it the new brasses are heard in revolutionary ways. Nothing like these operas had ever been written before or was ever to be written again. The early part of the second act of *Tristan and Isolde*, together with the "Liebestod" ending the third act, is an incomparably lovely musical expression of sensual love. Wagner finally had the satisfaction of seeing his operas produced at Bayreuth in Bavaria, where King Ludwig II built an opera house capable of producing his works. It is still a place of pilgrimage for devoted Wagnerians.

French Romanticism

ROMANTICISM AND REVOLUTION

Romanticism, then, was more a complement and expansion than a rejection of the Enlightenment. It was already well developed in the eighteenth century, where it is best studied in the essays, novels, and autobiography (*Confessions*) of Rousseau, the novels of Richardson (1689-1761, *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*), and the early works of Goethe (1749-1832, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, *Götz von Berlichingen*). The program of the Enlightenment was taken up by a revolution willing to carry on aggressive war. The result was that many of its early enthusiastic supporters now discredited it. Revolutionary violence and war were associated with passions of the mob and strong patriotic or nationalist emotions. Together, these things were identified with the new romanticism, the good, primitive, natural man in action. Romanticism was criticized in the same way as the Revolution. It was made conservative or reactionary in the minds of some authors who thought that the Revolution had gone too far, and liberal or radical in the minds of others who thought it had not gone far enough. In this way, what was at first a literary movement with a definite view of human nature became also a political, economic, and social outlook. And just as the leaders of the French Revolution came to see that no man could be permitted to enjoy unrestrained natural rights when his enjoyment circumscribed the natural rights of others, so some of the Romantics soon came to see that extreme individualism could become antisocial.

Humanitarian sympathies with suffering man also limited the uncontrolled enjoyment of individual natural rights. These trends can be best traced in France from 1815 to 1848.

THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY AND THE JULY REVOLUTION

After the collapse of the Napoleonic empire a Bourbon king was restored to the throne (1815). From now until 1870 France was to recapitulate the experience of the years from 1789 to 1815. From 1789 to 1792 France had been a constitutional, limited, or liberal Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVI. From 1792 to 1804 she had been a republic (the First Republic), democratic and tyrannical to begin with under the Convention (1792-1795), bourgeois under the Directory (1795-1799), and oligarchic and militaristic under the Consulate (1799-1804). Napoleon had set up an empire (the First Empire, 1804-1815).

The restored Bourbon monarchy of 1815 survived until 1830. Louis XVIII was followed by his brother, Charles X, in 1824. The monarchy was ostensibly constitutional, limited, or liberal, inasmuch as Louis in 1815 granted a charter (constitution) guaranteeing to all Frenchmen the political liberties of the Revolution. The aristocracy and Church, however, were unhappy with the liberal Bourbon monarchy, monarchy which during the Revolution had lost the support of the bourgeoisie it formerly enjoyed. To recover its popularity it felt it must govern with the aristocracy and church, who in turn, although once suspicious of power-loving monarchs, now came to see in them their only chance of recovering property and prestige. The history of the restored French monarchy was therefore a gradual and reactionary attempt to return to the situation before 1789. By July, 1830, these steps had become so offensive that Paris arose in insurrection, supported by leading wealthy members of the middle class. Charles X went into exile, and, as a sort of compromise, a member of the Orleanist family, Louis Philippe (1830-1848), became king. The French had again overthrown absolute for limited monarchy.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION, 1848

Louis Philippe lasted three years longer than the restored Bourbons. The French (Parisian) laborer relearned during these years what he had learned during the Convention, namely, that a conservative bourgeois government, such as the Orleanist, had no more to offer him than a conservative aristocratic government, such as the Bourbon monarchy. The Industrial Revolution¹⁷ was taking deeper root in France from 1815 to 1848, making worse the living conditions of workers in the larger cities. Louis Philippe's government became increasingly repressive and corrupt. In the 1840's large sections of opinion shifted again to democratic republicanism, or to early socialism.¹⁸ The Utopian socialists, men

¹⁷See p. 551.

¹⁸This term is defined on p. 564.

like Saint-Simon and Fourier,¹⁹ found a larger audience. When the Orleanist regime sought to suppress public criticism in Paris in February, 1848, it too fell a victim to Parisian insurrection and was supplanted by another republican regime (the Second French Republic, 1848-1852) with which was associated at first the socialist Louis Blanc.

NAPOLÉON III DESTROYS THE SECOND REPUBLIC

Napoleon I transformed the First Republic into the First Empire; Napoleon III transformed the Second Republic into the Second Empire (1852-1870). Napoleon III, a nephew of Napoleon I, was elected president of the Second French Republic in 1848. Using methods that today are called fascist, he destroyed the republic in the early days of December, 1851, by posing as a great friend of all Frenchmen, whose will, he said, was being thwarted by incompetent democratic representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. At the moment planned for his coup, Napoleon threw troops into Paris, and on the night of 2 December took over the police and arrested all possible opponents. When Paris prepared to resist in another insurrection he waited until it had gained momentum, then ordered troops onto the boulevards, and killed a few hundred Parisians, whether actually resisting or not. The Assembly was kept from meeting, and within a year Napoleon made himself emperor.

CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL THEORY

The French revolutionary era, by the speed and thoroughness of its changes, thus brought instability into French politics. It caused first a conservative reaction that utilized the Bourbon restoration to reintroduce the old regime. The dominant and popular political theory of the restoration resembled that of Bossuet in the seventeenth century.²⁰ Men like de Maistre and de Bonald preached the doctrine of absolute monarchy, absolute Catholic dogma, and a caste society dominated by the aristocracy. The old organic social theory preached by Plato and the medieval Church reappeared. It was argued that society should not be so radically renovated as the rationalist revolutionists had done between 1789 and 1795. Society grew slowly; institutions were products of centuries, and should not be recklessly tampered with. The peasant, the mainstay of French as of all European society, ought not to be subject to the quick alterations of urban theorists. As a creature of sentiment more than of reason, man should not be detached from those ancient institutions of Church and monarchy that had given him comfort and support. Tradition was not to be so easily scrapped.²¹

¹⁹Robert Owen is their English counterpart. See pp. 572 f.

²⁰See p. 236.

²¹Cf. the similar opinions of Edmund Burke, pp. 439 ff.

THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION AND ROMANTIC AUTHORS

By and large the romantic authors supported this conservative reaction. Chateaubriand (1769-1848) in his *Genius of Christianity* (1802) and *Martyrs* (1809) inspired enthusiasm for the doctrine and cult of Catholic Christianity by emphasizing its capacity to stimulate the emotions with what was beautiful, poetic, and true. He was supported by the early writings of the Abbé de Lamennais (1782-1854), a leader in the religious revival accompanying the literary Romantic movement. De Lamennais was the confessor of a young royalist poet, Victor Hugo (1802-1885), whose long life was to be the reflection of the shift of the romantic poets and artists from a conservative to a liberal, democratic, and sometimes socialist point of view.

LIBERALISM AND SOCIALISM DURING THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

The liberal middle class tradition of the Enlightenment and Revolution was reinforced by the events of July, 1830, in Paris. It had not disappeared during the restoration, being upheld at the Sorbonne by professors of philosophy, like Royer-Collard and Victor Cousin, and of history, like Guizot. The Revolution had created also a democratic republican tradition and, with Babeuf, the beginnings of a socialist one. After 1830 it was this democratic and socialist republican tradition, as represented by the Utopian school of Saint-Simon, that most influenced the romantics. With it was fused the whole humanitarian movement that had grown since the Enlightenment. These men supported once again the ideas of progress and human perfectibility. When the evils of early industrialism made their appearance, they advocated social reform. Saint-Simon had emphasized the necessity of supplanting an age of individualism by one of co-operation or association, for which the love of man for man was a necessary cement. After 1830 Lamennais sought to free the Church from reliance upon and support of the Bourbons, and to urge it to lead the new movement of humanitarian reform. In so doing he kept pointing to the early days of primitive Christianity, when it stood for a gospel of brotherly love. For writings in the support of this old program of Christian humanism he was condemned by Rome. His disciple Pierre Leroux (1798-1871) talked about a religion of humanity and wished to make equality a vital thing throughout the world. At this moment a Christian socialism makes its appearance, demanding that Christianity become interested in social reform and serve, as Christian humanism had earlier served, as a kind of synthesis between the humanistic and ascetic points of view. Leroux had much influence upon George Sand, whose novels between 1839 and 1847, together with those of Eugène Sue, show much Utopian socialist influence. The pianist and composer Franz Liszt, a disciple of Lamennais, was for a time a member of Sand's circle.

ROMANTIC AUTHORS AND REVOLUTION

Victor Hugo and the romantic poet Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863) went to hear the lectures of the Saint-Simonians. One of the points made by Saint-Simon in describing his new co-operative society was that poet and artist, as well as scientist and industrialist, were to take an important part in bringing about the new society and in sustaining the mood which was to hold it together. They were to be the preachers and prophets of a new humanitarian religion. Alphonse de Lamartine (1790-1869), another leading romantic poet, was a member of the Chamber of Deputies after 1833 and, after the February Revolution of 1848, headed the Provisional Government and protected the new republic from the attacks of more radical Parisians. Victor Hugo, together with Lamartine, turned from the Church to a kind of pantheism, and de Vigny and Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), another young poet, became sceptics. Hugo was a member of the new constitutional assembly of 1848, and when Napoleon III undertook to destroy the Second Republic, itself in good part a product of the new radical romanticism, Victor Hugo, the poet, Edgar Quinet, a historian, and Favre, a jurist and scholar, defended it. "What passed from Saint-Simon and Fourier into the writings of the Romanticists was their criticism of society, of its customs, usages and morality, of its selfishness and greed as exemplified in the wealthy bourgeoisie which ruthlessly exploits the poor and weak and condemns them to a life of vice and degradation, of its oppression of woman to whom it refuses equality with man, of its tolerance of idlers and parasites who live at the expense of those who work, of the corruption of all sorts that it fosters under its present form; and . . . their insistence on the need of a reform which should broaden the moral and intellectual, the social and economic base of the state so as to provide justice and equality for the masses."²²

VICTOR HUGO

Victor Hugo, the great romantic poet and novelist (*Notre Dame de Paris*, *Les Misérables*), gradually changed his point of view from that of a conservative royalist in 1820 to that of a democratic republican in 1848, a despiser of Napoleonic demagoguery in 1851, and thereafter and finally a pacifist and universalist humanitarian preaching a European union and a world republic.

HUGO ON REVOLUTION

In a group of poems published in 1856 (*Meditations*) he explains the circumstances that cause revolutions:

²²Clement, *Romanticism in France*, p. 251.

Yes, Revolutions that avenge all time
 Leave lasting good to balance transient crime;
 They are the embodiment of ugly things
 Laid up in stock beneath a score of kings.
 When suffering has grown to agony;
 When kings have made their fell machinery
 Of Feudal Systems roll, time out of mind,
 Linked with Byzantine Empires, o'er mankind;
 When history is but gravestones ranked in rows,

.

When bad men govern, trampling under foot
 The poor, who share the manger of the brute;
 When, first and last, these Babel pages tell
 Of Louis Onze and Tristan, of Lebel
 And Louis Quinze—pimps—executioners—
 Harems for courts, scaffolds for ministers;
 When all flesh groans; when frowning moons assent
 That all too long the reed, mankind, has bent,
 That skeletons enough have been bleached white
 On gallows-trees; when, to the listening night,
 Drop after drop, the blood of Christ appears
 To have flowed in vain, these eighteen hundred years;
 When ignorance has made life's outlook blind;
 When, having lost the power to grasp or bind,
 Hope, a mere trunk, writhes without hands or feet;
 When everywhere man's sufferance is complete;
 When wars, when hates prevail, under all skies;
 Then suddenly, on a day arise—arise
 Out of the abyss gigantic shapes of woe,
 The pleadings of the wretchedness below;
 A cry is heard, as on a mountain-side;
 The sphere-like masses of mankind collide;
 The pariah, the gallows-bird rebels;
 Scourges and chains and sword-blades, sobs and yells,
 All the fell echoes of past years, resound;
 The fiends of dearth and bloodshed are unbound;
 God speeds his people forth; the tocsin-bell
 Shakes palace, church and steeple, with a knell,
 Breathless and hoarse, from its funereal rope;
 Luthers and Mirabeaus rend King, rend Pope;
 'Tis thus an old world crumbles. Ever nigher
 The hour comes on; far off, the flood mounts higher.
 Over the shoals of rumours, corpses, griefs,
 The surf, the mountain-tops washed down to reefs,
 The centuries in desperate frenzy chase
 Huge Revolution-tides before their face,
 An ocean of the tears of the whole human race.²³

HUGO ON GOD

In the collection called *The Terrible Year* (1872) there is a poem addressed to the "Bishop who called me an atheist," which refers to the

²³Trans. Sir George Young, in *Poems from Victor Hugo*, pp. 156-161.

change in Hugo's religious views. Here he protests against those who would "act eaves-dropper, look through the keyhole/ to the inside of my spirit, search how deep/ My doubts may reach, . . ./ To see what I believe, and what deny—"

My faith is simple; here I write my creed.
I love plain words, such as who runs may read.
If we are speaking of an aged man
White-bearded, seated on a stage divan
'Twixt an archangel and a seer; a kind
Of Emperor or Pope; a cloud behind,
A bird above his head; his offspring pale
Held in his arms, pierced through with many a nail;
A jealous God, that is both one and three;
A vengeful, with an ear for psalmody;
Punishing children for their fathers' crime,
Hallowing royal brigands in their slime,
Stopping the sun short, every evening,
At risk of snapping off the great main-spring;
God, ignorant of science physical,
Men's counterpart in large; the same in small;
Angry at times, and somewhat given to pout
Like Père Duchêne with his big sabre out;
Tardy in pardon, quick at condemnation,
Checking his mother's passes to salvation;
A God who, seated in his azure sky,
Makes it his business with our faults to vie,
His sport to keep a pack of miseries
As squires keep hounds; who makes disturbances;
Sets Nimrod, Cyrus loose, and gets us bitten
By Attila, and by Cambyzes eaten,
I am sir priest, whoever may think it odd,
An Atheist, to this good-old-fashioned God.

If, on the other hand, we have to do
With the all-essential Being above us, who
In all we are concentrates all we dream;
In whom the dissonances of nature seem
Accorded, and the universal span
Claims personality, no less than man;
That Being, whose soul I feel within my own;
Whoever pleads with me, in still small tone,
For truth against illusion, while around
The senses boil, and half my powers are drowned;
If with that witness who within has wrought
Now pain, now pleasure at a passing thought,
So that, according as I sink or soar,
The brute, or spirit, prevails in me the more;
If with that everlasting marvel, rife
With something more than we possess of life,
Wherewith our soul becomes intoxicate
As often as it comes, soaring elate,
As Jesus and as Socrates did come,

For truth, right, virtue, straight to martyrdom;
 Oft as high duty impels it down the steep,
 Oft as it skims a halcyon o'er the deep,
 Oft as with loftier aim it penetrates
 Athwart the ugly shadow of its hates,
 And on the farther frontier of the gloom
 Seeks for the dawn; O priest, if we assume
 To speak of that First Essence, whom a creed
 Neither unmakes nor makes; whom we concede
 Wise, and suppose benignant; without face,
 Without a body, or son; having more grace
 Of fatherhood the while, and more of love,
 Than summer has of sunlight from above;
 If of that vast unknown, whom Holy Writ
 Names not, explains not, makes not known one whit;
 Of whom no scribes, no commentators speak,
 Most High that looms, dim as a mountain-peak,
 O'er cradled infant and enshrouded dead;
 Not eatable in any unleavened bread;
 If of that dizzy summit of all natures
 Who speaks in tongues of elemental creatures,
 (Not priests, or Bibles); Him, who reads the abyss
 To whom the heaven of heavens a temple is;
 Not sensual; not ceremonial;
 The law, the life, the very soul of all;
 Invisible, because He is immense;
 Intangible, save that beyond our sense,
 Past all those forms, which any breath can melt,
 In nothing grasped, He is in all things felt;
 If of the all-transcending quietude,
 Solstice of reason, justice, right, and good,
 Who, stable make-weight of infinity,
 That is, that was, that evermore shall be,
 Sets bounds to suns, gives patience in distress,
 Without us light, within us consciousness;
 Who hath shone ever in heaven, and under earth;
 And is the Birth; and is the Second Birth;
 If of the eternal, single, vast First Cause,
 Whose being is His thought; whose thought, the laws
 Whence all things have their being; whom I call
 God, merely as the greatest name of all:
 Then, we change sides. Then turn our spirits home;
 Thine to the night, the mire, the ghastly gloom
 Where only mockings and negations live;
 Mine to the light, the august affirmative,
 Hymn, ecstasy of my rapt soul! Then, Priest,
 I am believer, and thou Atheist.²⁴

HUGO AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Before the Revolution of 1848 Hugo had been a supporter of the growing Napoleonic legend. Although a republican in 1848, a sup-

²⁴Trans. Young, pp. 256-259.

porter of universal suffrage and free education, he was by no means a socialist. He was elected to the constitutional assembly called by the Provisional Government and in it worked at first with the conservative Party of Order. He tried to reduce the horrors of the insurrection against the Provisional Government in June, 1848, when the measures to relieve unemployment, the "national workshops," were withdrawn. This insurrection cost the government troops some 3000 casualties, and the insurgents some 10,000 casualties and 15,000 arrests, most of whom were subsequently deported.

HUGO ON POVERTY AND EDUCATION

As a member of the assembly who never could quite adhere to the conservatism of his party, he sought to mitigate the evils of poverty. He said in a speech, "I am not one of those who believe that we can remove suffering in this world; suffering flows from a divine law; but I am one of those who believe and declare that we can abolish poverty. Poverty is a disease attacking the body politic, like leprosy." When the conservative elements in the assembly wished to turn over elementary education to the Church (the Falloux Law), arguing that it was only the priests "who represent moral order, political order, and material order" and that "we must fight with the army of the clergy against the demoralizing and anarchistic army of the schoolteachers," Hugo opposed. He exclaimed in debate, "Ah we know them well, the clerical party! An old party, guarding over the yokes of orthodoxy for centuries, guarding indiscreetly, fatally, jealously, the gates of the Church. It is they who have discovered, in place of truth, those two Pandora boxes of ignorance and error; they who prohibit science and genius from going beyond the missal, and who cloister all thought in dogma. Every step that knowledge has made in Europe, has been without them and in spite of them. Their history is written in the record of human progress, but in reverse. . . . If you reject progress [by turning over the schools to the Church], then you shall have revolutions! To those so mad as to say 'Humanity shall go no farther,' God answers with the trembling of the earth." Hugo got amendments to the law.²⁵

HUGO AND NAPOLEON III

He told the assembly in 1850 that "I, in my obscure and limited person, am a living proof of the truth and irresistible force of that movement toward democracy which you oppose." In 1851 he spoke of that "immense edifice of the future, which will be called someday the United States of Europe." When President Louis Napoleon asked for an amendment to the constitution permitting him to extend his term as president, "Hugo opposed it knowing full well that it was a step towards tyranny."

²⁵M. Josephson, *Victor Hugo*, pp. 308, 309-310.

"This Government," he told the assembly, "has throttled all our liberties, one by one—nay it is not a Government, it is one vast intrigue—history will call it one vast conspiracy. France lowers its head in dishonor, Napoleon trembles with shame in his tomb, while five thousand tramps cry, 'Long live the Emperor.'" Warning that a new empire was in store, he concluded by saying to Louis Napoleon, "You would dare take in your puny hands the scepter of the Titans, the sword of the giants. After August[us] must we have Augustulus! Because we have had a Napoleon the Great, must we have a Napoleon the Little!"²⁶ After he had tried with others to save France from its new Napoleon and instead had to watch the government shout down the opposition, he left the country to continue his battle with the pen and was formally banished on 9 January, 1852. He had to wait long until, with the fall of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic, he could return to his beloved Paris (5 September, 1870). A man of extraordinary vitality, courage, and talent, he died a national hero of France after having enriched its literature with great plays (*Hernani*, 1830), great novels, and great poetry.

The romanticism and humanitarianism of some of his lyric poetry remain to be illustrated. An early riser himself, he has this to say of a summer morning:

Solemn is midnight on the hills;
 Day smiles with an ingenuous air;
 The ash, the maple evening stills
 To slumber. Eventide is fair;

But morning—morning is the time
 For rapture! In what glory of mist
 Night melts! It makes the churl sublime;
 It dazzles the diplomatist.

Slowly the stars in heaven fade,
 Gold blossoms in the azure world.
 Below, the cornflowers gleam through shade,
 Blue stars upon a field of gold.

The small birds run, the oxen low;
 The leaves are charmed by sorcery;
 The winds in wider circles blow
 Amid the mounting brilliancy.

Airs shine; waves more loudly roar;
 Their inner thought all hearts confess,
 And the whole universe once more
 Awakens to life and consciousness.²⁷

²⁶Josephson, p. 327.

²⁷Young, p. 231.

This of a summer night:

The plain, when summer days withdraw their light,
Exhales its scent intoxicatingly:
With ears half open to faint sounds of night,
Translucent slumber holds us dreamily.

With pure stars, the dark is more sublime;
Vague half-lights tint the sky's eternal dome;
And all night long, until the destined time,
By Heaven's rim pale dawn appears to roam.²⁸

The moonlight inspired other emotions:

When the moon rises o'er the mist-clad plain,
When the stirred shade resumes its vocal powers,
When evening rustlings, evening airs again
Fill the blurred woodland bowers;

When with his musical bell the ox comes home,
Like some old poet, noble, worn and staid,
Whose accents at the entrance of the tomb
Sound on through deepening shade;

Then let us wander where the valley leads,
Saunter knee-deep in grass with noiseless tread,
And watch the star-strewn vault. 'Tis from these meads
We see the heavens outspread.

Through the green land together let us go,
Mourning for what is reft us. So best blows
The soul-flower, made to bloom by earthly woe
Above the night-bowing rose.

There let us whisper of things infinite,
How all is great, all wise, though all be dim;
Opening our hearts, beneath the azure height,
To catch the sphere-born hymn.

'Tis at this hour stars shine and beauty beams;
Your softer graces shall amaze mine eyes;
Dreaming, let's blend the trouble of our dreams
With quiet of the skies.

The deep calm eve makes but a single prayer
Of all the rumours of the night and day.
Of all the torments of this life of care
Make we but one love-lay.²⁹

The romantics were not only partial to love and nature, mood and moonlight, and God and the infinite, but they were fascinated by death

²⁸A. Condes, *A Treasury of French Poetry*, p. 180.

²⁹Young, pp. 344-345.

and the grave, the tomb and the spectre, the skeleton and the mysterious gloom. Hugo, however, often used his talent to condemn war and to express hope for a united world:

Six thousand years has war been hailed
The pastime of contending powers,
Nor God's munificence availed,
Who fired the stars and shaped the flowers.

The heavens and all their sanctities,
The lily pure, the gold-shot nest,
Do nought to cure the lunacies
That reign in man's insensate breast.

"Vast carnage! Bloody victory!"
This is the news we love should come;
And the fool multitudes agree
To exchange their bells for tuck of drum.

Glory her dazzling nimbus spreads,
And her triumphant chariot drives
Above despairing mothers' heads,
And over little children's lives—

The bare steel gleams, the camp-fires glow;
We set the murderous forces free;
Austerer spirits cheerier grow
At flashing of the artillery.

And all for Royal Highnesses
Who, before yet your graves are green,
Will interchange civilities
The while you putrefy unseen!

All, that foul jackal and fell bird
May peck and prowl about the stones,
For any fragment uninterred
Of flesh remaining on your bones.

Each nation hates and suffers not
The neighbour nation by its side;
Our human anger waxes hot,
Fanned by stupidities of pride.

'Tis a Croatian—knock him down!
A Russian—shoot him, cut his throat!
'Tis virtue. Why was whity-brown
The colour of his overcoat?

I stab this fellow to the heart,
And go away with glee in mine,
Because he played the felon's part
In being born across the Rhine.

Rosbach and vengeance! Waterloo!
Intoxicate with noise and spite,
Man knows no more what he would do
Than murder—or the mirk of night.

We might be drinking at the stream
Or kneeling where the branches hide;
Under the oaks might court, or dream.
We find more sport in fratricide.

We slash and thrust, and stab and smite;
We traverse mountains, cross the main;
And Terror with clenched hands grips tight
The tangles of his horse's mane;

And the dawn rises placidly.
Good faith, it causes me surprise
That any hatred yet should be,
When larks are singing in the skies!³⁰

The Universal Republic

O vision of the coming time!
When man has 'scaped the trackless slime
And reached the desert spring;
When sands are crossed, the sward invites
The worn to rest 'mid rare delights
And gratefully to sing.

E'en now the eye that's levelled high,
Though dimly, can the hope espy
So solid soon, one day;
For every chain must then be broke,
And hatred none will dare evoke,
And June shall scatter May.

E'en now amid our misery
The germ of Union many see,
And through the hedge of thorn,
Like to a bee that dawn awakes,
On Progress strides o'er shattered stakes,
With solemn, scathing scorn.

Behold the blackness shrink, and flee!
Behold the world rise up so free
Of coronetted things!
Whilst o'er the distant youthful States,
Like Amazonian bosom-plates
Spread Freedom's shielding wings.

³⁰Young, pp. 244–246.

Ye, liberated lands, we hail!
 Your sails are whole despite the gale!
 Your masts are firm, and will not fail—
 The triumph follows pain!
 Hear forges roar! the hammer clanks—
 It beats the time to nations' thanks—
 At last, a *peaceful* strain!

'Tis rust, not gore, that gnaws the guns,
 And shattered shells are but the runs
 Where warring insects cope;
 And all the headsman's racks and blades
 And pincers, tools of tyrants' aids,
 Are buried with the rope.

Upon the skyline glows i' the dark
 The Sun that now is but a spark;
 But soon will be unfurled—
 The glorious banner of us all,
 The flag that rises ne'er to fall,
 Republic of the World!³¹

German Romanticism

GERMANY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The history of German romanticism was determined in part by the political fate of the Germanies. Before Napoleon's reorganization, Germany consisted of many lay and ecclesiastical states grouped into a vague Holy Roman Empire. Until the rise of Prussia this situation made the Empire a prey of neighboring strong powers, and, after Prussia became strong, the great powers could always play the small against the larger German states. France took advantage of this decentralization, a France whose culture dominated Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and likewise during the era of the Revolution and Napoleon. The Revolution at first inspired much enthusiasm in German intellectual and artistic circles. It was introduced into Germany with the armies of the Revolution and Napoleon. In those areas of western Germany (the Rhinelands) which became a part of France and where the Code Napoleon became law, there was much gratitude, especially on the part of Jews, who were released from the severe restrictions of German anti-Semitism.

GERMAN PATRIOTISM AND ROMANTICISM

German enthusiasm subsided when the Revolution became a Terror and France under Napoleon an aggressive empire. Napoleon dissolved

³¹H. L. Williams, *Selections . . . from the Poetical Works of Victor Hugo*, pp. 167-169.

the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, and the reaction to the Napoleonic empire was, after 1812, a war of liberation which expelled the French. The Germanic Confederation formed at Vienna contained thirty-eight virtually independent German states. Its power was the power of Prussia and Austria, and, as in France from 1815 to 1830, this power under the direction of Prince Metternich of Austria was oppressively reactionary. The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France had serious repercussions in the Germanies, including a revolution of their own in 1848, but they did not alter fundamentally the political situation. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the German Romantic movement expressed itself politically as patriotism or nationalism, longing for a united Germany and always anti-French in bias. Many romantics abandoned or ridiculed German politics because of its pettiness. When they did not do so, whether conservative or liberal, they had, to escape its provincialism, to look forward to a larger integration of the German nationality. A description of this patriotic or nationalistic aspect of German romanticism is best postponed to a later page.³²

THE GERMAN CULTURAL REVIVAL

German romanticism was a part of Germany's coming of age in a cultural as well as a political sense. If German political history created a frustration that found vent in extravagant nationalism, German cultural backwardness and dependence upon other nations were now corrected by a phenomenal development of German thought, literature, and music. A long-postponed German renaissance blossomed. The earlier Latin-Roman renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had been overshadowed and cut short by the German reformation. German Protestantism had at first consumed creative energy, and then as it turned into religious war (Thirty Years' War) perverted and destroyed it. The revival came in the eighteenth century as part of the western-European Enlightenment. English and French *philosophes* stimulated the growth of a German philosophic school labeled rationalistic, transcendental, or idealistic, of which Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and Georg Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) were the outstanding members. The inspiration of the revival was in part Greek, and German authors wrote enthusiastic books about Greek art and literature (especially Homer) to balance the interest of German philosophers in Plato and Plotinus. The inspiration was particularly romantic. It came in part from Rousseau. When Kant received his copy of Rousseau's novel *Émile*, he failed to take his regular daily walk for the first and last time in his life. It came also, and this was likewise true for France, from the influence of Shakespeare, whose plays were now translated into German. (One of Victor Hugo's sons spent the time of exile with his father in translating Shake-

³²See Chap. viii on nationalism.

speare into French.) German, like French writers, were now fascinated by English publications on early Celtic (Irish and Scotch) and other works on Scandinavian (Eddas and sagas) literature. They set out to cultivate the popular (early medieval) origins of their own national culture.

THE GERMAN ROMANTIC SCHOOL

The democratic and humanitarian aspects of the French Revolution intensified this interest in the common people, and war against the French tyrant gave romantic emphasis to the struggle for liberty. Some writers like Goethe (1749-1830) and Schiller (1759-1805) settled down after an early romantic phase to become the German classical writers. The early Romantic School proper (the Schlegels, Tieck, Novalis) did not free themselves from the romantic "disease." A later group of romantic writers, among them those called the Young Germany, of whom Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) was the most gifted, were influenced by the French Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in the direction of republicanism and democracy.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHY

In his book on *The Romantic School* (1836) Heine remarks that "while materialism became dominant in France; in Germany on the contrary, the spirit alone was recognized as a reality, all matter was declared to be only modified forms of the spirit, and even the existence of matter was denied. It almost seemed as though the spirit had sought on the German side of the Rhine revenge for the indignities that had been heaped upon it on the French side. The spirit, when in France its very existence was denied, emigrated over to Germany, as it were, and there in turn denied the existence of matter."³³ If German philosophy as represented by Kant was a reaction against the materialism of French *philosophes* such as Holbach,³⁴ it was no less a reaction against the skepticism of a man like Hume³⁵ and is another example of what has always been a protest of man when his point of view has become too exclusively rational and scientific. The pride of self-confident rationalistic philosophers has always been taken aback by mystics who point out that there are ways of knowing that the rationalist does not understand.

HEINE ON KANT

This is not to say that Kant was a mystic, for he made the same approach to knowledge as did men like Locke and Hume and their French

³³Heinrich Heine, *The Romantic School*, trans. S. L. Fleishman, pp. 118-119.

³⁴See pp. 286 ff.

³⁵See pp. 308 ff.

disciples. In a book on *Religion and Philosophy in Germany* (1834) Heine says of Kant that "he had neither life nor story. He led a mechanically ordered, almost abstract old bachelor's existence in a quiet, remote alley in Königsberg, an old town on Germany's northeast border. I do not believe that the great clock of the cathedral there did its day's work more regularly and impassively than its compatriot, Immanuel Kant. Rising, coffee-drinking, writing, reading, lecturing, eating, walking, all had their fixed time, and the neighbors knew that it was exactly half-past three when Immanuel Kant in his grey coat, Malacca cane in hand, emerged from his house and went to the little Linden avenue which for him is still called Philosopher's Walk. There he walked up and down eight times, in every season; and when the weather was gloomy or grey clouds announced the rain, his servant, old Lampe, was seen walking anxiously behind him, with a long umbrella under his arm, like an image of Providence." Heine tries to explain why Kant wrote his philosophy "in such a grey, dry, wrapping-paper style" by saying that "he feared that science might lose something of its dignity if it were expressed in a light, attractively cheerful tone. Therefore he gave it a stiff, abstract form which coldly repulsed all familiarity from the lower intellectual classes. He wished to set himself aristocratically apart from the popular philosophers of the day who aimed at the most bourgeois lucidity, and he clothed his thoughts in court-chilled office language."³⁶ Kant's style, and that of German philosophy in general, has infuriated all those who wish to be somewhat sure that there is some meaning in what they are reading.

KANT ON HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

Kant began with the view of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume that our understanding comes from the ideas formed in the mind as the result of experience, that is, from the raw materials furnished by our senses. But he contends that this is an incomplete account of how knowledge is acquired. For the mind quite independent of, and previous to, sense experience sets up certain categories in accordance with which we perceive through our senses. Our sensual experience is in terms of space and time, for example, and these are mental and not experiential concepts. We give meaning to experience by organizing it in terms of quantity, quality, and relationship. We measure, evaluate, and relate the raw material of consciousness with ideas that do not come from experience. "Hence, whereas Locke conceived of human knowledge as mainly determined by sense impressions acting upon a comparatively passive consciousness, Kant described knowledge as mainly the product of the activities of consciousness upon the otherwise unknown given material. This change in attitude Kant compared with the Copernican revolution

³⁶Heinrich Heine, *Works of Prose*, ed. Hermann Kesten, pp. 197-198, 199.

in astronomy." To Kant, then, there is no knowledge until the mind gives form to the matter of experience. This goes beyond Locke.

Hume had questioned the validity of science and all knowledge based upon a cause-and-effect relationship (causality) by arguing that cause-and-effect relationships were not to be found in the data of the senses. We assumed that things caused each other because they merely preceded. To Kant this was no objection because there was no real knowledge until this order had occurred, namely, until the data of the senses were given meaning by a mind acting independently and *a priori*. Science and learning were thus better founded when based upon an interpretation of the data of the senses made by man's independent mind than when these data were themselves determinative of man's thought. This was a great vindication of free human reason. Kant did not contend that man in this way necessarily discovered truth or reality, the very nature of things, or the things in themselves. Man was still only coming to terms with the appearance of things, though his knowledge of appearances was valid as far as it went. It was not, as with Berkeley, mere illusion.

KANT'S PRACTICAL REASON

To get at truth or reality it was necessary to go beyond the limits of pure reason and to consider what Kant called the practical reason, namely, those assumptions that man's reason makes in order to guarantee the working of a just universe. Reason acting upon the data of the senses may not prove the existence of God, the immortal soul, man's free will, and the essence of spirit or matter—nor disprove them. But the practical reason tells one to believe in these things when it is necessary to give ultimate meaning and confidence in the whole vast scheme of things. Man has to do right, he has to be free to do right, and he must be rewarded in this world or the next for his having done so. He must therefore believe in a moral universe, in his free will, in another world where the injustices of this world are rectified, and in a just God who presides over the destinies of this universe. There is a legitimate world of faith as well as of reason.

Heine says that first Kant denies that God and immortality can be proved. So, "there is now no all mercy any more, no paternal kindness, no reward in another world for self-denial in this one; the immortality of the soul is in its last agony—gasping and groaning—and old Lampe is standing there, his umbrella under his arm, a sad spectator, with cold sweat and tears dripping from his face. And then Immanuel Kant takes pity and shows that he is not only a great philosopher but also a kind man, and he considers and speaks, half good-heartedly and half ironically, 'Old Lampe must have a God, or the poor man cannot be happy—but man ought to be happy on earth—that is according to practical reason; all right, let practical reason warrant God's existence.'"

The philosophy of Hegel carried the rationalistic impulse given by Kant's idealism to an extreme. This rationalistic tendency can be followed most easily in the theories of history which the followers of Kant worked out.³⁷ These theories came to have especial significance for the Romantic era, inasmuch as the historical approach to political reform was beginning to supplant the purely rational approach, especially in support of a conservative outlook. Classical humanism had promoted an especial interest in the history of Greece and Rome and fostered a learned history based on intimate acquaintance with the texts of the distinguished historians of antiquity. The Reformation had also stimulated an interest in history as a means to explain why it was or was not necessary to reform the medieval Church, a history which was therefore primarily concerned with the history of Christianity whether ancient or medieval. The leaders of the new science were not especially concerned with history at all, and the rationalist philosophers whom they influenced, while interested in making history over into a new social science, were less empiric than dogmatic in their approach. They were especially hostile to the Middle Ages, as a period when the priestly tyranny of the Catholic Church exercised its baneful influence over an ignorant and superstitious mankind. But as the French Revolution turned to violence, many men began to say that the extent of reform was limited by history. German scholars opposed to the sudden introduction of the Code Napoleon argued that there was a body of German law and custom that had grown up in the slow course of the centuries which could not be arbitrarily rebuked without danger. So it was with all important institutions. A progress which ignored the past was disastrous. The romantics reacted to the *philosophes'* hatred of the Middle Ages by an unrestrained adoration of them, especially of those aspects which explained the beginnings of their own national histories and catered to the emotions of wonder and awe for its miraculous religion, beautiful art, and simple poetry. It was not the analysis of the past but its wealth of dramatic incident and colorful detail that the romanticist historians cultivated.

In this sense the German philosophers of history were not romanticists. One of the first to write a kind of philosophy of history was Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), a pupil of Kant's (*Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*). Herder's first volume stimulated Kant to write an essay on *An Idea for a Universal History from the Cosmopolitan Point of View*. Kant believed in the possibility of a universal history, when history meant more than a recitation of facts. It must display the growth of man as a rational, and therefore morally free, creature and show how this rationality and freedom have grown as a result of the struggle with

³⁷See R. G. Collingwood, "The Threshold of Scientific History," *The Idea of History*, pp. 93 ff.

their opposites, human irrationality or "passion, ignorance, and selfishness." Kant wanted therefore "a universal history which shall show how the human race has gradually become more and more rational and therefore more and more free: a history of the self-development of the spirit of man."³⁸ It was his trust in this spirit that led him, a loyal supporter of the principles of the French Revolution, to argue for a universal federation of republics that would establish universal peace (*Perpetual Peace*, 1795).

Johann Fichte, another student of Kant's, developed a theory of history of a still more abstract sort (*The Characteristics of the Present Age*, 1806). It is based upon his notion that a concept is determined by a process of argument, or dialectic, among thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Because of its inadequacy or errors the mere statement of a concept or a thesis calls forth opposition in the form of an antithesis. The final development of the concept (synthesis) comes when the opposition of antithesis is overcome by further debate. If Kant was right that the chief concept of history is rational freedom (and Fichte thought he was), then history must display the development of an original rational freedom (the state of nature), which in the course of time develops its opposite (antithesis) in the form of an absolute state, and the synthetic statement of the concept of rational freedom follows only after the antithesis, or absolute state, is itself destroyed by revolution. Fichte worked out this (present) synthesis in a highly personal and abstract form.³⁹ In imposing this scheme upon history Fichte was following Kant's idea that knowledge comes not from the mere consideration of the facts but of the facts viewed in the light of categories (a frame of reference or body of belief) which the mind first sets up irrespective of the facts. "The whole world of events in time is thus a schematized representation of the world of logical or conceptual relations."⁴⁰

HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

It is this scheme which Hegel developed still further (*Philosophy of History*, 1822-1823). He also wanted a universal history that concerns man as a rational being and therefore as a thinker. History must be primarily concerned with the development of thought.⁴¹ Using Kant, Hegel thought this was a development of freedom and accordingly of states which incorporated ideas of freedom. Under the influence of his predecessors Hegel came to see in this development of freedom through the process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis something much more than human beings struggling to express their moral reasons. Somehow

³⁸Collingwood, p. 103.

³⁹See Collingwood, p. 108.

⁴⁰Collingwood, p. 109.

⁴¹"Here again Hegel was certainly right; it is not knowing what people did but understanding what they thought that is the proper definition of the historian's task."
—Collingwood, p. 115.

or other history concerned the realization of the Absolute, or World Spirit (*Weltgeist*), whatever this may mean. Hegel could speak of Napoleon's being the World Spirit on horseback. Human history was but a part of a vast cosmic design in which the Divine is seeking to realize itself, using human beings as a means.⁴²

Hegel was at first an ardent enthusiast for the principles of the French Revolution. When it turned to Terror he lost this enthusiasm and became an apostle of the strong state which sacrifices liberty to order, and an apologist for the Prussian version of this state (he was on the faculty of the University of Berlin). In a book on the *Philosophy of Right* (1820) he argued that although history may be the gradual realization of the idea of freedom, freedom itself has little meaning unless it is accompanied by the power to act as a free man. This power the individual cannot give to himself. It must come to him as the member of a strong state. The development of human freedom is thus perversely tied up with the development of absolute monarchy and is thus made a bulwark of post-Napoleonic conservatism. His philosophy of history might make it seem that such a state as the Prussian state was the inevitable result of the historical process toward the realization of freedom.

In tracing this history, Hegel adopted Fichte's notion of the elaboration of concepts by constant argument between thesis-antithesis and synthesis (the dialectic). The realization of freedom through the operation of the dialectic he traces through three historical periods: the oriental, the Graeco-Roman, and the German-Christian. In the ancient oriental empires there was no comprehension of the nature of freedom. Only the despotic ruler was free to do what he pleased; the rest were his slaves. "The consciousness of freedom first arose among the Greeks, and therefore they were free; but they, and the Romans likewise, knew only that some are free, not man as such. . . . The Greeks therefore had slaves; and their whole life and the maintenance of their splendid liberty, was implicated with the institution of slavery." If despotism was characteristic of the ancient oriental states, democracy and aristocracy, as a kind of antithesis, were characteristic of the Graeco-Roman world, and the synthesis which came out of it was the Christian German monarchy of medieval and modern times. The stain of slavery upon the Graeco-Roman notion of freedom was dissolved by Christianity, which recognized no distinction between lord and master. Since in all his discussion Hegel equated the development of freedom with the extension of the moral reason of man, the moral obligation of every man in Christian teaching was superior to the limited moral obligation of some men in

⁴²H. Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution*, 2d ed., p. 234, calls the world spirit or mind [*Weltgeist*] as the subject of history "a substitute . . . for the real subject, the unfathomable God of a frustrated humanity, hidden and awful, like the God of the Calvinists; the mover of a world in which all that occurs does so despite the conscious actions of man and at the expense of his happiness." He quotes Hegel: "History . . . is not the theater of happiness. Periods of happiness are blank pages in it."

the classical worlds. But the universal loyalty to a new religion saps the limited loyalty to the old state, and the result was the monarchy of the Germans. When this monarchy was associated with the Reformation, freedom reached a more perfect expression. For "in monarchy . . . there is one lord and no serf, for servitude is abrogated by it; and in it Right and Law are recognized; it is the source of real freedom. Thus in monarchy, the caprice of individuals is kept under, and a common gubernatorial interest established." The importance of the German reformation in the development of liberty Hegel saw in that "It placed the sole responsibility for his deeds on the free subject and challenged the traditional system of authority and privilege in the name of Christian freedom and human equality."⁴³

Hegel felt that the development of the dialectic of freedom in history had come to an end with the development of the modern (German-Christian) monarchy. The modern state had abolished slavery and recognized all men as potential citizens of the state. The idea of modern political sovereignty bound all members in the state and not a few in loyalty and devotion. Hegel thus came to the fantastic conclusion that the modern German state of his day was the final and inevitable synthesis of the idea of freedom in history. The dialectic came to an end with the development of the bourgeois (German) state and its particular notions of freedom. The revolutions of 1830 began to upset this state in the year before Hegel died, and he was afraid of their implications. But in building up a theory of history he not only seemed to give inevitability to middle-class ideas; he also supplied a method of approach to another philosopher who used the dialectic to prove that bourgeois society would inevitably be succeeded by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not until then would the dialectic cease with the classless society. What was the conservative, rational theory of a Romantic age quickly became the radical, scientific (rational) theory of an industrial age. Karl Marx said he merely turned the dialectics of Hegel upside down.

GOETHE AND ROMANTICISM

Heine, in condemning the narrow patriotism of "Teutomaniacs," refers to the "grandest and holiest idea ever brought forth in Germany, the idea of humanitarianism; the idea of the universal brotherhood of mankind, of cosmopolitanism—an idea to which our great minds, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul [Richter] and all people of culture in Germany, have ever paid homage." Johann Wolfgang Goethe saw that such a humanitarianism was incompatible with a romantic nationalistic cult of the medieval. According to Heine he destroyed it. "That voice annihilated the whole pack of hobgoblins; the spectres of the

⁴³Marcuse, pp. 235, 246.

middle ages fled; the owls crept again into their obscure castle-ruins, and the ravens fluttered back to their old church steeples."⁴⁴ If Goethe withdrew from the forest of melancholy romantics to follow a broader path illumined by Greece and Rome, it was not until he had enriched German literature with its romantic masterpiece in the novel (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*), written many a beautiful lyric tinged with romantic nostalgia, and in his play *Faust*, which he worked at all his life, pursued a romantic theme to its end: the full realization of the personality of an idealistic young hero avid for all experience even at the cost of losing his soul to the Devil. What he (and Schiller) were interested in as poets has been put as follows: "The typical man: man placed in the conflict between the sensual and the spiritual, but impelled by his inner nature to overcome this conflict; man inevitably erring and sinning, but through this very instinct forced into organic relation with the social and national body; in short, man rising to the stature of his true self, striving for a harmonious blending of all his powers,—this was the ideal which inspired both Goethe's and Schiller's poetic work."⁴⁵ In *Faust* Goethe makes his hero realize that it is neither knowledge nor physical nor even spiritual love but only usefulness to one's fellow man, the creative participation in the life of society, that is worthy of a complete self-sacrifice meriting salvation.

GOETHE AND DEMOCRACY

Following upon his early conversion to romanticism at Strassburg, Goethe in 1776 entered the service of the duke of Saxe-Weimar, the ruler of a small principality of some 100,000 population. He remained at Weimar, its capital, for the rest of his life, participating in the court, the holder of various offices, and a member of the hereditary imperial aristocracy. As he raised himself above the turmoil of literary controversy, so he thought to elevate himself above the petty claims of party politics and dogmatic religion and interested himself in scientific research. He adhered to the notion of the *philosophes* that it was best that the enlightened despot rather than the people undertake reform. He was not, therefore, impressed with the French Revolution. He says in his *Venetian Epigrams* (1790):

Where is humanity's Majesty? Tell me, where shall I seek thee?
Surely not in the mass? No, we must look to the few.

Wilt thou be free, my son? Live frugally, learn something honest,
And never raise thine eyes up to the topmost place.

Freedom is truly a glorious ornament, fairest of jewels.
Nevertheless it is not suited to all, as we know.

⁴⁴Heine, *The Romantic School*, pp. 33, 47.

⁴⁵Kuno Francke, *Social Forces in German Literature*, pp. 336-337.

Man of the world, you will err if you think that people are rascals.
Dreamer, you too are deceived if you consider them good.

That which the Lutherans did, today is done by the Frenchmen.
In such terrible times tranquil culture recedes.⁴⁶

GOETHE'S POETRY

Goethe's Olympian conservatism did not keep him from becoming one of Germany's great and popular lyric poets. Many of us have learned and sung:

Once a boy beheld a bright
Rose in dingle growing;
For, far off it pleased his sight;
Near he viewed it with delight;
Soft it seemed and glowing.
Lo! the rose, the rose so bright,
Rose so brightly blowing!

Spoke the boy, "I'll pluck thee, grand
Rose all wildly blowing."
Spoke the rose, "I'll wound thy hand,
Thus the scheme thy wit hath planned
Deftly overthrowing."
O! the rose, the rose so grand,
Rose so grandly glowing.

But the stripling plucked the red
Rose in glory growing,
And the thorn his flesh hath bled,
And the rose's pride is fled,
And her beauty's going.
Woe the rose, the rose once red,
Rose once redly glowing.⁴⁷

There is romantic joy in the "May Song":

How gloriously gleameth
All nature to me!
How bright the sun beameth,
How fresh is the lea!

White blossoms are bursting
The thickets among,
And all the gay greenwood
Is ringing with song!

There's radiance and rapture
That naught can destroy,
Oh earth, in thy sunshine,
Oh heart, in thy joy!

Oh love, thou enchanter,
So golden and bright—
Like the red clouds of morning
That rest on yon height;—

It is thou that art clothing
The fields and the bowers,
And everywhere breathing
The incense of flowers!

Oh maiden! dear maiden!
How well I love thee—
Thine eye, how it kindles
In answer to me!

⁴⁶Quoted in G. P. Gooch, *Germany and the French Revolution*, p. 177.

⁴⁷Trans. J. C. Manger, in *The Permanent Goethe*, ed. Thomas Mann, p. 6.

Oh well the lark loveth
Its song 'midst the blue;
Oh, gladly the flowerets
Expand to the dew.

And all my heart's music
Is thrilling for thee!
Be evermore blest, love,
And loving to me!⁴⁸

And so do I love thee;
For all that is best,
I draw from thy beauty
To gladden my breast!

The "Dance of Death" shows many features of romantic graveyard verse:

The warder looked down at the dead of night
On the graves where the dead were sleeping,
And, clearly as day, was the pale moonlight
O'er the quiet churchyard creeping.
One after another the gravestones began
To heave and to open and woman and man
Rose up in their ghastly apparel!

Ho, ho for the dance!—and the phantoms outsprung
In skeleton roundel advancing,
The rich and the poor, and the old and the young,
But the winding sheets hindered their dancing.
No shame had these revellers wasted and grim,
So they shook off the cerements from body and limb,
And scattered them over the hillocks.

They crooked their thigh bones, and they shook their long shanks,
And wild was their reeling and limber;
And each bone as it crosses, it clinks and it clanks,
Like the clapping of timber on timber.
The warder he laughed, tho' laugh was not loud;
And the Fiend whispered to him—"Go, steal me the shroud
Of one of these skeleton dancers."

He has done it! and backward with terrified glance,
To the sheltering door ran the warder;
As calm as before the moon looked on the dance,
Which they footed in hideous order.
But one and another retiring at last,
Slipped on their white garments and onward they passed,
And a hush settled over the greensward.

Still, one of them stumbles and tumbles along,
And taps at each tomb that it seizes;
But 'tis none of its mates who has done it this wrong,
For it scents its grave-clothes in the breezes.
It shakes the tower gate, but that drives it away,
For 'twas nailed o'er with crosses—a goodly array—
And well was it so for the warder!

⁴⁸Trans. T. Martin, in *Permanent Goethe*, p. 8.

It must have its shroud—it must have it betimes—
The quaint Gothic carving it catches;
And upwards from story to story it climbs,
And scrambles with leaps and with snatches.
Now woe to the warder, poor sinner, betides!
Like a spindle-legged spider the skeleton strides
From buttress to buttress, still upward!

The warder he shook, and the warder grew pale,
And gladly the shroud would have yielded!
The ghost had its clutch on the last iron rail,
Which the top of the watch-tower shielded.
When the moon was obscured by the rush of a cloud,
ONE! thundered the bell, and unswathed by a shroud,
Down went the gaunt skeleton crashing!⁴⁹

It was upon man rather than nature that we must put our faith:

Noble be man,
Charitable and good,
Since that alone
Distinguishes him
From other existences
Which we know well.

Hail to those unknown
Exalted beings
Whom we forbade.
Let man resemble them;
His example teach us
To hold their faith.

For nature remains
Forever unfeeling:
The sun shines down on
Evil and good men
And moon and stars
Glitter on criminals
As on those who are best.

Wind and rivers,
Thunder and hailstones
Rush on their courses
And, hurrying onwards,
They seize on and tear down
One as the other.

Thus also does fortune
Fumble among men,
Now taking the innocent
Curly-haired lad, but
Soon also the bold
Guilt-laden skull.

Each one of us must
Accepting eternal
Great, iron laws,
Accomplish the circle
Of his existence.

But man and man only
Can do the impossible;
He distinguishes
Chooses and judges.
He can lend lastingness
To the single moment.

He alone may
Reward the good,
Punish the evil,
Heal and be saviour
Bind to his uses
The erring, the drifting.

And we pay honour
To the immortal ones
As though they were men,
Who did in their great deeds
What the best, in their small ones,
Do or would do.

The noble man
Be charitable and good!
Be tireless in making
The useful, the right.
Be to us pattern
Of those foreshadowed beings!⁵⁰

⁴⁹Trans. Martin, *Permanent Goethe*, p. 344.

⁵⁰Trans. Stephen Spender, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The excesses of the French Revolution turned Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), Germany's classical dramatist (*Wallenstein*, *Maid of Orleans*, *Wilhelm Tell*), from the hope that politics could bring about a regeneration of man. Since reason had brought on the revolution, from reason one must turn to sentiment and religion. Indeed, he came to feel that it was through art that man's potentiality could be best realized (*Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, 1795). In a letter of 13 July, 1793, he wrote: "Before recent events [in France] we could flatter ourselves with the beautiful dream that the steady and imperceptible influence of thinkers, the seeds of truth planted during centuries, the accumulated store of experience, must have attuned men to the reception of higher things, and prepared an era when light would triumph over darkness. . . . Nothing seemed lacking but a signal for the great transformation and unification of the human spirit. It has sounded—but with what result? The attempt of the French people to obtain possession of the holy rights of man and to win political freedom has only exhibited its incapacity and unworthiness, and has swept back along with it a considerable part of Europe into barbarism and serfdom. . . . Shall we then cease to strive for political regeneration? Nothing of the sort. Political and civic freedom remains forever the holiest of possessions, the noblest goal of every effort, the axis of civilization; but this glorious edifice can only be built on the solid foundation of ennobled character. We must make citizens before we present them with a constitution. Character is moulded by the rectification of ideas and the purification of sentiment. The former is the work of philosophy, the latter of aesthetics. Philosophy alone is insufficient, for it is a long road from the head to the heart, and most actions are determined by feeling. The most urgent task of our time appears to me to be the elevation of our sentiments and the moralisation of the will; for much has already been accomplished for the enlightenment of the mind. Aesthetic culture is the most potent instrument in the formation of character, and it can be applied without the help of the state."⁵¹

"I can justify my resistance and my preference of beauty to freedom by showing that to reach a solution in the political sphere the road of aesthetics must be pursued, since it is through beauty that we arrive at freedom." "Beauty alone confers happiness on all, and under its influence everyone ceases to be mindful of his limitations. Beauty alone can give man a social character; for to create harmony in the individual is to bring harmony into society."⁵² This is the basis for the romantic emphasis upon the importance of the artist as a prophet, teacher, and indeed leader in public life, treated by Schiller in his poem "The Artists" and taken up by Saint-Simon and the French and finally by the

⁵¹Gooch, pp. 219–221.

⁵²Gooch, pp. 223, 225.

English romantics. "Man is fully man only in perceiving or creating the beautiful."⁵³

His gospel of beauty did not find a great popular echo, and the expansion of the Napoleonic wars turned Schiller upon himself and his art as the nineteenth century dawned:

Tell me, O friend, where shall a place of refuge
Be found where peace and freedom may abide?
The century has closed in storm and tumult,
The new age dawns in war and homicide.

The bonds are loosed by which lands were united,
Old institutions perish and decline;
The ocean cannot drown war's fearful tumult,
Nor ancient Nilus, nor old Father Rhine.

Vainly, alas! thou seek'st in earth's dominions
The dwelling-place of liberty and truth,
The everlasting spring of freedom's garden,
Where blossoms the undying flower of youth.

Enter the holy temple of the spirit,
If thou wouldst flee from life's discordant throng;
For freedom dwells but in the realm of visions,
And beauty lives but in the poet's song.⁵⁴

THE MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN ROMANTIC SCHOOL

Madame de Staël, the daughter of Necker, Louis XVI's Swiss finance minister, when exiled from France by Napoleon wrote a book *On Germany* that introduced France and Europe to German philosophers and authors of the Romantic period. In its composition she had the help of August Wilhelm Schlegel, who, with his brother Friedrich, was an early romanticist critic and author. Other authors of the earlier period were Ludwig Tieck and Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenburg), and among the later members of the school were Ludwig Uhland, a very popular poet, Friedrich Baron de la Motte-Fouqué, the author of the ever-popular *Undine*, Ernst Hoffmann, the Hoffmann of Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann*, and perhaps the last of the romantics in a strict sense, the greatest German poet after Goethe, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856).⁵⁵

THE CHARACTER OF GERMAN ROMANTICISM

Heine saw in the Romantic school "naught else than the reawakening of the poetry of the middle ages as it manifested itself in the poems, paintings, and sculptures, in the art and life of those times."⁵⁶ With this

⁵³Francke, p. 371.

⁵⁴Quoted in Gooch, p. 228.

⁵⁵*The Romantic School*, p. 6.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 6.

return to the Middle Ages there was associated a religious revival (many Protestant authors became Catholics) and a return to mysticism and idealism in philosophy. If Goethe called German romanticism a disease, it was because it went to extremes in its proclamation of a wild and untamed individualism withdrawn from the real world. The hero of Ludwig Tieck's novel *William Lovell* (1795-1796), says to himself, "Do I not walk through this life as a somnambulist? All that I see is only a phantom of my inner vision. I am the fate which prevents the world from crumbling to pieces. The world is an empty desert in which I meet nothing but myself. All things exist only because I think them; virtue exists only because I think it. Everything submits to my caprice; every phenomenon, every act, I can call what it pleases me. The world, animate and inanimate, is suspended by the chains which my mind controls. My whole life is a dream, the manifold figures of which are formed according to my will. I am the supreme law of nature."⁵⁷

FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL'S "LUCINDE"

Friedrich Schlegel wrote a novel (*Lucinde*, 1799) in which he intended to "put aside what is called order and assert to the full [the] unquestioned right to a charming lawlessness." Its hero Julius likes to think about "the possibility of a permanent embrace" and "not only to have enjoyment, but also to enjoy the enjoyment." The heroine Lucinde "was one of those who live, not in the common world, but in a world of their own creation. She, too, with a bold resolution had cast off all social bonds and restrictions and lived entirely free and independent." A professor of German literature refers to "the paroxysms of insanity . . . into which the aesthetic libertinism of this book again and again breaks forth"⁵⁸ and quotes from a chapter called "Elegy on Idleness" (a favorite topic with German romantics)⁵⁹: "Why . . . this constant striving and pushing without rest and repose? Industry and utility are the angels of death who with flaming sword prevent man from his return to paradise. Through composure and gentleness only, in the sacred quietude of genuine possessiveness, can we realize our whole self. The more beautiful the climate, the more truly passive man is. Only Italians know how to carry themselves, and orientals only know how to recline. The right of idleness marks the distinction between the noble and the common, and is the true essence of aristocracy. To say it in a word, the more divine man is, the more fully does he resemble the plant. The plant of all forms of nature is the most moral and the most beautiful. And the highest and most perfect life is reached by simple vegetating."⁶⁰

⁵⁷Francke, pp. 410-417.

⁵⁸Francke, p. 420.

⁵⁹See Joseph von Eichendorff's novel, *Life of a Good-for-Nothing*.

⁶⁰Francke, pp. 420-421.

In Ludwig Tieck's short stories, Heine says, "The reader feels himself transported into an enchanted forest; he hears the melodious gurgling of subterranean waters; at times he seems to distinguish his own name in the rustling of the trees. Ever and anon a nameless dread seizes upon him, as the broad-leaved tendrils entwine his feet; strange and marvelous wildflowers gaze at him with their bright, languishing eyes; invisible lips mockingly press tender kisses on his cheeks; gigantic mushrooms, which look like golden bells, grow at the foot of the trees; large, silent birds sway to and fro on the branches overhead, put on a sapient look, and solemnly nod their heads. Everything seems to hold its breath; all is hushed in awed expectation:—suddenly the soft tones of a hunter's horn are heard, and a lovely female form, with waving plumes on head and falcon on wrist, rides swiftly by on a snow-white steed. And this beautiful damsel is so exquisitely lovely, so fair; her eyes are of the violet's hue, sparkling with mirth and at the same time earnest, sincere, and yet ironical; so chaste, and yet so full of tender passion, like the fancy of our excellent Ludwig Tieck. Yes, his fancy is a charming, high-born maiden, who in the forests of fairy-land gives chase to fabulous wild beasts; perhaps she even hunts the rare unicorn, which may only be caught by a spotless virgin."⁶¹

Novalis was both a novelist and a poet, and his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* as well as his *Hymns to Night* and *Spiritual Songs* are in their respective ways characteristic of German romanticism. To him, a pantheist, philosophy was "homesickness, a yearning to be at home in the All." In the novel Heinrich yearns to behold a blue flower he has dreamt of, a "symbol of ideal poetry." "The book impresses us as a series of charming hallucinations; it is as though the subconscious self had emancipated itself from the will and were roaming about, in sweet intoxication, through the shadow-land of the incoherent and the incredible."⁶²

"The air is filled with gentle music, a blue haze enshrouds the distance; mediaeval merchants with faces of pre-Raphaelite saints ride on the highway, discussing in chorus questions of poetry and art; hidden paths lead through rock and underbrush to subterranean caverns, where venerable hermits are pouring over prophetic books; voices are heard from beneath the ground, visions appear in the trees, spirits of the departed return in manifold reincarnations. In the midst of these fantastic surroundings we see Heinrich himself travelling in search of the wonderful flower . . . and the further he travels, the further he is removed from the life of reality, the more completely does he seem to lose his human identity . . . he at length reaches a stage of existence where

⁶¹Heine, *The Romantic School*, pp. 107-108.

⁶²Francke, p. 427.

'men, beasts, plants, stones, stars, elements, sounds, colours, commune with each other like one family, act and talk like one race,' and that he himself is transformed successively into a rock, a singing tree, and a golden wether." At one point his company "looked down upon a romantic country which was strewn with cities and castles, with temples and monuments, and which combined all the grace of cultivated plains with the awful chasms of the desert and a rocky wilderness. . . . Yonder, the majestic spectacle of a volcano in action, the devastations of an earthquake; here, a pair of lovers in sweet embrace under shady trees. On this side, a maiden lying on her bier, the distressed lover embracing her, the weeping parents standing by; on another, a lovely mother with a child at her breast, angels sitting at her feet and looking down from the boughs overhead. . . . A mighty voice called to arms. A ghostly army of skeletons with black standards came down from the mountains like a hurricane and fell upon the life that sported in the valley. A terrible slaughter began, the earth trembled, the storm roared and the night was rent by awful meteors. A funeral-pile rose higher and higher, and the children of life were consumed in its flames. Suddenly out of the heap of ashes there broke forth a stream milky blue. The spectres scattered, but the flood rose and rose and devoured the gruesome brook. Soon all the terrors had vanished. Heaven and earth flowed together in sweet music. A wondrous flower swam resplendent on the gentle waves."⁶³

Heine, in speaking of Fouqué's fairy tale about the water sprite Undine, says that "our age turns away from all fairy-pictures, no matter how beautiful. . . . This reactionary tendency, this continual praise of the nobility, this incessant glorification of the feudal system, the everlasting Knight-errantry balderdash, became at length distasteful to the educated portion of the German middle classes. . . . In fact, this everlasting sing-song of armors, battle-steeds, high-born virgins, honest guild-masters, dwarfs, squires, castles, chapels, minnesingers, faith, and whatever else that rubbish of the middle ages may be called, wearied us."⁶⁴ Heine in fact poured much of this knight-errantry balderdash and medieval rubbish into his poetry but was associated finally with a group of writers called the Young Germany (from Mazzini's Young Italy⁶⁵), whose romanticism was a little less removed from the politics, economics, and society of the contemporary world. He had come to Paris in 1831, attracted by the Revolution of 1830 and the doctrines of the Saint-Simonians. On 10 December, 1835, he had the satisfaction of having his works, together with those of the other members of Young Germany, condemned and prohibited by the *Bundestag* (Federal Assembly) of the Germanic Confederation. In 1844 he wrote for *Vorwärts* (*Forward*),

⁶³Francke, pp. 425-426, 427-428.

⁶⁴Heine, *The Romantic School*, p. 186.

⁶⁵See pp. 473 f.

a Parisian paper of which Karl Marx, a more radical German exile in Paris, was one of the editors. By this time his reputation as a great poet was equaled by no other German romantic poet. In spite of a distaste for miracles he had wrought miracles with the German language never wrought before, bringing sheer delight to any who have learned to tolerate the irresponsible indifference to language of many German scholars.

Heine was born in Düsseldorf, studied at Bonn with A. W. Schlegel, and after a none too inspiring stay at Göttingen, where, he says in his *Harzreise*, citations bloomed in the professors' gardens, he completed his education at Berlin. But Germany seemed to have no place for this brilliant young poet. There was no professorship for him at Munich. Although he gave up Judaism for Lutheranism in order to qualify for a position in the Prussian civil service, it did not come. He then left for Paris and earned his living not only by his own books but as a political and literary correspondent for German newspapers. He was severely criticized by his fellow countrymen for accepting a pension from the French government and earned their dislike for his stinging abuse of German foibles. At times he was the victim of German anti-Semitism, of what was called his pollution of the pure stream of German culture. People might read, love, and memorize his poetry the world round, but German politicians did not wish to honor him with a memorial. A monument intended for a German city was finally erected in the Bronx, New York.⁶⁶

Heine lost interest in the promise of the July monarchy. He went so far as to call Louis Philippe "a good-humored, pot-bellied bourgeois, . . . a family man and good husband who, though he owes his crown to the People's Revolution, ungratefully keeps on betraying the people with gross desertion." But without ceasing to be a humanitarian Heine preferred to avoid the controversy of political parties and become a disciple of those Frenchmen who were turning Saint-Simon's doctrines into a religious cult. The Saint-Simonians had come to look at history from the point of view of a conflict between Hellenism ("pagan sensualism") and Nazarenism ("Christian spiritualism"). "Their aim was to harmonize the antithesis by the 'rehabilitation of matter' and through the instrumentality of the artist, who thus becomes the high-priest of the new religion."⁶⁷

Heine says in his Preface to *The Romantic School*, "I do not belong to the materialists, who put the spirit in fleshly clothes; instead I take the body and inform it with spirit. I sanctify the flesh. I am not one of the atheists who deny; I affirm."⁶⁸ His Saint-Simonian views he put in a poem:

⁶⁶Louis Untermeyer, *Heinrich Heine, Paradox and Poet*, pp. 361 ff.

⁶⁷Willoughby, p. 144.

⁶⁸Untermeyer, p. 224.

Upon these rocks we shall erect
A church, superb and splendid
Built on the third New Testament . . .
The sufferings are ended.

Ended at last the difference
Between us, false and shoddy;
Ended the stupid rage of flesh,
The torments of the body.

Listen how God in that dark sea
Speaks with a thousand voices,
How, in the thousand-lighted skies,
His loveliness rejoices.

God's beauty moves through light and dark,
Through bright and secret places;
His spirit lives in all that is—
Even in our embraces.⁶⁹

Karl Marx was only twenty-six, and a leader of the radical German republicans in Paris, when Heine began to write for *Vorwärts*. Heine was neither so radical nor so disillusioned as these men. As his biographer puts it, "The heart told him that the human tragedy was largely an economic tragedy, that the mean struggle could be alleviated, that the conduct, the very emotions of men, could be altered under another social system. The head told him to doubt the republican experiment, to disbelieve that the great and private troubles of men and women, the hungers, ecstasies, misunderstandings, and despairs would change with any new order. 'It must perish,' cried his heart. 'The old order has been judged and condemned; let it die! Let it be destroyed, the system where egoism and cynicism feed each other, where man is exploited by man. Let them be smashed, those white sepulchers, where hypocrisy is enshrined, and injustice has its dwelling place.' But the head regarded a communal future with apprehension and actual bewilderment, . . . it distrusted the mob. A little later in life it made Heine say, 'Anxiety and terror fill me when I think of the time when these grim iconoclasts will come into power. Their heavy hands will ruthlessly shatter the marble effigies of beauty so sacred to me. They will put an end to the curious toys and tinsel of Art which the poet cherished. They will cut down my decorative trees, and plant potatoes where the laurels used to grow. They will root out from the soil of society the lilies that toil not nor spin. . . . A similar misfortune will overtake the roses, those pampered sweethearts of the nightingales; the nightingales, those unnecessary songsters, will be hunted down; and alas my *Book of Songs* will serve as little paper bags in which the grocer of the future will wrap coffee or snuff for old women!' But even while the thought of the dark triumph of the proletariat distressed him, the heart

⁶⁹The translations of Heine are all by Untermeyer. This one is on p. 240.

leaped up again and the poet cried, 'Yet this Communism, so threatening to my peace of mind, so opposed to my interests, casts a spell over me. I cannot struggle against its logic. If I admit the syllogism that "every man has a right to eat," then I must agree not only to the premise, but to all its implications and consequences. Let the old social order be destroyed . . . Hail, then, to the grocer who shall take my poems and make them into bags for the old women's snuff and coffee, solaces which too often in this unjust world are denied them. *Fiat justitia et pereat mundus!* Let right be done, though the world perish.'"⁷⁰

Under the influence of Marx, Heine wrote his *Poems for the Times* (*Zeitgedichte*). From them one can catch the intensity of his mood, the mood, in spite of everything, of a devoted German:

German singers! sing and praise
German freedom, till your song
Makes the heart leap up to hear it
And the deed supports the spirit
Like the stirring Marseillaise.

Turn from Werther and his wooing—
For his Lotte let him long!
Peal the bell and strike the hour,
Now the people come to power.
Sword in hand, aroused and doing.

Do not sigh, "What does it matter,"
Like a love-sick flute. Be strong.
Be a trumpet. Be the thunder.
Be the charge that tears asunder.
Crash and conquer, flow and shatter!

Strike, and call for keener actions!
Crush the tyrant! Conquer wrong!
Mix your songs with cries and curses,—
But be sure to keep your verses
Vague and full of dull abstractions.⁷¹

.

Freedom, stumbling through the stews
Barefoot, spat upon, and shocking,
Cheer up! Some day you'll have shoes,
And perhaps (who knows) a stocking.

Freedom, some day you will wear
A warm cap with ear-laps showing;
Then you will not have to care
In the path of all winds blowing.

⁷⁰Trans. Untermeyer, p. 290.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 311-312.

Men will nod to you, no less
They may even house and feed you;
They may love you to excess,
But, of course, they will not heed you.

You, however, just, you see,
Listen to your lords and heed 'em.
Hold your tongue and bend your knee,
And you'll have a future, Freedom.⁷²

The "Weavers" was written to commemorate "the revolt of the starved and brutalized Silesian weavers. . . . It is a Biblical curse, sonorous and prophetic."

From darkened eyes no tears are falling;
With gritted teeth we sit here calling:
"Germany, listen, ere we disperse,
We weave your shroud with a triple curse—
We weave! We are weaving!

"A curse to the false god that we prayed to,
And worshipped in spite of all, and obeyed, too.
We waited, and hoped, and suffered in vain;
He laughed at us, sneering, for all of our pain—
We weave! We are weaving!

"A curse to the king, and a curse to his coffin,
The rich man's king whom our plight could not soften;
Who took our last penny by taxes and cheats,
And let us be shot like dogs in the streets—
We weave! We are weaving!

"A curse to the Fatherland, whose face is
Covered with lies and foul disgraces;
Where the bud is crushed before it can seed,
And the worm grows fat on corruption and greed—
We weave! We are weaving!

"The shuttle flies in the creaking loom
And night and day we weave your doom.
Old Germany, listen, ere we disperse,
We weave your shroud with a triple curse,
We weave! We are weaving!"⁷³

Heine, like Hugo and Goethe, was a man of great vitality. In the last years of his life, however, he had to contend with the awful ravages of what was probably syphilis, a disease which ordinary physicians of his day knew neither how to diagnose nor cure. He referred to his "mattress-grave," of nine years' duration, yet could joke about his illness. When asked if it were really incurable, he could reply, "Heavens, no, someday

⁷²Untermeyer, p. 312.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 318-319.

I shall die of it," or else describe his condition with, "My constitution is even worse than the Constitution of Prussia."⁷⁴ And in spite of it he was able to get much work done up to the very last. He actually died demanding paper and pencil. It cannot be said that he worked his Judaism and Christianity, his German and French culture, his spirituality and sensuality, his heart and his mind into a very integrated personality. He would have been the last to say so. It was enough to leave his poetry behind, a poetry which, because he was a Jew, would someday be taught to German children as that of an "unknown poet."⁷⁵

Some of his romantic strains must close this section. All students of German have learned:

Child, you are like a flower,
So sweet and pure and fair;
I look at you, and sadness
Touches me with a prayer.

I must lay my hands on your forehead
And pray God to be sure
To keep you forever and always
So sweet and fair and pure.⁷⁶

And the Lorelei:

I cannot tell why this imagined
Despair has fallen on me;
The ghost of an ancient legend
That will not let me be:

The air is cool, and twilight
Flows down the quiet Rhine;
A mountain alone in the high light
Still holds the faltering shine.

The last peak rosily gleaming
Reveals, enthroned in air,
A maiden, lost in dreaming,
Who combs her golden hair.

Combing her hair with a golden
Comb in her rocky bower,
She sings the tune of an olden
Song that has magical power.

The boatman has heard; it has bound him
In throes of a strange, wild love;
Blind to the reefs that surround him,
He sees but the vision above.

⁷⁴Untermeyer, p. 304.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 368.

⁷⁶Untermeyer, *Heinrich Heine* (the Poems), pp. 136-137, hereafter cited in my text.

And lo, hungry waters are springing—
Boat and boatman are gone
Then silence. And this, with her singing
The Loreley has done. (pp. 107-108)

Scandinavia and the Orient come easily into Heine's and into all romantic literature:

A lonely pine is standing
In the North where high winds blow.
He sleeps; and the whitest blanket
Wraps him in ice and snow.

He dreams dreams of a palm-tree
That far in an Orient land
Languishes, lonely and drooping,
Upon the burning sand. (p. 84)

.

The good King Harold Harfager
Lies in the depths below;
His water-witch beside him,
He sees time come and go.

Held in the lovely mermaid's arms
He neither lives nor dies;
Resigned to his delicious doom
Two hundred years he lies.

The King's head lies in the mermaid's lap;
His dark eyes strain above;
Yearning to meet her burning eyes,
He cannot look enough.

His golden hair is silver-gray,
His yellow face forlorn;
On ghostly cheeks the bones stand out,
The skin is withered and torn.

Yet sometimes from his dream of love
King Harold suddenly wakes;
He hears the billows roaring above
While his crystal palace shakes.

Sometimes it seems to him the wind
Throbs with the Norsemen's call;
Swiftly he lifts his battle arm,
Then sadly lets it fall.

Sometimes he thinks he hears the chant
Of sailors crude and strong,
Praising King Harold Harfager
In some heroic song.

Then groans the King, and wails and weeps,
His bosom pierced with pain.
The water-witch leans over his mouth
And kisses him quiet again. (p. 300)

.

Ali Bey, the Faith's defender,
Lies surrounded by his maidens;
Paradise on earth, a foretaste
Of the Paradise in heaven.

Odalisques as fair as houris
Graceful as gazelles, attend him;
While one softly strokes his forehead,
Others curl his beard with perfume.

To a lute another dances,
Sings and sways and clings with kisses
To his heart, where all the blessed
Flames of happiness are kindled.

From beyond there comes a sudden
Clash of trumpets, scabbards rattle;
Kiss of steel and call of rifles—
"Lord, the Franks are seen approaching!"

And the warrior mounts his war-steed.
Yet, throughout the crash of battle
Still he acts as though surrounded
By the fairest of his maidens.

When the Frankish heads are severed
By the dozen, he regards them
Smiling, like a tender lover
When he kisses his beloved. (pp. 293-294)

.

Where will I, the wander-wearied
Find a haven and a shrine?
Under palms will I be buried?
Under lindens on the Rhine?

Will I lie in desert reaches,
Buried by a stranger's hand?
Or upon the well-loved beaches,
Covered by the friendly sand?

Well, what matter! God has given
Wider spaces there than here
And the stars that swing in heaven
Will be lamps above my bier. (pp. 430-431)

THE ENGLISH PAST

Romanticism in England pursued a brilliant and resolute way of its own. English writers could not ignore a literary tradition which included such names as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton. The development of the English state and society had made unnecessary the English equivalent of a French Revolution. English patriots were not frustrated by the counterpart of the Germanic Confederation. English Protestantism had retained an established church, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had preserved such medieval institutions as monarchy and aristocracy in a limited form. The Renaissance had been a powerful classical and humanistic influence upon art and letters, but it had not produced a classical age comparable to that of seventeenth-century France. English science and philosophy had created a rationalistic movement in thought. But English experience, built also upon a prosperous economy and a growing and influential middle class, brought a moderation in outlook and practice that did not carry rational principles to extremes.

GOthic INFLUENCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The English renaissance could not destroy the medieval background of English literature and art any more than the English revolutionary movement in religion and politics could do more than modify old established institutions such as church and monarchy. English literature, thought, and art were producing Gothic novels (Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe), Gothic architecture, and "sensibility" before there was a group of romantic writers.

THE IMMEDIATE BACKGROUND OF ENGLISH ROMANTICISM

The French Revolution and Napoleon at first stimulated and then repelled many Englishmen. England once again took up arms against the French domination of the Continent, and in England as well as elsewhere after 1815 a reactionary period followed that was distasteful to many. It was combined with the sad human results of the early Industrial Revolution in such a way as to bring forth many literary protests. Yet in spite of this economic and political background, England produced a group of romantic lyric poets (not to mention her other authors) who brought the history of her poetry to a peak that it never reached again and made this period one of the most glorious in the history of western, if not world, literature. There are few if any literary generations that can claim such distinguished men as Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, and Keats.

THE INTERESTS OF ENGLISH ROMANTICISTS

Leaving to France and especially to Germany the cultivation of the extremes, English romanticism, then, was of a moderate character. Its early interest was medieval Irish (Celtic) literature and English balladry. These were introduced to the Continent, where they awakened similar excitement which strengthened, for example, Germany's cultivation of its early mythology and literature. In such works as Wordsworth's *Preface to the Lyrical Ballads* (1798), published by him and Coleridge, Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, and Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*, a new Romantic school of literary criticism was established of permanent importance.⁷⁷ It was felt necessary to disagree with Pope on what a poet and poetry were and what they were supposed to accomplish. What classical writers meant by nature was not quite what romantic authors meant when, in reaction to a barren rationalism, they wanted to go back to nature. Wordsworth thought it was possible for the poet in isolated emotional response to, and contemplation of, the world of nature to arrive at truth. Coleridge in his criticism was much influenced by the idealistic (Kantian) German school of philosophy and Neoplatonism; Scott continued the work of the Scottish ballad writers and, when his poetic talents flagged, recaptured various aspects of the past, including the medieval, in his historical novels. Byron cultivated the colorful world of the Near East and associated himself with the national movements for independence of the Italians and Greeks. Shelley and Keats sought to make use of the ancient Greek world and especially its Platonism. They all cultivated a poetic, and in most cases a personal, individualism that was restless under serious social restraint.

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE ROMANTICISMS

In England as well as France and Germany it is possible to speak of both a conservative and a liberal romanticism. Men like Wordsworth and Coleridge, if not Scott, were at first thrilled by the prospects of the French Revolution. They were especially taken by the ideas of William Godwin (*Political Justice*, 1793), an English radical who had read Holbach, Rousseau, and Helvetius and adopted materialistic and atheistic views. But in their later reaction to revolutionary violence and aggression both became conservative and substituted Edmund Burke for William Godwin. Coleridge wrote important conservative works on the nature of the state and society. Shelley was an intimate disciple of Godwin (finally his son-in-law) and however much carried away by enthusiasm for Greece he never abandoned Godwin's radicalism. Byron, to the end, was an instinctive iconoclast.

⁷⁷See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*.

Godwin's radicalism, however materialistic and mechanistic, retained the Enlightenment's faith in the perfectibility of man ("Perfectibility is one of the most unequivocal characteristics of the human species").⁷⁸ He regarded government, and especially monarchy, as pernicious, since governments are "powerful for evil only," and "it may reasonably be doubted whether error could ever be formidable or long-lived if government did not lend it support." Godwin was active as a revolutionist. Governments were a necessary evil and could be controlled by opinion. Man, being a rational animal, was responsive to truth when he could be overwhelmed by truthful argument. Truth, then, would prevail if persistently and properly advocated. Since reason was the only true guide and good the only true aim, such things as the English penal system were cruel and outrageous. Indeed, Godwin wanted to abolish the use of force in all human relationships. He was therefore opposed to war. Wars were justifiable, if at all, only to defend one's country. They should be paid for only by the voluntary contributions of those who wanted them. They were a poor way to promote human brotherhood and the rule of reason. "It is a most mistaken way of teaching men to feel that they are brothers," he said, "by imbuing their minds with perpetual hatred. . . . How can the man who has been trained to regard a loaded weapon as his argument entertain all that confidence in reason and distaste of violence which severe truth prescribes? . . . It cannot be a matter of indifference for the human mind to be systematically familiarized to thoughts of murder and desolation." As an eighteenth-century cosmopolitan he criticized exaggerated patriotism as "another of those specious illusions which have been invented by imposters in order to render the multitude the blind instruments of their crooked designs." He wanted a United States of Europe. If government could be gradually done without, if property could be equalized, and if truth could be adequately taught, then, because man is a rational animal and responds to truth, a better world could come about. It was thus an English adaptation of a French hope which inspired the romantic authors in their liberal phase.

EDMUND BURKE AND CONSERVATISM

Not so Edmund Burke, the critic of English treatment of the American colonies. As early as November, 1790 (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*), and regularly thereafter he sought with his powerful, rhetorical pen to point to the whole falsity of the rational, revolutionary approach. Human nature might be rational, but if so, this rationality was only a small, and feeling a much larger, part of it. Politics as well as philosophy must adjust itself to human nature as a whole. A given

⁷⁸See the chapter on Godwin and Burke in Basil Willey, *18th Century Background*.

state, church, and society cannot be radically altered or destroyed by doctrinaire revolutionaries in accordance with some abstract scheme of how a perfect society ought to be organized without doing untold and irreparable damage. The political, economic, social, and religious institutions of a people are something precious, precious not only because they are sacred and in some way express the will of God, but because they are the product of a long history, organisms of slow growth, of centuries of hard struggle on the part of whole peoples to work out a civilized and decent manner of life. They are what makes it possible for man to live a virtuous life. They are the inheritance of one generation from another. They can be modified if necessary, as they have continuously been, but it is the wicked violation of a sacred past to destroy them. Burke therefore had no use for Locke's social contract guaranteeing to man certain natural rights. Man had such rights as positive law gave him. His duties were more sacred than his rights, duties owed to an established church as well as to the state it consecrates. "We know," he says, "that man is by his constitution a religious animal, that atheism is against not only our reason but our instincts." Since the origin of the state as well as the church is divine, the existence of a state church is the most natural thing in the world. The life of a political organism created and guided by God through the centuries must not be damaged by impious hands but passed on as vigorous as it has been received.

THE VANISHED GOLDEN MIDDLE AGES

"A spirit of innovation," Burke says, "is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views." It comes in a time that has supplanted the venerable Middle Ages. For "the age of chivalry is gone" and "that of sophisters, economists, and calculators has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished forever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The untaught grace of life, the chief defense of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise is gone. It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness."

BURKE ON THE CONTRACT BETWEEN PRESENT AND PAST

There may not be a social contract in the sense of Locke and Rousseau, but in some mystic sense state and society are a grander contract between present and past. "Society is, indeed, a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at

pleasure, but the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with utter reverence, . . . It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are yet to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible world, according to a fixed compact sanctioned by the inviolable oath which holds all physical and moral natures, each in their appointed place. This law is not subject to the will of those who, by an obligation above them, and infinitely superior, are bound to submit to that law." This demand for obedient and reverent submission to a mystic entity composing state, church, and society makes Burke an early nationalist.

CONSERVATISM AND THE THEOCRATIC TRADITION

Together with the conservative theorists of France and Germany (de Maistre, de Bonald, Hegel), Burke helped to fix the conservative outlook that rejected the French Revolution and all its rationalist works. By its emphasis upon the traditional and sacred character of monarchy, church, and society, a character that keeps each individual in his appointed place, one is reminded of the political and social doctrines of Plato (in the *Republic*), the medieval theologians, and Hobbes. Burke can refer to "the hoofs of the swinish multitude." Obviously this takes us back to the absolute, divine-right monarchy and the absolute, divine-right church, to forms of authoritarian polity we have called theocratic. It is associated with a tradition that divides mankind into the higher and lower, the better and worse, the saved and the damned, the elect and the reprobate classes. These notions, associated with the ascetic tradition of the West, are now taken up by post-revolutionary conservatism. With it some phases of romanticism were closely allied.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), Scotland's romantic bard, was as loyal to his country as Burke to his England, and when crippled in babyhood by infantile paralysis was destined to the task not only of collecting his country's ancient ballads but of adding to them from his own pen. By translating German ballads and plays into English he helped to awaken the love of medieval romance, to which he himself contributed, so successfully that in the first decade of the nineteenth century he was

Britain's favorite poet. In the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* the love of country and particularly his own love of Scotland are sung:

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand!
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no Minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite these titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung.

O Caledonia! stern and wild,
Meet nurse for a poetic child!
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood,
Land of my sires! What mortal hand
Can e'er untie the filial band,
That knits me to thy rugged strand!⁷⁹

It was Scott's good fortune to be able to kindle enthusiasm for the past in the historical novel as well as in poetry. He was the creator of the historical novel (the *Waverly Novels*, 1814-1825) and its direct inspirer on the Continent (Dumas Père followed him). One of these (*The Heart of Midlothian*) contains "Proud Maisie," one of the most exquisite literary ballads in English."

Proud Maisie is in the wood,
Walking so early;
Sweet Robin sits on the bush,
Singing so rarely.

"Tell me, thou bonny bird,
When shall I marry me?"—
"When six braw gentlemen
Kirkward shall carry ye."

"Who makes the bridal bed,
Birdie, say truly?"
"The grey-headed sexton
That delves the grave duly.

"The glow-worm o'er grave and stone
Shall light thee steady;
The owl from the steeple sing,
'Welcome, proud lady.'"⁸⁰

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

William Wordsworth's (1770-1850) young hopes were stirred by travels in revolutionary France. In his autobiographical poem *The Prelude*, he explains how he came to believe,

⁷⁹*The Oxford Book of English Verse of the Romantic Period, 1798-1837*, p. 193.

⁸⁰*The College Survey of English Literature* (shorter ed.), rev. A. M. Witherspoon, p. 788.

That a benignant spirit was abroad
 Which might not be withstood, that poverty
 [he had met a "hunger-bitten girl"]
 Abject as this would in a little time
 Be found no more, that we should see the earth
 Unthwarted in her wish to recompense
 The meek, the lowly, patient child of toil,
 All institutes for ever blotted out
 That legalised exclusion, empty pomp
 Abolished, sensual state and cruel power,
 Whether by edict of the one or few;
 And finally, as sum and crown of all,
 Should see the people having a strong hand
 In framing their own laws; whence better days
 To all mankind . . .

.
 Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
 But to be young was very Heaven! O times,
 In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
 Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
 The attraction of a country in romance!
 When Reason seemed the most to assert her rights,
 When most intent on making of herself
 A prime enchantress—to assist the work,
 Which then was going forward in her name!
 Not favoured spots alone, but the whole Earth,
 The beauty were of promise—that which sets
 (As at some moments might not be unfelt
 Among the bowers of Paradise itself)
 The budding rose above the rose full blown.
 What temper at the prospect did not wake
 To happiness unthought of? The inert
 Were roused, and lively natures rapt away!

.
 [All] Were called upon to exercise their skill,
 Not in Utopia,—subterranean fields,—
 Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
 But in the very world, which is the world
 Of all of us,—the place where, in the end,
 We find our happiness, or not at all! . . .⁸¹

But the French Revolution turned traitor to his soul:

But now, become oppressors in their turn,
 Frenchmen had changed a war of self-defence
 For one of conquest, losing sight of all
 Which they had struggled for: up mounted now,
 Openly in the eye of earth and heaven,
 The scale of liberty. I read her doom. . . .⁸²

⁸¹*College Survey*, p. 698.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 698.

It was necessary to protest when in the name of liberty France extinguished other liberties ("Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland"). And "On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic":

Once did She hold the gorgeous east in fee;
And was the safeguard of the west: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice, the eldest child of Liberty.
She was a maiden city, bright and free;
No guile seduced, no force could violate;
And, when she took unto herself a Mate,
She must espouse the everlasting sea.
And what if she had seen those glories fade,
Those titles vanish, and that strength decay;
Yet shall some tribute of regret be paid
When her long life hath reached its final day;
Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
Of that which once was great is passed away.

Wordsworth had reason to believe that the growth of the Industrial Revolution was producing a greedy middle class unsuited to the tradition of the England he loved so much.

When I have borne in memory what has tamed
Great nations, how ennobling thoughts depart
When men change swords for ledgers, and desert
The student's bower for gold, some fears unnamed
I had, my Country!—am I to be blamed?
But, when I think of thee, and what thou art,
Verily in the bottom of my heart,
Of those unfilial fears I am ashamed.
But dearly must we prize thee; we who find
In thee a bulwark for the cause of men:
And I by my affection was beguiled:
What wonder if a Poet now and then,
Among the many movements of his mind,
Felt for thee as a lover or a child!

It was easy to love a country whose capital at dawn was so beautiful:

Earth has not anything to show more fair:
Dull would be he of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty:
This City now doth, like a garment, wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields, and to the sky;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendour, valley, rock, or hill;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!
The river glideth at his own sweet will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still.

And unpleasant to think that it was wasting its vigor in the vain search for profit:

The world is too much with us; late and soon,
Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers
Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!
This Sea that bares her bosom to the moon;
The winds that will be howling at all hours,
And are up-gathered now like sleeping flowers;
For this, for everything, we are out of tune;
It moves us not. Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear Old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

WORDSWORTH AND NATURE

It was then to this Nature that Wordsworth returned, after disillusionment with France and with such books as Godwin's *Political Justice*, when

I lost
All feeling of conviction, and, in fine
Sick, wearied out with contrarieties
Yielded up moral questions in despair.

With the loving companionship of his sister Dorothy and the bracing conversation and friendship of Samuel Coleridge (1772-1834), he restored his poetic gifts and sought his philosophy in nature and not in books.

From Nature doth emotion come, and moods
Of calmness equally are Nature's gift:
This is her glory; these two attributes
Are sister horns that constitute her strength.
Hence Genius, born to thrive by interchange
Of peace and excitation, finds in her
His best and purest friend; from her receives
That energy by which he seeks the truth,
From her that happy stillness of the mind
Which fits him to receive it when unsought.

So then it is

Up! up! my Friend, and quit your books;
Or surely you'll grow double:
Up! up! my Friend, and clear your books;
Why all this toil and trouble?

The sun, above the mountain's head,
A freshening lustre mellow
Through all the long green fields has spread,
His first sweet evening yellow.

Books! 'tis a dull and endless strife:
Come, hear the woodland linnet,
How sweet his music! on my life,
There's more of wisdom in it.

And hark! how blithe the throstle sings!
He, too, is no mean preacher:
Come forth into the light of things,
Let nature be your teacher.

She has a world of ready wealth,
Our minds and hearts to bless—
Spontaneous wisdom breathed by health,
Truth breathed by cheerfulness.

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

Sweet is the love which Nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:—
We murder to dissect.

Enough of Science and of Art;
Close up those barren leaves;
Come forth, and bring with you a heart
That watches and receives.

In the "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey on Re-visiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour" (13 July, 1798), Wordsworth explained in some of the loveliest of all poetry what the world of nature can do not only to lead to a love of its beauties but to an understanding of man ("the still, sad music of humanity") and to a "sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused":

And now, with gleams of half-extinguished thought,
With many recognitions dim and faint,
And somewhat of a sad perplexity,
The picture of the mind revives again:
While here I stand, not only with the sense
Of present pleasure, but with pleasing thoughts
That in this moment there is life and food
For future years. And so I dare to hope,
Though changed, no doubt, from what I was when first
I came among these hills; when like a roe
I bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides
Of the deep rivers, and the lonely streams,
Wherever nature led: more like a man
Flying from something that he dreads than one
Who sought the thing he loved. For nature then
(The coarser pleasures of my boyish days,

And their glad animal movements all gone by)
 To me was all in all.—I cannot paint
 What then I was. The sounding cataract
 Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me
 An appetite; a feeling and a love,
 That had no need of a remoter charm,
 By thought supplied, nor any interest
 Unborrowed from the eye.—That time is past,
 And all its aching joys are now no more,
 And all its dizzy raptures. Not for this
 Faint I, nor mourn nor murmur; other gifts
 Have followed; for such loss, I would believe,
 Abundant recompense. For I have learned
 To look on nature, not as in the hour
 Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
 The still, sad music of humanity,
 Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
 To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things. Therefore am I still
 A lover of the meadows and the woods,
 And mountains; and of all that we behold
 From this green earth; of all the mighty world
 Of eye, and ear,—both what they half create,
 And what perceive; well pleased to recognize
 In nature and the language of the sense
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
 Of all my moral being.

SAMUEL COLERIDGE

Coleridge has expressed his early joy and subsequent disillusion in revolutionary France in a lofty ode occasioned by the invasion of Switzerland (*Helvetia*, 1798), the companion to Wordsworth's sonnet on the same theme.

When France in wrath her giant-limbs upreared,
 And with that oath, which smote air, earth, and sea,
 Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,
 Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!
 With what a joy my lofty gratulation
 Unawed I sang, amid a slavish band:
 And when to whelm the disenchanting nation,
 Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand,

The Monarchs marched in evil day,
 And Britain joined the dire array;
 Though dear her shores and circling ocean,
 Though many friendships, many youthful loves
 Had swoln the patriot emotion
 And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;
 Yet still my voice, unaltered, sang defeat
 To all that braved the tyrant-quelling lance,
 And shame too long delayed and vain retreat!
 For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim
 I dimmed thy light or damped thy holy flame;
 But blessed the paeans of delivered France,
 And hung my head and wept at Britain's name.

"And what," I said, "though Blasphemy's loud scream
 With that sweet music of deliverance strove!
 Though all the fierce and drunken passions wove
 A dance more wild than e'er was maniac's dream!
 Ye storms, that round the dawning east assembled,
 The Sun was rising, though ye hid his light!"
 And when, to soothe my soul, that hoped and trembled,
 The dissonance ceased, and all seemed calm and bright;
 When France her front deep-scarred and gory
 Concealed with clustering wreaths of glory;
 When, insupportably advancing,
 Her arm made mockery of the warrior's ramp;
 While timid looks of fury glancing,
 Domestic treason, crushed beneath her fatal stamp,
 Writhed like a wounded dragon in his gore;
 Then I reproached my fears that would not flee;
 "And soon," I said, "shall Wisdom teach her lore
 In the low huts of them that toil and groan!
 And, conquering by her happiness alone,
 Shall France compel the nations to be free,
 Till Love and Joy look round, and call the Earth their own."

Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!
 I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
 From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—
 I hear thy groans upon her blood-stained streams!
 Heroes, that for your peaceful country perished,
 And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows
 With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cherished
 One thought that ever blessed your cruel foes!
 To scatter rage, and traitorous guilt,
 Where Peace her jealous home had built;
 A patriot-race to disinherit
 Of all that made their stormy wilds so dear;
 And with inexpiable spirit
 To taint the bloodless freedom of the mountaineer—
 O France, that mockest Heaven, adulterous, blind,
 And patriot only in pernicious toils!
 Are these thy boasts, Champion of human kind?
 To mix with Kings in the low lust of sway,

Yell in the hunt, and share the murderous prey;
To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils
From freemen torn; to tempt and to betray?

The Sensual and the Dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion! In mad game
They burst their manacles and wear the name
Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain!
O Liberty! with profitless endeavour
Have I pursued thee, many a weary hour;
But thou nor swell'st the victor's strain, nor ever
Didst breathe thy soul in forms of human power.
Alike from all, howe'er they praise thee,
(Nor prayer, nor boastful name delays thee)
Alike from Priestcraft's harpy minions,
And factious Blasphemy's obscener slaves,
Thou speedest on thy subtle pinions,
The guide of homeless winds, and play-mate of the waves!
And there I felt thee!—on that sea-cliff's verge,
Whose pines, scarce travelled by the breeze above,
Had made one murmur with the distant surge!
Yes, while I stood and gazed, my temples bare,
And shot my being through earth, sea, and air,
Possessing all things with intensest love,
O Liberty! my spirit felt thee there.

The amount of poetry Coleridge succeeded in writing was small after he contributed the extraordinary "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). This was in part due to his work in criticism and political philosophy, in part to his long struggle with the opium habit, which he contracted while trying to diminish rheumatic pain. "Kubla Khan" ("A Vision in a Dream") was the result of visions "with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions, without any sensation or consciousness of effort," induced by a deep sleep produced by opium while Coleridge was reading: "Khan Kubla commanded a palace to be built and a stately garden thereunto. And thus ten miles of fertile ground were enclosed with a wall."

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round:
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

But oh! that deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!

A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!
And from this chasm, with ceaseless turmoil seething,
As if this earth in fast thick pants were breathing,
A mighty fountain momentarily was forced:
Amid whose swift half-intermitted burst
Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding hail,
Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail:
And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and ever
It flung up momentarily the sacred river.
Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless to man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!

The shadow of the dome of pleasure
Floated midway on the waves;
Where was heard the mingled measure
From the fountain and the caves.
It was a miracle of rare device,
A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice!

A damsel with a dulcimer
In a vision once I saw:
It was an Abyssinian maid,
And on her dulcimer she played,
Singing of Mount Abora.
Could I revive within me
Her symphony and song,
To such a deep delight 'twould win me,
That with music loud and long,
I would build that dome in air,
That sunny dome! those caves of ice!
And all who heard should see them there,
And all should cry, Beware! Beware!
His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

SHELLEY AND THE "DEFENSE OF POETRY"

In his *Defense of Poetry*, Shelley (1792-1822) took up a theme dear to the heart of all romantic poets, the outstanding role of the poet in creating a better world ("Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world"). "A Poet is a nightingale, who sits in the darkness and sings to cheer its own solitude with sweet sounds; his auditors are as men entranced by the melody of an unseen musician, who feel that they are moved and softened, yet know not whence or why." Through poetry

one discovers the beauty in what ostensibly seems an unbeautiful world. "Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar." Poetry awakens the imagination to sense what the good man must do to make the world more habitable. "The great secret of morals," Shelley says, "is love or going out of our own nature, and an identification of ourselves with the beautiful which exists in thought, action, or person, not our own. A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination; and poetry administers to the effect by acting upon the cause." "Poetry is indeed something divine. It is at once the centre and circumference of knowledge; it is that which comprehends all science, and that to which all science must be referred. It is at the same time the root and blossom of all other systems of thought. . . . It is the perfect and consummate surface and bloom of all things; it is as the odour and the colour of the rose to the texture of the elements which compose it, as the form and splendour of unfaded beauty to the secrets of anatomy and corruption. What were Virtue, Love, Patriotism, Friendship—what were the scenery of this beautiful Universe which we inhabit; what were our consolations on this side of the grave, and what were our aspirations beyond it, if Poetry did not ascend to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar? . . ."

Shelley's poetic imagination drew him to Godwin and kept him close to the ideals of the French Revolution throughout his life. He was asked to leave Oxford for refusing to say whether a pamphlet he had written on *The Necessity for Atheism* was actually his. He wanted to reform Ireland in accordance with Godwinian principles and went there and organized an Association of Philanthropists for the Regeneration of Ireland. The collapse of one scheme led quickly to the adoption of another. In London he was closely associated with Godwin and his circle for a while, and his first considerable poem, "Queen Mab," contains many of Godwin's ideas. A series of many difficulties, including the suicide of his first wife, the refusal of the courts to give him the care of his own children, ill health, and depression, caused him to leave England for Italy in March of 1818.

The reaction in England after 1815, leading to such things as the "Peterloo" massacre (1819), when soldiers fired on an orderly demonstration at St. Peter's Field near Manchester and killed eleven persons and wounded some four hundred, including 113 women, brought on such poetic protests as the "Masque of Anarchy." Parliamentary acts of the same year restricting freedom of speech, press, and association (the Six Acts) contributed to the mood of the sonnet "England" in 1819 and to the "Song to the Men of England." The Spanish constitution of 1820

was responsible for his "Ode to Liberty." He was a passionate cultivator of the Greek heritage, for it meant liberty to him. He complemented Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* with his "Prometheus Unbound." When the Greeks started to rebel against the Turks, he wrote the verse play "Hellas" in the general pattern of Aeschylus' *The Persians*.

Let there be light! said Liberty;
And like sunrise from the sea
Athens arose!—Around her horn
Shone like mountains in the morn
Glorious states;—and are they now
Ashes, wrecks, oblivion?

.

Another Athens shall arise
And to remoter time
Bequeath, like the sunset to the skies
The splendour of its prime;
And leave, if nought so bright may live,
All earth can take or Heaven can give.

Not only ideals and events of freedom inspired what has been called "the most brilliant spiritual imagination that ever appeared in English poetry." Before his death by drowning off the coast of Leghorn in the summer of 1822, he had added such perfect wonders as "To a Skylark" and "Ode to the West Wind" to the rich store of English poetry.

In the "Masque of Anarchy" Shelley asks

"What art thou, Freedom? Oh, could slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand, tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dim imagery.

"Thou art not, as imposters say,
A shadow soon to pass away
A superstition and a name
Echoing from the cave of Fame.

"For the laborer thou art bread
And a comely Table spread,
From his daily labor come
In a neat and happy home.

"Thou art clothes, and fire, and food
For the trampled multitude;
No—in countries that are free
Such starvation cannot be
As in England now we see.

"To the rich thou art a check;
When his foot is on the neck
Of his victim, thou dost make
That he treads upon a snake.

"Thou art Justice—ne'er for gold
May thy righteous laws be sold,
As laws are in England; thou
Shield'st alike both high and low.

"Thou art Wisdom—Freemen never
Dream that God will damn forever
All who think those things untrue
Of which Priests make such ado.

"Thou art Peace—never by thee
Would blood and treasure wasted be,
As tyrants wasted them, when all
Leagued to quench thy flame in Gaul.

"What if English toil and blood
Was poured forth, even as a flood?
It availed, O Liberty!
To dim, but not extinguish thee. . . ."

JOHN KEATS

John Keats (1795-1821) was the son of a livery-stable hand at a London inn, "The Swan and Hoop," where he was born. At school Keats won the attention and affection of Charles Clarke, the son of the headmaster, who remained his friend after Keats left the school to study medicine. It was Clarke who introduced him to Edmund Spenser's poetry and with whom he sat up all night reading a translation of Homer made by George Chapman, the Elizabethan poet. Keats was already familiar with Pope's translation, but it was Chapman's that aroused him to his first important poetic statement, *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*, presented to Clarke on the morning of the night's vigil.

Much have I travelled in the realms of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;
Round many western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.
Oft of one wide expanse had I been told
That deep-browed Homer ruled as his demesne;
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold:
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

Keats's interest in Greece had been awakened at school, where he steeped himself in classical mythology. When parts of the noble frieze of the Parthenon in Athens were brought to the British Museum by Lord

Elgin (the Elgin marbles),⁸³ Keats's enthusiasm for Greece was further excited. He could be found sitting before them, "with eyes shining . . . brightly and face . . . lit up by some visionary rapture." This experience he put into two sonnets, the first of which is *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles*:

My spirit is too weak—mortality
 Weighs heavily on me like unwilling sleep,
 And each imagined pinnacle and steep
 Of godlike hardship, tells me I must die
 Like a sick eagle looking at the sky.
 Yet 'tis a gentle luxury to weep
 That I have not the cloudy winds to keep,
 Fresh for the opening of the morning's eye.
 Such dim-conceived glories of the brain
 Bring round the heart an indescribable feud;
 So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,
 That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude
 Wasting of old Time—with a billowy main—
 A sun—a shadow of a magnitude.

The British Museum has a large and beautiful collection of Greek vases that Keats must have often studied. In his *Ode on a Grecian Urn* he develops the idea that the urn perpetuates for man's eternal comfort and joy a moment of beauty seen by an ancient artist. And in his "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" he seems to say that the artist's perception or ideal of abstract beauty in the changing world about us is as firm a comprehension of reality as any rational analysis of the philosopher. The notion is Platonic: the eternal world of ideas is, of course, the world of truth. "It is this search among transient human joys and fading earthly beauties for something that endures, even though we do not, this thrill of triumph in finding it in one ideal of beauty, this honest admission of our incompleteness in accepting the consolations of ideal beauty ["Cold Pastoral!"], [and] this dauntless faith in ideal beauty as the greatest good men can know—it is these that make Keats' thought as great as the superb music and imagery that convey it."⁸⁴

Ode on a Grecian Urn

I

Thou still unravished bride of quietness,
 Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time
 Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
 A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme:
 What leaf-fringed legend haunts about thy shape
 Of deities or mortals, or of both,
 In Tempe or the dales of Arcady?
 What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?
 What mad pursuit? What struggle to escape?
 What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?

⁸³See Vol. I, p. 163.

⁸⁴*College Survey*, p. 865.

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
 Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;
 Not to the sensual ear, but, more endeared,
 Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tune;
 Fair youth, beneath the trees, thou canst not leave
 Thy song, nor ever can those trees be bare;
 Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
 Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;
 She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
 Forever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

Oh, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed
 Your leaves, nor ever bid the spring adieu;
 And, happy melodist, unwearied,
 Forever piping songs forever new;
 More happy love! more happy, happy love!
 Forever warm and still to be enjoyed,
 Forever panting, and forever young;
 All breathing human passion far above,
 That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,
 A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

Who are these coming to the sacrifice?
 To what green altar, O mysterious priest,
 Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,
 And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?
 What little town by river or seashore
 Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,
 Is emptied of this folk, this pious morn?
 And little town, thy streets for evermore
 Will silent be; and not a soul to tell
 Why thou art desolate, can e'er return.

O Attic shape! Fair attitude! with brede
 Of marble men and maidens overwrought,
 With forest branches and the trodden weed;
 Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
 As doth eternity: Cold Pastoral!
 When old age shall this generation waste,
 Thou shalt remain, in midst of other woe
 Than ours, a friend to man, to whom thou say'st,
 "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
 Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

LORD BYRON

In July, 1823, Lord Byron (1788-1824) set sail from Genoa to join the revolt of the Greeks against the Turks, thus making himself the hero of political liberty and joining together, in his person, as Shelley and Keats

had done in their poetry, the political liberty of the ancient and modern worlds. He became a martyr of this liberty. In December he came to Missolonghi, then being liberated from the Turks. In the following February he was seized by some kind of fit, possibly epilepsy, and died on 19 April. Already he had written in his masterpiece, *Don Juan*,

The mountains look on Marathon—
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone,
I dreamed that Greece might still be free;
For standing on the Persians' grave,
I could not deem myself a slave.

A King sate on the rocky brow
Which looks o'er sea-borne Salamis;
And ships, by thousands, lay below,
And men in nations;—all were his!
He counted them at break of day—
And when the sun set, where were they?

And where are they? and where art thou,
My country? On the voiceless shore
The heroic lay is tuneless now—
The heroic bosom beats no more!
And must thy Lyre, so long divine,
Degenerate into hands like mine?

In 1823 Byron had been an exile from England for seven years. He had been born with a lame foot to a mother who came to hate him and whose feeling he reciprocated. The publication of his experiences, opinions, and travel in Europe and the Near East in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812) made him famous, as he admitted. "They [the English] made me, without my search, a species of popular Idol; they, without reason or judgment, beyond the caprice of their good pleasure, threw down the Image from its pedestal; it was not broken with the fall, and they would, it seems, again replace it—but they shall not,"⁸⁵ he wrote to his publishers on 6 April, 1816, after the scandal accompanying the dissolution of his first marriage. The rest of his life he spent mostly in Switzerland and Italy, working from 1818 on his *Don Juan*, into which he poured among many other things contempt and ridicule for conventional modes of thought, conduct, and persons in England. Although declaring his independence of any rules and regulations or schools and manners, Byron retained the romantic attachment to nature, utilized the medieval scene, and gloried in the cult of the glamorous, emancipated individual. With a wit and satire that carries on the tradition of Pope, whom he praised, he was very much a part of the world he disdained and associated himself

⁸⁵*Selected Letters of Lord Byron*, ed. Jacques Barzun.

with its struggle for freedom and its weariness of war. In *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* he says,

I live not in myself, but I become
Portion of that around me; and to me
High mountains are a feeling, but the hum
Of human cities torture: I can see
Nothing to loathe in Nature, save to be
A link reluctant in a fleshly chain,
Classed among creatures, when the soul can flee,
And with the sky—the peak—the heaving plain
Of ocean, or the stars, mingle—and not in vain.

In the thirteenth canto of *Don Juan*, abounding in fantastic rhymes, Byron is mocking the country life of the English aristocracy in the persons of Lady Adeline Amundeville,

high-born, wealthy by her father's will,
And beautiful, even where beauties most abound,
In Britain—which of course true patriots find
The goodliest soil of body and of mind,

and Lord Henry, "cool, and quite English, imperturbable." When Parliament is over, the lord and lady depart for their country estate and begin to entertain:

To Norman Abbey whirl'd the noble pair,—
An old, old monastery once, and now
Still older mansion,—of a rich and rare
Mix'd Gothic, such as artists all allow
Few specimens yet left us can compare
Withal: it lies perhaps a little low,
Because the monks preferr'd a hill behind,
To shelter their devotion from the wind.

.

Amidst the court a Gothic fountain play'd,
Symmetrical, but deck'd with carvings quaint—
Strange faces, like to men in masquerade,
And here perhaps a monster, there a saint:
The spring gush'd through grim mouths of granite made,
And sparkled into basins, where it spent
Its little torrent in a thousand bubbles,
Like man's vain glory, and his vainer troubles.

A few years before his death Byron joined Shelley and Leigh Hunt in publishing a journal, *The Liberal*. In its number of 15 October, 1822, Byron published a piece ("At the Gate of Heaven") which pilloried Robert Southey, the English poet laureate. It is introduced by a section called "Saint Peter," which ends with condemnation of the prevalence of war in his generation.

Saint Peter sat by the celestial gate:
His keys were rusty, and the lock was dull,
So little trouble had been given of late;
Not that the place by any means was full,
But since the Gallic era "eighty-eight"
The devils had ta'en a longer, stronger pull,
And "a pull altogether," as they say
At sea—which drew most souls another way.

The angels all were singing out of tune,
And hoarse with having little else to do,
Excepting to wind up the sun and moon,
Or curb a runaway young star or two,
Or wild colt of a comet, which too soon
Broke out of bounds o'er th'ethereal blue,
Splitting some planet with its playful tail,
As boats are sometimes by a wanton whale.

The guardian seraphs had retired on high,
Finding their charges past all care below;
Terrestrial business fill'd nought in the sky
Save the recording angel's black bureau;
Who found, indeed, the facts to multiply
With such rapidity of vice and woe,
That he had stripped off both his wings in quills,
And yet was in arrear of human ills.

His business so augmented of late years,
That he was forced, against his will no doubt,
(Just like those cherubs, earthly ministers)
For some resource to turn himself about,
And claim the help of his celestial peers,
To aid him ere he should be quite worn out
By the increased demand for his remarks:
Six angels and twelve saints were named his clerks.

This was a handsome hoard—at least for heaven;
And yet they had even then enough to do,
So many conquerors' cars were daily driven,
So many kingdoms fitted up anew;
Each day too slew its thousands six or seven,
Till at the crowning carnage, Waterloo,
They threw their pens down in divine disgust—
The page was so besmear'd with blood and dust.

This by the way; 'tis not mine to record
What angels shrink from: even the very devil
On this occasion his own work abhorr'd,
So surfeited with the infernal revel;
Though he himself had sharpen'd every sword,
It almost quench'd his innate thirst of evil.
(Here Satan's sole good work deserves insertion—
'Tis, that he has both generals in reversion.)

NATIONALISM AND THE NEW EUROPEAN STATES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

*R*OMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM. The political aspect of German romanticism was nationalism. If the political aspect of French romanticism was in J. J. Rousseau and of English in Edmund Burke, both were essentially nationalists. That is, they sought to lodge the individual's loyalty in a state which in some mysterious way incorporated the whole traditional experience and national character of a people (Burke) or, resting upon popular sovereignty, functioned in accordance with a general will or the will of all (Rousseau). The view regarding the state with suspicion, except when it protected the individual in the enjoyment of his natural rights, belonged to Locke and his followers of the Enlightenment; the view regarding the state with reverence belonged to the romanticists, whether of the revolutionary or conservative persuasion.

THE CHARACTER OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism relates the loyalty of the individual to a group called the nation, and to the state only in so far as it is the habitat and political organization of this group. It is the exaggerated love of country as the home and government of the nation. It is not, however, in this chapter equated with the mild, restrained, considerate, temperate, and critical love of country called patriotism, but with the blatant and uncontrollable passion that regards the national state as unassailable and its needs as the prime demand upon the life, substance, and efforts of the citizen. It is

an emotion that regards the quality of one's own nation as superior to all others, and its interests as predominant over those of all others (my country, right or wrong). It is often a bullying mood, taking the form of a new ideology. It makes the nation an object of worship with God its patron, if not himself a worshiper. This is not necessarily the attitude of the most ardent patriot.

THE MEANING OF NATION

It may be asked how so abnormal a sentiment ever managed to gain so strong a hold upon the hearts and minds of men. To answer this question requires some notion of what is meant by nation, the unqualified devotion to which constitutes nationalism. A nation is a large social group occupying, or wishing to occupy, a compact territory and possessing, or wishing to possess, a common government. This group has had common experiences that give it a common identity. If its government is of long standing, these experiences are primarily political, related to the building and functioning of the machinery of state. The most intense of all common national experiences have normally been military: offensive, defensive, civil, and religious wars. Common experiences may also be economic and cultural; they may include a common religion or language, and therefore a common literature. They may include the appreciation of a common music or art, the common enjoyment of prosperity, or the suffering of depressions. Such experience, however, does not necessarily create patriotism, either of a normal or abnormal kind. Patriotism is partly the result of pride in the nation, a pride compounded of many elements, one of which certainly is the belief that one's nation has acted with justice and magnanimity toward its own citizens and other nations, and has made a unique contribution to the improvement of the quality of life of all mankind. Superpatriotism, or nationalism, is essentially either amoral or immoral. It is willing to falsify both past and present to make what was inglorious seem glorious, or it is quite indifferent to public morality, arguing that might makes right or that the end justifies the means. Patriotism is also built upon gratitude for specific contributions which the nation makes or is likely to make to the enrichment of the life of the individual citizen or of his posterity. A superpatriotism is often irresponsible and reckless in its use of state power to enhance the prestige or increase the wealth of the nation or the governing class.

MONARCHY AND NATIONALISM IN FRANCE

It is agreed that rampant nationalism first appeared in revolutionary Europe from 1789 to 1815. Before this date western Europe had developed the big strong monarchy, whether absolute or limited, and the little strong republic, whether Swiss or Dutch. The growth of these states had been at the expense of feudalism, whose loyalties had been personal, aristocratic, and international; the loyalties of noble vassals to noble lords, of

knighthood and its code of chivalry. Strong monarchies such as France grew out of feudalism when kings used the abilities and resources of the middle classes for administration. The middle classes were at first devoted to the king because he alone could destroy the internal local obstacles to an expansion of trade and commerce, develop industry, and promote the economic expansion of the nation overseas. In other words, traditional loyalty of the noble vassal to his feudal king was displaced by a bourgeois loyalty to a monarchy which advanced its commercial interests on a state-wide scale and extended them to colonial empires. Mercantilist policies attempted to clear the way of local tolls, customs, weights, measures, monetary systems, and all forms of municipal or provincial privileges. For them was to be established a unified system of taxation, measurement, money, transportation, law, and regulation. Such royal efforts to establish the kingdom as the unit of commercial life followed and accompanied similar efforts to abolish the importance of provincial boundaries and establish centralized administration and systems of law throughout the state. The proclamation of the sovereignty of the state in political and economic, indeed in all, matters may be taken as the culmination of these early efforts. They all made the development of nationalism possible.

When, with the aid of the bourgeoisie, monarchy in France succeeded in breaking the political power of the aristocracy, the alliance between king and middle class lost its vigor. The bourgeoisie, enormously strengthened in size and wealth and inspired by the possibilities of the new capitalism, regarded the restrictions of monarchy as a limitation of its capacity. This state was an unnecessarily small unit in which to do business. There began to be talk about economic laws and freedom, about the desirability of leaving the whole business world to the regulation of the enlightened self-interest of the traders, bankers, and industrialists. Under these circumstances the kings reattached themselves to the aristocracies. Not that the nobility regained its old feudal independence; rather it retained a privileged political, economic, and social status. This was the setting for the French revolutionary movement aiming to take away exclusive political power and privileges from kings and aristocrats and to give them to, or at least to share them with, the bourgeoisie. For the development of nationalism this meant that after the monarchy destroyed local feudalism it gained the loyalty of the effete aristocracy and lost that of the vigorous and advanced middle classes. The Enlightenment made a final attack upon otherworldly Christianity and held up the possibility of the progressive realization of a kingdom of man upon this earth. In effect, this was to transfer individual emotions from Christian doctrine to the secular doctrine of progress. The program of the Enlightenment entrusted a reformed state, directed by the bourgeoisie, with the realization of the doctrine of progress. Loyalty to the church was now to be given to the middle-class state. The bourgeoisie, loyal to the state they now controlled, would lead mankind to its earthly happiness with prestige and profit.

CHRONOLOGY — Nationalism

	Germany, Austria, and Hungary	Italy	Contemporary Persons and Events
1740	Frederick the Great (r. 1740–1786) Karl August von Harden- berg (1750–1822) Scharnhorst (1755–1813) Stein (1757–1831) Fichte (1762–1814) Hegel (1770–1831)		Rousseau (1712–1778) Edmund Burke (1729–1797) de Maistre (1753–1821) Saint-Simon (1760–1825)
1800	Metternich (1773–1859) Kossuth (1802–1894) Bismarck (1815–1898) Marx (1818–1883) Engels (1820–1895) Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1861) <i>Frankfurt Parliament</i> (1848–1849)	Mazzini (1805–1872) Garibaldi (1807–1882) Cavour (1810–1861)	Milosh Obrenovich (1780–1860) Lamennais (1782–1854) Victor Cousin (1792–1867) Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) <i>Congress of Vienna</i> (1814–1815) <i>Revolutions of 1820</i> <i>Greek Independence</i> (1822) <i>Monroe Doctrine</i> (1823) <i>Revolutions of 1830</i> Victor Hugo (1802–1885) Disraeli (1804–1881) Louis Napoleon (1808–1873) <i>Revolutions of 1848</i>
1850	Francis Joseph I (r. 1848–1916) William I (r. 1861–1888) Helmuth Karl von Moltke (1800–1891) <i>Danish War</i> (1864) <i>Seven Weeks' War</i> (1866) <i>Dual Monarchy</i> (1867) <i>North German Confedera- tion</i> (1867) Treitschke (1834–1896) <i>Franco-Prussian War</i> (1870–1871) <i>Second German Empire</i> (1871–1918)	Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) <i>Treaty of Villafranca</i> (1860) Victor Emmanuel (r. 1849–1878) Italy united (1870)	<i>Crimean War</i> (1854–1855) <i>Russo-Turkish War</i> (1877–1878) <i>Congress of Berlin</i> (1878) <i>World War I</i> (1914–1918)

During the French Revolution the bourgeoisie enlisted the peasantry and the working classes in the destruction of aristocratic privilege and absolute monarchy. It initiated a mass of reforms which put the French state in the vanguard of progress. Thus the enthusiasm and loyalty of all classes, except the clergy and aristocracy, were aroused. When revolutionary France was attacked by conservative Europe, pride in reform was transformed into heroic patriotism, and this in turn, under the stress of defeat and counterrevolution, into a defiant loyalty that, as defeat became victory, was turned into nationalism, the exultation of the glorious nation, aggressive war, the "forcing of men to be free," and the demand from all citizens at all times of unquestioning loyalty and obedience. This nationalism or Jacobinism¹ called upon all Frenchmen to serve the state in the army. In other ways already pointed out it adopted many of the features of institutional religion to enhance its emotional significance. The war was prolonged until 1815. As the bourgeois republic became a Napoleonic empire it lost the loyalty of the French working classes, for whom it had never done much anyway. In the end, when it became clear that the empire was primarily for the benefit of Napoleon and his family, it lost the support of the bourgeoisie as well. But in the course of such crises as revolution and war French nationalism had been formed, with full bourgeois and peasant participation. The peasant had profited from the destruction of feudalism and the sale of the land of Church and of émigrés. The bourgeoisie profited from the same sources and in addition became the new directors of society. The French state, the abode and government of the French nation, now attracted a wider and deeper loyalty.

THE SPREAD OF NATIONALISM

In the course of all this experience the French people became a nation. In the course of an earlier and more fortunate experience the English people became a nation. Portugal, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden may be added to this list of western European nations. For the leaders of those peoples who had not yet achieved statehood or nationhood, the Italians and Germans in particular, the splendid history of Portugal, Spain, France, Holland, and England in the early modern period was humiliating. They attributed this splendor to the territorial and political unity of these nations, and they asked disconsolately what might not have been the history of their own nations if they too had achieved such unity. The expansion of the French Republic and Empire into Italy and Germany first encouraged the hopes of these patriots. Revolutionary liberties were associated with such new larger political entities as the Kingdom of Italy and the Confederation of the Rhine. When French nationalism transformed the French Empire into an oppressive Napole-

¹See pp. 363 ff.

onic domination, the answer was an Italian and German nationalism of liberal character, goaded into the demand for a unified state that could drive out the tyrant. As it turned out, the tyrant was defeated, not by new unified liberal national states, but by old dynastic states (Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with the assistance of England), each without an extensive middle class. These states were held together by kings and nobles (supported by serfdom) who manned the bureaucracy and army. They were also collections of nationalities suffering from the domination of one nationality. A nationalism that gave political autonomy or independence to their various nationalities would split them into bits. When, therefore, they reorganized Europe at the Congress of Vienna, they ignored nationalism as much as possible,² together with liberty and equality. For the Italians and Germans, England and France still stood out as enviable national states.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONALISM

The nationalism stimulated by the French Revolution and Napoleon was intensified and transformed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the course of this transformation it lost much of its earlier idealism and liberalism and was perverted often into something cynical and cruel until it culminated in the totalitarianism of Italian and German fascism. It was strengthened by the emphasis put by politically conservative romanticism upon the mysterious power and importance of the state, to which a divine and absolute character was again given (de Maistre, Hegel). Scholarly romanticists began to put emphasis upon national origins and upon the popular basis for national feeling in language, literature, folk tale, folk song, and folk wisdom. Pseudoscholars began to associate nation with race and blood. But the major force to intensify nationalism was the Industrial Revolution. If early commercial capitalism was partly responsible for mercantilism, later industrial capitalism was responsible for what, after the economic liberalism of the early nineteenth century, is sometimes called neomercantilism, or simply economic nationalism. This is the notion, practiced everywhere (with some exceptions) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that the state must continue to regulate the economy in its own national interest, which might be a military or imperialistic interest. This meant that in those states whose policy was controlled by a bourgeoisie, now strengthened by industrialists and their economic allies, economic affairs were to be directed in such a way as to increase the profit and prestige of the new members of the bourgeoisie, whose loyalty the state now secured. When the national state, directed by capitalistic enterprise, revived imperialism, economic nationalism supported, as did the older mercantilism, the exploitation of native populations of other lands and continents.

²See pp. 384 ff.

NATIONALISM AND THE WORKERS

All this makes early nineteenth-century nationalism essentially a bourgeois passion, interested in using state power to enhance its own interests. In a society of growing industrialism, however, a nationalism without the support of the working classes would prove inadequate for any major crisis, and these did not at first confer their loyalty upon the bourgeois state. Indeed, their early leaders taught that a new co-operative society must be formed, and later leaders (Marx and Engels) said that the hopes of the masses for a decent life could be realized only if the bourgeois state were destroyed by revolution to make way for a new, proletarian state. In order to preserve such a state from the concerted attack of neighboring bourgeois states they urged the workers to unite on an international basis with the object of promoting proletarian revolutions everywhere. Their advice was "Workers of the World, Unite!" But as the liberal bourgeois states came to extend their suffrages beyond the middle to the working classes, and as it became possible for the leaders of the working classes to force the state to use its power to improve the quality of the lives of workmen with social insurance, social security, and other social reforms, international solidarity and revolution became less attractive to the working classes. Workers were inclined to extend their loyalty to the industrial state, which then became truly national. This left to the revolutionary socialists only the nonindustrialized, agricultural states of eastern and south-eastern Europe.

NATIONALISM, MILITARY SERVICE, AND EDUCATION

The Industrial Revolution enabled all members of the nation to have certain other common experiences that enhanced the feeling of loyalty to the group. The French Revolution had introduced the experiment of "the nation in arms" to fight its wars. The Industrial Revolution made it possible for national states, old and new, to establish systems of universal compulsory military service in which men were indoctrinated with nationalism as well as provided with a common military experience in war or peace. The French Revolution set up a program of national education which, as it expanded to other nations in the nineteenth century, became a program of compulsory elementary and secondary education for all. National states used schools as well as armies to indoctrinate. Education became another common and prolonged experience of the citizens of the democratic state. The Industrial Revolution produced new media of mass communication, the press and, in our own day, the film, radio, and television, which have become powerful instruments of national propaganda.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

In any case, the national state called forth the voluntary and devoted support of most of its citizens, and it possessed the power to coerce the rest. In this way the feeble traditions of internationalism represented by

theocratic empires and theocratic churches and the cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century were almost obliterated. Such forces as capitalism, socialism, science, and learning, originally international in character, were forced to work within the confines of the national state. This state became the instrument for the establishment of the kingdom of man upon earth. To date it has not been able to keep the peace and has therewith brought us all to the brink of disaster. And while attempts are now being made to strengthen internationalism as an instrument of peace, a new nationalism is spreading in Africa and Asia.

NATIONALISM AND THE HUMANISTIC-ASCETIC CONFLICT

It is necessary to ask what the significance of nationalism (political romanticism) and of the broader romanticism was for the development of the western tradition in the light of the conflict between humanism and asceticism. The revolutionary program of the Enlightenment has been interpreted³ as the application of the principles of classical and scientific humanism to the reform of the political, economic, social, and religious ideas and institutions of the old regime. The result of these and other attacks upon the tradition of Christian asceticism was deism, materialism, and a worldly religion of progress. It was believed possible to create a society that would make its individual members happy. This meant that their natures would gradually be perfected and their creative potentialities for good realized. In any case, the individual was to be set free to use his mind and heart in the choice of means to create his happiness and fulfill his personality. His freedom was to be guaranteed by a state acting as a kind of a guardian of his natural rights and the natural law. In this approach to politics and society, the unit of importance was the individual, whose means to happiness could be rationally and scientifically determined and carried out by the proper social and political institutions. Political romanticism, or nationalism, was an idealist, irrational (mystical) approach to politics and society in which the nation supplants the individual as the ultimate unity or reality. The nation absorbs the individual into itself and the citizen becomes one with the state. The state itself is the bearer or expression of some spirit, the spirit of the people, the spirit of the world, the spirit of God struggling in some Neoplatonic sense, to free itself from the contaminating world of matter (Hegel). Many of the conservative romanticists make the state again theocratic and absolute.

NATIONAL ASCETICISM

The end of all this was the blood-nation and race-state theorists⁴ and those whose argument was that the individual exists only for the state and not the state for the individual. The state was an end in itself. The individual can realize himself only through the nation and state. Such an atti-

³See pp. 253 ff.

⁴Chamberlain and Gobineau.

tude is obviously not the product of the rational, humanistic tradition of the West. The national state may be a secular version of paradise, but the aura of mystic reverence with which extreme writers approached it was religious in nature. Christianity has called upon all to make the supreme sacrifice for one's God and one's church if necessary. Nationalism made the same demands on behalf of the national state. If the whole system of withdrawal from the world and self-denial in the world is a part of Christian asceticism, then the sacrifices the national state demands of its citizens may be called national asceticism.

CHRISTIAN AND NATIONAL ASCETICISM

The subordination of Christian to national asceticism has been a source of anguish and concern to many Christians. "Christianity is a far feeblere motive than nationalism; and in particular there is lacking among Christians, in vivid contrast to their professed theological beliefs, a sense of corporate membership binding them to other Christians. For their fellow-countrymen they feel such a sense of common membership and of the loyalty that springs out of it spontaneously, keenly, [and] effectually. But for their fellow-Christians as such few feel any sentiment of loyalty, and of those, few feel it strongly. We ought to love Christ and His Church better than we love our country, and our countrymen; but with the rarest exceptions we do not. . . . Yet if we could invert our preference of loyalty and care more for Christ and His Church than we do for our country and our countrymen, we should be very much happier and very much richer. Wars and defensive arms would pass away, the economic arrangements of the world would be made in the light of common sense for the general prosperity, instead of by minds intoxicated by nationalist passion and incompetent even for the way of enlightened self-interest."⁵

As an exacerbated nationalism was leading the globe into World War II, a group of students at Oxford in 1937 put the problem as follows:

"To some [Christians], it appears that the national community, or *Volk*, like the family to which it stands next in the divine economy, is an order especially created by God for the preservation of the heritage of the past, the nurture and training of the successive generations, and the maintenance and improvement of the common life of men. Any weakening of its demands upon individual loyalty and obedience is a blow, not only to social stability, but to the very structure of morality and religion. Duty to *Volk* is in the last analysis duty to God; its claim upon persons is well-nigh absolute. To others, it seems that the semi-instinctive and sub-rational emotions of *Volk*-loyalty come down from primitive and pre-civilized levels; they appeal to all that is parochial, bigoted and fearful in man; their continuance is a device of conservative forces to preserve the status quo and block progress. A radical emancipation from their hold upon individ-

⁵Lord Hugh Cecil, quoted in *Nationalism, A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*, p. 308.

ual sentiment and obedience is essential for growth into the wider and more inclusive loyalty to the body of humanity. Excessive deference to *Volk* is in the last analysis apostasy to God, who, as the Father of all mankind, intends every person to come into the reality of the universal brotherhood of his children. The central issue is, thus, clear. It is the relation, in the divine plan, of loyalty between the narrower but more intimate and intense bonds of community, or *Volk*, and the wider but more general loyalty to the whole family of God's children. Is that more limited loyalty a legitimate obligation as God's special provision next to the family for human nurture and discipline, or is it a persistence of tribal feeling from which men should be freed in order to hasten the realization of the divine commonwealth? Is that wider loyalty merely an abstract humanitarianism masquerading under a Christian aegis, or is it the ultimate fellowship towards which God ever seeks to lead his unwilling children?⁶

ROMANTICISM AND HUMANISM

But not all political romanticists were mystics and nationalists in this sense. Some as literary romanticists (Victor Cousin) were liberals who carried on the political theory of Locke and Montesquieu, and of the early French Revolution, and others were supporters of a democratic individualism or early socialism (Victor Hugo, Lammenais). This same distinction must be made between conservative or reactionary and liberal in estimating the general influence of romanticism upon the humanistic-ascetic conflict. Such words as harmony, moderation, and balance are a part of the humanistic tradition. To the extent that romanticism attempted to restore some harmony, moderation, and balance to the western view by putting emotion alongside reason as a means of reaching an understanding of human conduct or of enhancing life, such efforts were supportable by reference to the ideals of humanism. Humanism would indeed be destroyed by considering man as mere reason, intellect, or abstraction.

Romanticism as a revolt against a stereotyped literature, seeking new materials in the reactions and emotions of plain, simple people and in the ordinary things of nature or in distant times and places, shared an impatience with the status quo that had continuously been stimulated by the humanistic tradition. There were romantics who took up the new gospels of humanitarianism and progress and wished to become its leaders and prophets, men who responded passionately to the democratic promise of the early French Revolution. Such men emphasized and enriched the revolutionary program of the Enlightenment. Romanticism was also in line with the tradition of western individualism in so far as it sought to

⁶Quoted in *Nationalism*, pp. 302-303, from *The Churches Survey Their Task*, The Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937, on Church, Community, and State. See also in this connection Boyd C. Shafer, "Men Are More Alike," *Nationalism, Myth, and Reality*.

release human sentiment, passion, and conduct from the tyranny of convention.

Romanticism, however, was a contradictory, highly individualistic, and varied movement. It was not directed by a leader who gave it rules. Nobody ordered the romanticists to abide by the humanistic tradition and avoid the extremes of its eccentric, irresponsible individualism. Humanism does not support the kind of irrationalism that exalts primitive feeling, intuition, and ecstasy as a superior approach to truth. It was certainly anachronistic to hold up the theocratic Middle Ages as the Golden Age of the West. There were thus romantics on both sides of the argument; they succeeded merely in making it more passionate.

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE OR HOLY ALLIANCE

From 1815 to 1848 the spirit of nationalism spread from France to the rest of Europe (and Central and South America), where, joined with the demands for constitutions and liberal governments as a kind of liberal nationalism, it was responsible for a series of revolutions threatening to upset the settlement of the Congress (1815). There Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, and finally France had undertaken to set up an international organization, the Concert of Europe (called popularly the Holy Alliance) that would keep the peace on the basis of the Vienna settlement by refusing to countenance any liberal-national movements. This concert, under the leadership of Prince Metternich, the Austrian Minister, failed in its attempt, and the revolutions breaking out strengthened the tradition of violence in Europe together with the fear of the conservative classes.

THE MULTINATIONAL STATES

For nationalities under the control of an alien power, nationalism meant freedom to set up an independent or autonomous state. In case the whole nationality lived under an alien government, for example, the Czechs under the Austrian Empire, the question of setting up an autonomous or independent government was in itself not difficult. In case the whole nationality lived under more than one alien government, for instance, the Poles under Russia, Prussia, and Austria, an independent state for all Poles was obviously much more difficult: three governments instead of one had to be disrupted. The Italian nationality lived under four main governments, Sardinia-Piedmont, Austria, the Papal States, and the Bourbons in southern Italy and Sicily. For the Germans outside Austria to form a state composed of the single German nationality meant the destruction of the sovereignty of some thirty-eight bigger and smaller states. An empire such as the Austrian was composed not only of Germans, Czechs, Italians, and Poles. There were also Magyars (Hungarians) and Rumanians, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and Ruthenians. The Ottoman Empire in southeastern Europe governed the Greeks and Macedonians, Albanians, Mon-

tenegrins, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Rumanians. The Russian Empire contained, in addition to Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Esthonians, and Finns, Ukrainians and White Russians, Georgians and Armenians. Nationalism was thus in the early nineteenth century both a liberating and disruptive force that could not be appeased without war. In multinational states such as the Austrian or Russian empires the dominant nationality felt that to hold the state together it had to obliterate the nationality of the others. Poles in Germany had to be Germanized; in Russia, Russianized. Czechs in Austria had to be Germanized; Croats in Hungary, Magyarized. All this meant the suppression by the dominant nationalities of languages, schools, and other expressions of the culture of the sub-, or second-class, nationalities.

The achievement of national states for the leading European nationalities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was at tremendous cost to the nationalities themselves and to all Europe. The memory of the costs of wars of liberation only exacerbated the nationalism when unity was once obtained. The fact that it was very difficult, if not impossible, in many parts of Europe to draw defensible boundaries that would include all the members of the nationality in a new national state kept nationalism at high pitch. There was always a region yet to be included (*irredenta*)!

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE AND LIBERAL NATIONALISM

The Concert of Europe, or Quadruple Alliance, fell apart over the question of the propriety of intervening in the affairs of a sovereign state to put down revolution. In 1820 liberal revolutions in Portugal, Spain, and Naples brought constitutional governments to these states, resulting in a congress of the powers at Troppau to consider the problem. Here Russia, Prussia, and Austria (without English support) announced the doctrine of intervention. In the next year another meeting of the powers (Laibach) authorized Austria to put down the revolution in Naples. When this was done, Austria also put down a revolution in Piedmont (April, 1821). A further congress at Verona (1822) did not take action on the Greek revolt against the Turks, but it did authorize France to put down the revolutionary government in Spain. When France and Russia indicated willingness to suppress the new republics in Mexico, Central, and South America, Britain refused to co-operate and suggested joint action to President Monroe of the recently revolting United States of America. The result was the Monroe Doctrine (1823), declaring that any intervention of Europe (England included) in the affairs of the Americas would be regarded as an unfriendly act. When France set up the July monarchy in the Revolution of 1830, there was no intervention.

A NEW KINGDOM OF BELGIUM

The French revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had serious repercussions in the rest of Europe. The Congress of Vienna had made of Holland and

the Austrian Netherlands an unnational combination, dissolved by the southern, or Belgian, half in 1830. Part of the Belgians spoke French instead of Dutch (the Walloons). They were Catholic instead of Protestant and industrial rather than commercial. The Dutch government, after 1815, had favored Dutchmen in the administration of the kingdom. A successful revolution supported by the French and English established an independent, liberal Belgian monarchy, under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, whose neutrality was guaranteed by the powers. Russia and Prussia would have been glad to intervene in the Belgian revolution but were prevented by an attempt of the Poles to gain their independence. Alexander I of Russia had given his Poles a constitution in 1815 only to revoke it ten years later. In 1830, when it was thought that the Poles might be used against Belgium, a Polish diet demanded the restoration of the constitution, and when refused declared the independence of Poland and the deposition of the Romanoffs. A Russian army crushed the movement, and the tsarist government introduced a severe Russification program, exiling the Polish leaders to Siberia and causing a large emigration to Paris and the United States. In 1847 Russia formally incorporated her part of the former Kingdom of Poland into Russia.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 OUTSIDE FRANCE

In March of 1848, a year of crop failures and general suffering throughout Europe, all Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were ablaze with what were at first successful liberal-national revolutions. An uprising in Vienna caused the resignation of Metternich, the archdirector of conservatism in central Europe from 1815 to 1848. The Hungarians under the leadership of Lajos Kossuth revolted and successfully demanded a constitution and autonomy within the Austrian Empire. The Czechs did likewise. In Italy, King Charles Albert of Sardinia-Piedmont sought to take advantage of the nationalist fervor and drive the Austrians out of Italy. A revolution had broken out much earlier in Naples, preceding the revolution in France. The pope had granted a constitution to the Papal States. The Austrian garrison was driven from Milan; Venice declared herself once again a republic; Tuscany drove out a Hapsburg grand duke and became a republic. Constitutions were granted in Parma and Modena. Charles Albert, after giving Sardinia-Piedmont a constitution, declared war on Austria and invaded Lombardy-Venetia, joined by Italians from all Italy. Revolutionary uprisings in Berlin forced the Prussian king to promise his subjects a constitution, and steps were taken to bring together an all-German parliament that would provide a constitution for a united Germany. Similar revolutionary fervor swept the smaller states of Germany, toppling kings and princes from their thrones. In Austria, Prussia, and the lesser German states frightened governments hastened to abolish serfdom, which had long since disappeared from western Europe and now, after this liberation, persisted only in eastern Europe.

THE FAILURE OF THE LIBERAL-NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

Except for the abolition of serfdom these revolutionary successes were short-lived. The revolutionaries of varied national groups in the Austrian Empire were not sufficiently organized in an imperial movement, lacked the loyal support of peasants and the laboring classes, hated and fought each other, and did not possess sufficient and adequate troops to deal with the Austrian army when once it had recovered its balance. The Czech movement went down in June after a bloody attack on Prague. In Austria proper the revolution was crushed by the end of October. In Hungary the attempts of the successful Magyars to suppress the national minorities of Slovaks, Germans, Serbs, and Croats led to civil war, the anti-Magyar minorities calling upon the Austrian government to protect them. It was not until Austria invited the Russians to intervene that revolution was finally destroyed in Hungary (August, 1849). In Italy the Austrian army beat Sardinia-Piedmont at Custoza in July, 1848, and again at Novara in March, 1849. The Roman Republic set up in the Papal States by Mazzini and Garibaldi was wiped out by the intervention of soldiers of the French Republic (under the presidency of Louis Napoleon), who restored Pius IX and stayed in Rome to protect him. The events of 1848 brought to the Austrian throne a new emperor, Francis Joseph, who was to go on ruling until 1916. Nationalism did not succeed in breaking up his empire in 1848-1849. But the new emperor had not learned enough nor was subsequently to learn enough to keep it whole in the course of World War I (1914-1918), a war caused in large part by the stolid and patronizing nationalism of the Austro-Hungarian ruling classes.⁷

THE FAILURE OF THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT

Meanwhile, the all-German parliament sitting at Frankfurt (May, 1848, to May, 1849) was having a difficult time working out the details of a constitution for a new Germany. The middle-class delegates, professors and intellectuals, were divided between those who wanted a big Germany (*grossdeutsch*) and those who wanted a small Germany (*kleindeutsch*), between, that is, those who wished to include or exclude Austria. When the constitution was finished and the Frankfurt parliament had worked out a Declaration of the Rights of the German People (rather than of the Rights of Man), Austria was invited, but refused, to come into the new Germany. The king of Prussia, Frederick William IV, was thereupon offered the title of emperor of the new Reich. Frederick refused it, inasmuch as he could not see that the Frankfurt parliament really had it to offer. What would he do if, after acceptance, the Austrian emperor, the other German princes and the Russian tsar proved unwilling to recognize his new position? He told the delegates at Frankfurt that he could not "pick up a crown from the gutter." All good Prussians felt that any new

⁷See p. 496.

Germany must be an enlargement of Prussia. Bismarck, the future chancellor of the Second Reich, remarked a few years later, "Not by speeches and resolutions of majorities are the mighty problems of the age to be solved but by blood and iron." When remnants of the Frankfurt parliament went on talking after these events, the Prussian army finally sent them home. The failure of liberal German nationalism in 1848 sent many disappointed idealists to the United States for refuge. Frederick William IV, however, gave a constitution to Prussia in 1850 that remained in force until the close of World War I and further revolution in 1918.⁸ It and the constitution of Sardinia-Piedmont were the only political gains of 1848. The notable advance had been social: the emancipation of the serfs in central Europe.

ITALIAN AND GERMAN NATIONALISM

The contrasting humanistic and ascetic (liberal and illiberal) implications of nationalism may be seen in the Italian unification movement as led by Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, and in the German movement as prepared and supported by such patriots as Fichte and Treitschke and carried out by Otto von Bismarck. More particularly they can be seen in the inspirers of the national cause, in the ideas of men like Mazzini and Treitschke, rather than in the action of those who carried out these ideas. The unifications of Italy and Germany were not accomplished without war, and it is difficult to describe war as either humanistic or ascetic. Wars may be fought for humanistic causes. The efforts to win such wars may require ascetic self-denial and sacrifice. The destruction of human life on a grand scale, however, is a sardonic preparation for the life beyond the grave. If national unification is a humanistic goal, nationalistic wars are a denial of this humanism.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

The prophet of Italian unification, Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872), is a good example of fearless, uncompromising devotion to a nationalist cause conceived in essentially humanistic terms. The son of a professor of anatomy at the University of Genoa, he might just as well have been a poet as a conspirator and revolutionist. He was a young man whom the authorities did not like, possessing talent, "very fond of solitary walks at night, and habitually silent as to the subject of his meditations." The police were always after him, and he spent his life in exile (for the most part in England after 1837). When he did return to Italy, to organize a republic, or arouse an insurrection or, after unification, to spend his last years, he was constantly in and out of jail, frequently under sentence of death, and usually in disguise. A man of intensely religious disposition, he grew up under the stimulation of those French romanticists who had

⁸For its character, see p. 672.

been inspired by the Utopian socialist Saint-Simon. He was therefore impatient with any view that did not go beyond the ordinary individualism of the Enlightenment. He was an individualist to the extent that he looked upon the national state as a means to fulfill individual potentialities and hopes. Nationalities were, however, to become self-governing not only to free individuals from tyranny but also that they might associate or act together for the nation's good and enable it to carry out its mission. The justification of personal individualism was its unselfishness, and of national individualism the contribution the self-governing nationality might make to the development of humanity. He conceived, therefore, of an international association of all nationalities formed into independent democratic republics and concerned with the progress of all mankind. He organized the revolutionary society Young Italy from Marseilles to inspire its members with the ideal of a noble, unselfish, moral, and republican Italy. He organized similar organizations for the youth of all Europe (Young Europe, Young Germany). Young Europe was to be "an association of men believing in a future of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all mankind and desirous of consecrating their thoughts and actions to the realization of this future." The inspiration of his new world was to come not from orthodox Christianity but from a new religion built upon the teachings of Jesus, reaching to new spiritual heights and emphasizing duties more than rights. He spoke of "The Holy Church of the Future, the Church of the Free and Equal," which "will give its blessing to every forward step that is taken by the Spirit of Truth. It will be one with the life of Humanity. It will have no popes and no laity but just believers. All men will be priests with differing functions. And there will be a new heaven and a new earth."⁹ If an Italy like this could be built and if it could inspire other nationalisms with its zeal, it was worth sacrificing everything for. For theories were no good without action. Mazzini was the inspirer of the nationalistic youth of Italy, Europe, and even Asia (India), the architect of a new epoch of national independence and international organization.

MAZZINI ON NATION AND NATIONALISM

His impassioned, idealistic prose is worth listening to: "Nationalism is sacred to me because I see in it the instrument of labour for the good and progress of all men." "Countries are the workshops of humanity"; "a nation is a living task, her life is not her own, but a force and a function in the universal Providential scheme." "Nationality is the share that God has assigned to the given people in the progress of humanity. It is the mission which each people must fulfill, the task it must do, on earth, that the divine idea may attain its full expression; it is the work which gives a people a right to citizenship in the world. It is the sign of that people's

⁹Quoted in Hans Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples*, pp. 87, 20-21.

personality and of the rank it occupies among other peoples, its brothers.”¹⁰ “Humanity is a great army, marching to the conquest of unknown lands, against enemies both strong and cunning. The peoples are its corps, each with its special operation to carry out, and the common victory depends on the exactness with which they execute the different operations.” “A community of men, drawn together by a selfish principle for a purely material purpose is not thereby a nation. To constitute a nation, its informing principle and purpose and right must be grounded on eternal bases. The purpose must be essentially a moral one, since a material interest by itself is by its nature finite, and can therefore form no basis of perpetual union.” “Country is not a territory; territory is only its base; country is the idea that rises on that base, the thought of love that draws together all the sons of that territory.”¹¹

MAZZINI ON ITALY AND HUMANITY

In 1848 he wrote that “Italy wills to be a nation of free and equal brothers, associated in a work of common progress. Thought, labour, and property, which is created by labour, are sacred things in her eyes; and sacred also is the right—proportioned to the duties accomplished—of all men to the free and full development of their faculties and powers, of their intellect and of their hearts.” Italians therefore must “love your country.” “Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart blushing whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. . . . Raise it up, great and beautiful, as it was foretold by our great men. And see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. . . . You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid faculties, possessing a tradition of glory. The envy of the nations of Europe; an immense future is before you; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants—you are bound to be such or nothing. . . . Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. . . . Has she not twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe? In Rome, two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed like the double jewels of a diadem; draw from these a third world greater than the two. . . .

“Love Humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has given you your country as a cradle, and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common Mother.

¹⁰Quoted in the *Living Thoughts of Mazzini*, presented by Ignazio Silone, p. 23.

¹¹Quoted in Bolton King, *Mazzini*, pp. 297, 301.

Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting [1848] or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal,—improvement, association, and the foundation of an Authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and re-link earth to heaven; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you. . . .”

MAZZINI ON THE IDEAL

“And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the Word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought, and in the dignity of our immortal soul. . . . From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity, are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these today, you would fall again to-morrow; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose to them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains from the hands of its Creator. Respect above all things your conscience; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God in your hearts . . . boldly promulgate your own faith.”¹²

MAZZINI ON ILLIBERAL NATIONALISM

Mazzini disliked a selfish nationalism, “the stupid presumption on the part of each people that they are capable of solving [all] political, social and economic problems alone, forgetful of the great truth that the cause of all peoples is one.” He hated “the monopolist usurping nation that sees its own strength and greatness only in the weakness and poverty of others,” whose foreign policy is “one of aggrandisement and selfishness, whether it seeks them basely or buys glory at other men’s expense.” He thought that “Countries that cherish liberty at home and outrage it abroad are fated to expiate their error through long years of isolation and oppression and anarchy.” He was sure that “upon the foundation of independent nationalities would come the United States of Europe, the republican alliance of the peoples, that great European federation, whose task it is to unite in one association all the political families of the old world, destroy the partitions that dynastic rivalries have made, and consolidate and respect nationalities.”¹³

¹²Ed. N. Gangulee, *Selected Writings of Giuseppe Mazzini*, pp. 111-113.

¹³King, *Mazzini*, pp. 92, 303-304, 309.

To humanity he comes back again and again. A search for "a true conception of the laws governing the collective life of Humanity" has resulted in a school of philosophy he calls the School of Progressive Movement. "It dates its origin from a new conception of Humanity, and a belief in a providential law of progress and perfectibility, not infinite, but indefinite, ruling over our human destiny. It deduces that belief from the tendency to association innate in man; from the unity of the origin of the human race; from its ceaseless continuity and preservation; from the successive amplification and amelioration of social creeds; from the identity of [the] human goal, and the necessity of concentrating the whole sum of human forces to its achievement; . . . from the instinct and necessity, which, as if it were a law of existence, urges every living being to the fuller development of all the germs, the faculties, the forces, the life within it; from tradition, which proves to us that the truths achieved by one generation become the indestructible possession of those that succeed it; from that aspiration, common to all of us, which has laid the foundation of all forms of religion, and made known to individuals the duty of self-sacrifice for aims impossible of realization within the limits of earthly existence. . . ." "Humanity is the association of Nationalities, the alliance of the peoples in order to work out their missions in peace and love; the organization of free and equal peoples that shall advance without hindrance or impediment—each supporting and profiting by the other's aid—towards the progressive development of one line of the thought of God, the line inscribed by Him upon the cradle, the past life, the national idiom, and the physiognomy of each. And in this progress, there will be neither conquest nor threat of conquest, because there will be neither man-king nor people-king but only an association of brothers whose interests and aim are identical. The law of duty openly acknowledged and confessed will take the place of that disposition to usurp the rights of others which has hitherto governed the relations between people and people; and which is in fact nought other than the foresight of fear. The ruling principle of international law will no longer be to secure the weakness of others, but the amelioration of all through the work of all: the progress of each for the benefit of the others. . . ." "The Unity of Humanity, which expresses the law of individual intercourse, also includes the law of the intercommunication of nations. As no man will reach heaven who seeks to reach it alone, so no nation will ever develop the highest and most enduring forms of national life while it is contented to remain the passive and uninterested spectator of the onward and upward struggles of kindred peoples."¹⁴

¹⁴Gangulee, *Selected Writings*, pp. 138-141.

MAZZINI'S NEW RELIGION

"I am not a Christian," Mazzini wrote to a friend. "I belong to what I believe to be a still purer and higher faith, but its time has not yet come; and until that day, the Christian manifestation remains the most sacred revelation of the ever-onward-progressing spirit of mankind working its way towards an ideal which must, sooner or later, be realized. I love Jesus as the man who has loved all mankind, servants, and masters, rich and poor, Brahmins and Helots or pariahs."¹⁵ "Does not every word of the Gospel breathe the spirit of liberty and equality, of that war with evil and injustice and falsehood, that inspires our work?" His new faith, the improvement upon Christianity, must avoid its dogmatism, its theocratic church with temporal power, its neglect of the world, its extreme asceticism, but it must have a positive faith. "There is no life in the void. Life is faith in something, a system of secure beliefs, grounded on the immutable foundation, which defines the end, the destiny of man, and embraces all his faculties to point them to that end." To get at the truth of this faith one must combine tradition and conscience. "The tradition not of one school, or one religion, or one age, but of all the schools and all religions and all the ages in their succession." "Where you find the general permanent voice of humanity [tradition] agreeing with the voice of your conscience, be sure that you hold in your grasp something with absolute truth—gained and forever yours."¹⁶

MAZZINI ON INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Mazzini felt therefore that the doctrine of individual rights taught by the Enlightenment was an insufficient principle upon which to base his program for the moral nation and humanity. Beyond individual rights there was the imperative world of duty, and it was only as man felt these duties to his brother and his nation and mankind that there was any large hope for humanity. He expressed these opinions often, especially in perhaps the noblest of his writings, the essays comprising *The Duties of Man*. It is not that rights do not exist, or that the Enlightenment and Revolution were not making glorious achievements in defining and fighting for them, but that it was now necessary to go beyond them. "You must have liberty in all that is indispensable to the moral and material aliment of life; personal liberty, liberty of locomotion, liberty of religious faith; liberty of opinion upon all subjects, liberty of expressing that opinion through the press, or by any other peaceful means; liberty of association in order to render that opinion fruitful by cultivation and contact with the thoughts and opinions of others; liberty of labour, and of trade and commerce with its produce; all these things which may not be taken away from you without your having a right to protest." But these rights

¹⁵Gangulee, p. 35.

¹⁶King, *Mazzini*, p. 244.

and liberties are not enough. "The liberty of the one will inevitably clash with the liberty of others; constant strife will arise between individual and individual, and consequent loss of force, and waste of the productive faculties vouchsafed to us . . ." "Right is the faith of the individual. Duty is the common collective faith. Right can but organize resistance; it may destroy; it cannot found. Duty builds up, associates and unites."¹⁷

"We must find an educative principle, to guide men to better things, to teach them constancy in sacrifice, to bind them to their brothers without making them dependent on any one man's theory or on the brute force of the community. This principle is Duty. We must convince men that they, sons of one God, have here on earth to carry out one law,—that each of us must live not to himself but others—that the end of life is not to have more or less of happiness but to make ourselves and others better,—that to fight injustice and error, everywhere, for our brother's good, is not a right only but a duty,—duty we may not without sin neglect, duty that lasts as long as life." "Life was given you by God, that you might use it for the profit of Humanity; that you might so direct your individual faculties, that they will develop your brothers' faculties, that by your work you might add something to the collective work of bettering men and finding Truth."¹⁸ Duty above right must be a principle stirring men to act.

"THE EARTH IS OUR WORKSHOP"

Otherworldly asceticism must give way to social action. "The earth is our workshop; we may not curse it, we must hallow it. There is nothing worse than depression, nothing more enervating than self-contemplation." "We are here not to contemplate but to transform nature; and self almost always lies at the bottom of contemplation. The world is not a spectacle, it is a field of battle, where all, who love the Just, the Holy, the Beautiful, must bear their part, be they soldiers or generals, conquerors or martyrs." "Do not analyse . . . do not light Psyche's lamp to examine and anatomise life. Do good around you; preach what you believe to be the truth and act accordingly; then go through life, looking forward."¹⁹

CAVOUR'S PLAN FOR ITALIAN UNIFICATION

Mazzini wanted a unification movement that would regenerate the moral nature of the Italian people and produce a unitary republic. He wanted the Italians through their own efforts, however conspiratorial and insurrectionary, to create their new unity. When the revolutionary fervor of 1848–1849 had subsided, however, it was clear to many Italian

¹⁷Gangulee, pp. 163, 155.

¹⁸King, pp. 256–257.

¹⁹King, pp. 256–258.

leaders that this was an impractical program. It would require more than Mazzini's kind of liberal nationalism to regenerate the Italian people. It was likely that the best chance for unification was to rely on the one liberal Italian state in the peninsula—the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under the house of Savoy—and it was clear to the prime minister of this state in 1851, Count Camillo Cavour (1810–1861), that Sardinia-Piedmont would have to have help if the Italians were to be freed. Sardinia at the moment was still a constitutional, if not democratic, monarchy, and Cavour's plan was to add the rest of Italy to Sardinia-Piedmont while retaining the limited character of the monarchy. This would mean the rejection not only of Mazzini's plans for a republic but of all plans for any kind of free federation of the states of the peninsula, whether under the presidency of the pope or any other prince. To do this Sardinia-Piedmont would have to annex Lombardy and Venetia, which were parts of the Austrian Empire, Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, ruled by Austrian princes, the Papal States (Romagna, Marches of Ancona, Umbria, Rome), and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, ruled by Spanish Bourbons and embracing the rest of the peninsula.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST AUSTRIA

Cavour came into the government as a liberal in 1850, and it was eight years before his plan could be set in motion. Meanwhile he built up Sardinia-Piedmont for its task of leadership by introducing the Industrial Revolution, restricting the privileges of the Church, and reforming the army. Cavour had to look for help to the western powers, for Austria was his enemy and Prussia was joined with Austria in the Germanic Federation. Britain rejected a plea for outright aid but made it clear that she was benevolently inclined toward the realization of Italian dreams. Mazzini was an exile in England, and Cavour, after visiting there, was an ardent admirer of her institutions. Cavour's hopes, accordingly, lay with the France of Napoleon III. He permitted himself to be drawn into the Crimean War (1854–1855) and earned a place at the peace conference in Paris (1856), where he took the opportunity of presenting Italy's case in the presence of Austrian delegates. Two years later at a private meeting at Plombières, Napoleon agreed to help Sardinia in a war against Austria if Austria could be made to seem the aggressor. Cavour was faced with starting a war without seeming to, before Napoleon changed his mind—to him a task of no great difficulty. The war came in April, 1859. Within six weeks the combined armies of Sardinia and France had won two battles at Magenta and Solferino that cleared the Austrians out of Milan. At that point Napoleon III, fearful that a larger victory would precipitate revolutionary events in Italy that he had not originally counted on, suddenly, without consulting Cavour or Victor Emmanuel, the Sardinian king, made a truce and peace (Villafranca, 1860) with the Austrians. Lombardy was to go to Sardinia, but Venetia was not, and Italy was to

be divided among four kingdoms and formed into a federation of which the pope was to be the head and Austria a member.

THE EXPANSION OF SARDINIA-PIEDMONT

This was far from what Cavour had planned, and when he could not get his king to continue the war alone, he resigned. But he was soon back at his post. The Treaty of Villafranca had provided for the return of the princes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany to their thrones, but the nationalist leaders in these states organized to prevent their return. Cavour then negotiated with Napoleon for the annexation of these states to Sardinia. The French emperor's price was the cession of Nice and Savoy to France. Plebiscites taken in March went almost unanimously for union with Sardinia, and an Italian parliament, the first, with delegates from Sardinia-Piedmont, Lombardy, Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Romagna, met in April at Turin.

GARIBALDI AND THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES AND SICILY

The addition of the Bourbon Kingdom of Naples and Sicily was the work of Giuseppe Garibaldi in co-operation with local nationalist leaders. Through it all Cavour had to maintain the public pretense of doing nothing to undermine the independence of a sovereign state while privately doing everything to encompass its ruin. Garibaldi was an early devotee of Mazzini. He had fought for national liberty in South America and defended the Roman Republic against the French in 1849. He fought for Sardinia-Piedmont in the war of 1859 and had become an idol of the Italian masses. Useful to a man like Cavour, who nevertheless had little respect for his political wisdom, he was summoned to help Sicilian rebels in 1860 and set sail from Genoa with his thousand volunteers (Red Shirts) on 5 May. Publicly, Cavour had to order the Sardinian navy after him, but they were told to shut down their engines once out of the harbor. After landing at Marsala on the western coast of Sicily (11 May), Garibaldi was in Palermo before the end of the month, negotiating a truce with the Neapolitan forces. But from Sicily he went on to the mainland. Again, publicly he was ordered not to go, but privately he was told to disregard his orders. The indulgence of a British foreign minister permitted the crossing of the Straits of Messina, for the British navy could have prevented it.

Cavour preferred not to have Garibaldi credited with the fall of the Bourbon kingdom. In the hope of coming to terms with Cavour its government had turned liberal and constitutional. To destroy it before Garibaldi's arrival, Cavour tried to instigate revolution in Naples. At the same time he had to appear to the Italian masses a supporter of Garibaldi and to Napoleon a nonsupporter. Actually Garibaldi planned to complete the unification by attacking Rome after Naples. Since this would have brought on difficulties with France, whose troops were still in Rome,

Cavour had to take steps to prevent it. He arranged with Napoleon III to lead an army southward through the Papal States to forestall Garibaldi's intentions. When Garibaldi entered Naples, Sardinian troops entered the papal Marches of Ancona and defeated Rome's army at Castelfidardo. Plebiscites were held in the Marches and Umbria in October, both provinces voting enthusiastically for annexation to Sardinia-Piedmont. Early in November Victor Emmanuel met Garibaldi, and together (7 November) they entered Naples. With this union of north and south, after further plebiscites, the unification movement was temporarily halted. Garibaldi, who had again bowed to the interests of the monarchy, was offered a title and money as reward for his services, and these he refused. He helped to defend France against the Prussian army in 1870-1871 and, after the addition of Rome to Italy, interested himself as a socialist in the future of the Italian workers.

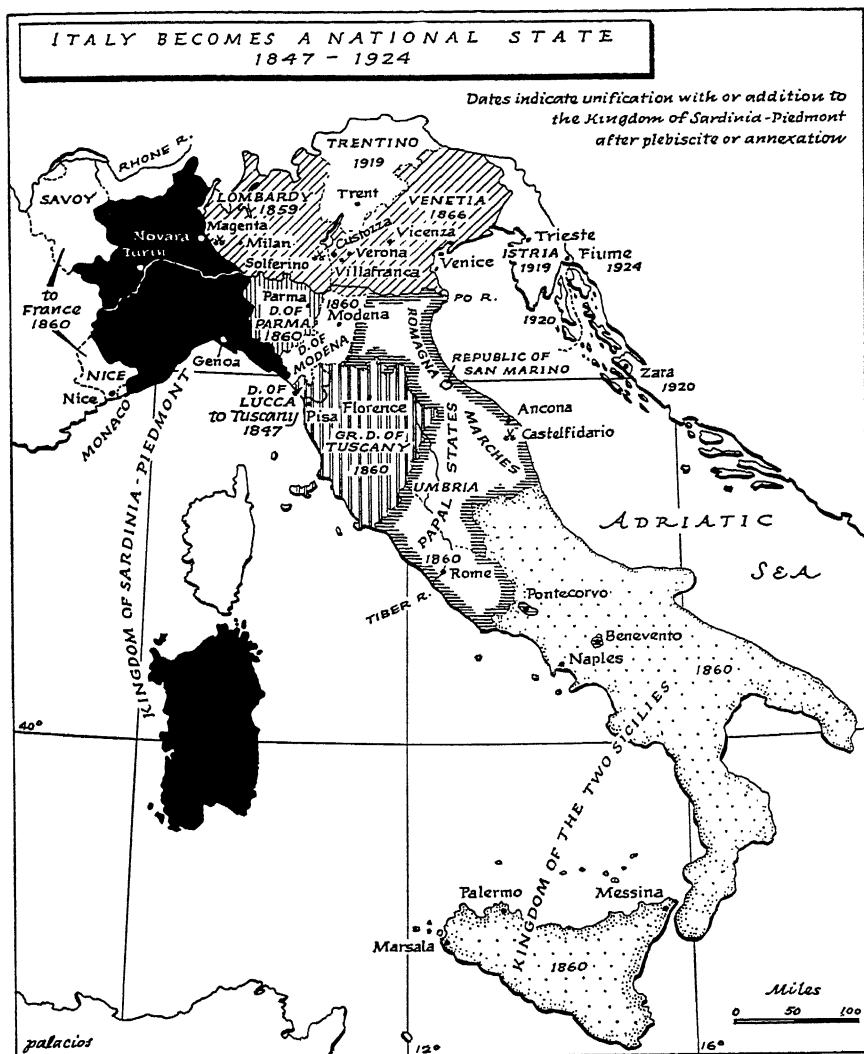
THE COMPLETION OF THE UNIFICATION

The unification of Italy was completed by the addition of Venetia in 1866 and Rome in 1870. Italy joined Prussia in the war against Austria in 1866 and, although badly defeated by Austria in the war, was able to exact Venetia as the price of her humiliating participation. When the French finally withdrew their troops from Rome in 1870 because of the Franco-Prussian War, Italian troops moved in to make Rome, instead of Turin or Florence, the capital of the new united Italy. Italian nationalism thus brought about an end to the temporal power of the papacy at a moment when a church council in Rome²⁰ was proclaiming the spiritual infallibility of the pope. Italy is said to have been unified by these events. Actually there were still Italians in the Austrian Empire (Trentino, Istria, Dalmatia) and in those provinces that had been lost to France (Nice, Savoy). A real political, economic, moral, and social unification or integration in Mazzini's sense was yet to come. It is still to come.

BISMARCK AND THE AUSTRIAN PROBLEM

The problems facing Bismarck in 1862 when he became the minister-president of King William I of Prussia were not quite the same as those facing Cavour when he became the prime minister of King Victor Emmanuel. To be sure, each was confronted by Austria as the chief obstacle to the unification of his country. Austria's position in Italy, however, differed from her position in the Germanies. In Italy she ruled Lombardy-Venetia directly as a part of her empire and the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany indirectly through members of the house of Hapsburg. To unify Italy Austria had to be deprived of Italian territory. In what came to be called Germany, Austria ruled directly no territory corresponding to Lombardy-Venetia, nor indirectly any corresponding to the duchies.

²⁰See p. 538.



Hapsburgs had ruled the Holy Roman Empire from the days of Rudolph (1273-1291) until 1806. They were the presidents of the Germanic Confederation set up by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and of this Austria proper was a member. Bismarck therefore had to deprive Austria of its membership in, and leadership of, the Germanic Confederation in order to make way for Prussia. He had to drive Austria politically, rather than territorially, out of Germany.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ITALIAN AND GERMAN UNIFICATIONS

There are other differences between the unifications of Italy and Germany that need to be stressed, differences that have to do with the rela-

tive positions of Sardinia-Piedmont and Prussia, with methods, and with leadership. The history of Sardinia-Piedmont under the house of Savoy had not been much more distinguished than many a similar feudal principality located in the heart of western Europe. Its small size and limited resources had convinced Cavour that carrying out unification required the assistance of a great western power. To be sure, he conceived of Italy as an expanded Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont under the house of Savoy, but care was taken, before adding new parts of Italy, to record the approval through plebiscites of the populations involved. The government set up for Italy was that of a liberal monarchy over a unitary state. Cavour had no notion that Sardinia-Piedmont should dominate in any oppressive way. She was to be merged into Italy and not the reverse. The constitution permitted a regular democratic development, with extensions of the suffrage and popular control of the executive. Cavour himself was a liberal. The new kingdom deprived the papacy of a temporal power that since the days of the Donation of Pepin²¹ had blocked any unification of the peninsula. In the Italian tradition were the extraordinary histories of self-governing communes and the Renaissance. Now that Bourbon, Hapsburg, and papal despotisms had been overthrown, there was no reason why under normal circumstances a liberal Italian state could not develop in accordance with the humanistic tradition of the West she had done so much to shape. It was a question whether the violence and amorality accompanying the unification, together with the exaggerated character of a nationalism that demanded that all Italians be within the state, could guarantee "normal" circumstances. It was a question also whether the lateness of the unification itself together with poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, and overpopulation, the results, in part, of the ascetic emphasis of the Church, would permit of a "normal" development, the development, that is, of France and England.

THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA

Prussia grew on the confines of, rather than in the heart of, western Europe. She developed on the European frontier and was the product of a colonial mentality. Until the early nineteenth century she formed part of a distinctive eastern, rather than a western, European society. Brandenburg, the original Prussia, grew out of lands beyond the Elbe inhabited by Slavs. Its tradition was established by an arrogant, crusading church anxious to convert pagan peoples, and a militant German aristocracy, in part exterminating and in part fusing with the aristocracy of Slavic peoples while it was introducing German colonists.²² Prussia proper was conquered by the Teutonic Knights, who destroyed the major part of the native Prussians in the course of the conquest and introduced the German church, noble, townsman, and peasant into the

²¹See Vol. I, p. 389.

²²See Vol. I, Chap. xi.

area. Pomerania, whence came Bismarck, was formed under similar circumstances. Altogether this German march eastward (*Drang nach Osten*), carrying with it the more advanced civilization of western Europe, developed a militant attitude of superiority of German over Slav. At first it established a free colonial peasantry and free towns in northern Europe, the towns being part of the Hanseatic League. But the end result of the expansion was to establish the aristocratic owners of large estates, the Junkers, as lords over serfs, the towns losing their autonomy as they dwindled in economic importance, and the peasants losing their freedom. As the Hohenzollern rulers of Brandenburg-Prussia built up their absolute power in the early modern period, destroying as they did so the political role of the estates of the various provinces, they agreed, in return for Junker support, to let them dominate the growing bureaucracy and monopolize the officer corps of the army. Thus the Prussian state was an absolutism governed by an arrogant, conservative, aristocratic Junker class. In making Prussia a great power by the conquest of Silesia, Frederick the Great (1740-1786) strengthened these features of Prussian society. The early Renaissance in the Germanies was overshadowed by the Reformation. Lutheranism as a state church, strengthening the power of the Hohenzollerns, gave divine sanction to their absolute power.

BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Bismarck was a Pomeranian Junker who had entered the foreign service of the Prussian state. He was ambassador to the diet of the Germanic Confederation at Frankfurt from 1851 to 1859, ambassador to Russia from 1859 to 1862, and when called to head the Prussian ministry in 1862 was ambassador at Paris. His notions at this moment on how Germany was to be unified were clear and precise. He was hardly an ardent German nationalist. For him nationalism was never more than a convenient means, a weapon that he might use for his own purposes or for the purposes of Prussia. He was rather a Prussian nationalist. Like Italy with respect to Sardinia-Piedmont, Germany was to be an expanded Prussia. In the process of this expansion Prussia was not to lose its identity. Bismarck was a conservative devoted to the Prussian monarchy and to the predominance of the Junker in the administration and the army. Rather than lose itself in a larger German state, Prussia was to dominate that state, and in so far as possible extend its institutions to it. Bismarck had little patience with obstructive and procrastinating deliberative assemblies representing the people, and he would not be responsible to one. Unity must be accomplished without a liberal revolution that would alter the social composition of Prussia or Germany. He knew that unity meant first of all a war with Austria to deprive her of her position in the Germanies and then the destruction of the Germanic Confederation itself. Those resisting the dominance of Prussia in the new Germany would simply have to be annexed to Prussia whether they wished it or not. Since Prussia was

highly unpopular with the South German states, he knew that a war with France, whom they feared, might need to be fought to secure their adherence. Since he did not believe it necessary to woo outside help, he was forced to rely on an enlarged Prussian army. The new German Reich was to be a perpetuation and expansion of the characteristic features of the Prussian state, absolute divine-right monarchy and a privileged aristocracy. He told Disraeli, the conservative English prime minister, on his way from Paris to Berlin in September, 1862, "I shall soon be compelled to undertake the leadership of the Prussian government. My first step will be, with or without the help of parliament, to reorganize the army. The king has rightly set himself this task. He cannot, however, carry it through with his present counsellors. When the army has been brought to such a state as to command respect, then I will take the first opportunity to declare war with Austria, burst asunder the Germanic Confederation, bring the middle and smaller states into subjection and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia."

GERMAN COSMOPOLITANISM

The leaders in the German cultural revival of the eighteenth century, like other representatives of the Enlightenment, were cosmopolitans rather than nationalists or patriots. Samuel Johnson, the formidable English scholar, remarked that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. Goethe had little patience with the complaint that the Germans had no fatherland or patriotism. "If we find a place in the world where we may rest with our possessions, an acre that will supply us with food, a house that will protect us, do we not then have a fatherland?" He also said that "it is the privilege and duty of the philosopher and of the poet to belong to no nation and to no time, but rather to be a contemporary of all times." Lessing asserted that "Patriotism is a sentiment which I do not understand. It is, as it seems to me, an heroic infirmity which I am most happy in not sharing."²³ In his early days under the spell of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, Fichte²⁴ was also a cosmopolitan. "What is the fatherland," he exclaimed, "of the really educated Christian European? In general it is Europe, in particular it is in each age that European state which leads in culture. . . . Let the earth-born ones who think of their fatherland as the soil, the stream and the mountain remain citizens of the decadent state. The sun-loving spirit will be attracted irresistibly to the place where light and justice dwell. And in this cosmopolitanism we ourselves and our descendants can remain indifferent forever to the affairs and fates of states."²⁵

²³Quoted in H. C. Engelbrecht, *Johann Gottlieb Fichte*, pp. 147-148.

²⁴See p. 418.

²⁵Quoted in Eugene N. Anderson, *Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806-1815*, p. 34.

But Fichte, like many other Germans, became a patriot under stress of the Jacobin Terror and the Napoleonic conquest of his country. Just before the Prussian defeat at Jena (1806) and the destruction of Prussia in the Treaty of Tilsit (1807)²⁶ he wrote that "cosmopolitanism is the will that the purpose of humanity be really achieved. Patriotism is the will that this purpose be fulfilled in that nation to which we ourselves belong and that the results spread from it to entire humanity. . . . Cosmopolitanism must necessarily become patriotism."²⁷ After Jena and Tilsit, in a series of addresses to Berliners in the winter of 1807-1808 (*Reden an die Deutsche Nation*), his patriotism became ardent, without assuming the extreme nationalist form that is sometimes attributed to it. In these speeches the Germans became for all but the Slavs the source of the European nations, and their language, along with Greek, an original, not a borrowed tongue. He urged the small audience who listened to him to support the effort of creating a new nation with a new education and a new army, and he was inclined to extoll, at the expense of foreign influences, everything that was German. Still, "he remained a liberal socialist in domestic affairs and a 'cosmopolite' in international relations."²⁸

STEPS IN GERMAN UNIFICATION BEFORE BISMARCK

There were other Germans, more ardent in their nationalism than Fichte, who thought after the War of Liberation and the Vienna Settlement (1815) that Prussia rather than Austria should unify Germany. Of Hegel it has been remarked that he confused the kingdom of Prussia with the kingdom of heaven. Prussian statesmen, such as Scharnhorst, Stein, and Hardenberg, undertook the necessary reforms to prepare Prussia for this task. The army was reformed, serfdom abolished, and autonomy given to many towns. Under Prussian leadership a customs union (the *Zollverein*) was formed between Prussia and the remaining members of the Confederation except Austria, thus preparing for economic unification. The professors and intellectuals who composed the liberal nationalists of the Frankfurt parliament preferred a Germany led by Austria to one led by Prussia. When both Austria and Prussia turned down the leadership of a new Germany under the conditions laid down by the parliament, the cause of a future liberal Germany was defeated for good. It was time for Bismarck to take over.

BISMARCK AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN PRUSSIA

Bismarck had no use for social democracy. "Socialists are rats," he wrote, "and should be exterminated."²⁹ "The world can't be ruled from

²⁶See p. 382.

²⁷Anderson, *Nationalism*, p. 35.

²⁸Engelbrecht, *Fichte*, p. 134.

²⁹G. P. Gooch, *Studies in German History*, p. 387.

below." "With morality one gets nowhere,"³⁰ he urged with respect to negotiation with eastern governments. He was a man of huge physique and accompanying vitality who could eat half a turkey at a sitting and drink "between a quarter and a half bottle of cognac" along with it. If his "highest ambition was to make the Germans a nation," in doing so he sacrificed their liberalism on the altar of their nationalism. Bismarck was called to head the Prussian cabinet to resolve a conflict between the Prussian crown and the lower house of the legislature over the appropriation of funds to enlarge and re-equip the army in case it were needed for wars of unification. The king was threatening to abdicate in view of the refusal of the liberals who controlled the lower house to vote the taxes needed for a larger and stronger military. Here was a simple issue of responsible democratic government: Should the lower house of the legislature control the financial and military policy of the government? The Germans were trying to learn to govern themselves. To the Hohenzollerns and their supporters the crown was of divine origin. "The crown has descended upon me from God's hands," remarked King William I at his coronation, "and when I take it from His holy altar and place it upon my head, I receive His blessing that it be preserved for me!" (p. 103) "In a monarchy like ours," the king's predecessor had said, "the military point of view should never be curtailed by financial or political-economic ones; for the European position of the state upon which so much else depends is based upon it." (p. 109) When Bismarck became minister-president in September, 1862, he told the Budget Commission of the lower house: "Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism but to its power. Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden may indulge in liberalism; therefore, no one would attribute to them Prussia's rôle. Prussia must concentrate its power for the favorable moment which already has several times been missed. Prussia's frontiers as set by the Vienna treaties are not favorable to a sound statehood. The great questions of our time will be decided not by speeches and majority decisions—that was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron." (p. 143) He would not pursue the "phantom of popularity." He did not think he needed the support of "German public opinion, parliaments, newspapers, and so forth." "Our strength cannot arise out of parliaments and press politics but solely out of militarily strong, great power politics." (p. 144) Bismarck therefore determined to do without the support of the liberal majority in the lower house, if necessary, to carry out the reform of the army. "The chatters," he wrote with respect to the liberals in the lower house, "can really not govern Prussia; I must oppose them; they have too little wit and too much self-satisfaction, are stupid and audacious. . . . In foreign affairs [the people] are, taken individually, mere children; but in all other questions they become childish as soon as they meet in

³⁰E. N. Anderson, *The Social and Political Conflict in Prussia, 1858-1864*; in this chapter cited in my text.

a body—stupid as a mass, understanding as individuals.” (p. 200) Bismarck held that it was unconstitutional for the crown to bow to the wishes of the lower house. “The Prussian monarchy has not yet completed its mission, and is not yet ripe for becoming a purely ornamental decoration of your constitutional edifice, not yet ripe to be integrated like a dead part into the mechanism of a parliamentary regime.” (p. 220)

THE LIBERALS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

The liberals in the lower house denied that the king could thwart the will of the people by insisting upon his own will. “No German ruler,” said one, “has ever had the authority from God or anywhere else ultimately to decide according to his personal opinion about the rights of his subjects. No German ruler has ever had the power in case of conflict to order by decree from his privy council what is right and what is wrong. . . . The law about the budget . . . may not be changed except by law, and except by hearing those who annually provide 40 million thalers and 60,000 men for this army.” (p. 223)

The history and practice of parliamentary government in England was much on the tongues of the liberal protestors. One deputy, the historian von Sybel, contrasted the views of the ministry with those of the liberals. “Your political assumption,” he told them, “is that the government possesses from the beginning the power to dispose of the life and property of the subjects, that the government is not allowed to do only that which some law expressly forbids, and even that in certain emergencies, naturally defined by it, the government can cancel such prohibitions, and take back the authority. Our assumption is the opposite, namely, that a citizen’s money belongs first of all to him and not to the government, and that the latter first receives the right to expend it for governmental purposes and for the country when the citizens have through their legal representatives approved these expenditures.” (p. 239) Another referred to the “attempt to restore absolutism again in a constitutional state when absolutism could no longer maintain itself. . . .”

In April-May, 1862, and October-November, 1863, elections were held for the lower house of the Prussian *Landtag*. Of 350 deputies elected, there were 284 liberals in the former year and 258 in the latter. “The Prussian people overwhelmingly opposed the preservation of the vestiges of the Old Regime and desired reform.” In the former election they returned only ten conservatives and in the latter thirty-six, men who could subscribe to such statements as: “Abstract freedom represented by mechanical means in majorities and the like, we do not need at all. And that to a certain degree we can bear them is the best evidence of how much discipline still sticks everywhere in our hearts. But we can bear it only as long as a powerful monarchy stands in our midst. Whoever imagines that this discipline will remain as soon as sovereignty

in Prussia has left the throne and has taken its seat in the majority of the deputies, is in politics a child." (p. 377)

THE LIBERALS YIELD TO BISMARCK

Bismarck ignored this liberal majority. The crown, the ministry, the bureaucracy, and the army all supported him. Without the approval of the lower house the new taxes were illegally levied and paid. The army was reformed and equipped with new needle guns (Dreyse rifles). With it Prussia won the Seven Weeks' War against Austria (1866) and in place of the Germanic Confederation organized the North German Confederation, the first step in German unification. Under pressure of glorious military victory the Prussian liberals forgave Bismarck his unconstitutional procedure by a vote of 230 to 75.

The liberal surrender to Bismarck in 1866 destroyed German liberalism and prepared the way for ultimate revolution in 1918 by abandoning the procedures of democratic government. To many liberals nationalism was more important than parliamentary government. They came to agree with Bismarck that it was not so important how Germany was unified as that she should be. "The success of *Realpolitik* destroyed the moral foundations of their belief. Wrong had proved to be effective; right had failed. Most of them swung to the side of Bismarck and joined the host of his adorers. The irreconcilable ones were doomed to continue a life of frustration. Until the end of the Second (Bismarck's) Reich in 1918 the pro-Bismarck liberals could not be depended upon to support a principle in a crisis; the anti-Bismarck ones could talk little but principles. Deprived of the opportunity to learn responsibility in government and faced with the reality of living in an anti-liberal society, the latter continued to defend generalities. Germany became a country largely of doctrinaires and believers in *Machtpolitik* [power politics] à la Bismarck." (p. 443) But the nationalism that defeated liberalism ultimately led Germany to disaster in two world wars of the twentieth century.

THE DIPLOMACY OF NATIONALISM

Bismarck knew well in 1862 that to unify Germany around Prussia to the exclusion of Austria required a war with Austria, and that to ensure the success of this war diplomacy would have to be used to keep the great powers from intervening. The benevolence of Russia was secured in 1863, when Prussia offered help in suppressing another Polish revolt. The assistance of the Italians was acquired by promising them Venetia, and Napoleon III was promised territorial compensation toward the Rhine. By the time the treaty with the Italians was made Bismarck had to produce a war with Austria in three months, for this was the duration of the treaty of alliance.

THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN QUESTION AND WAR (1866)

His skill in this respect was no less than Cavour's. War came as a result of efforts to settle the Schleswig-Holstein question. These two duchies on the Danish frontier had been colonized by Germans in the course of the Middle Ages leaving only northern Schleswig Danish. The duchies enjoyed a personal union with the Danish kingdom, had their own separate governments, and Holstein was a member of the Germanic Confederation. When the Danes, who had wished in 1848 to annex Schleswig, including the Germans, undertook again to do so, the diet of the Germanic Confederation wanted war on Denmark and ordered Hanoverian and Saxon troops into Holstein. Bismarck had no desire to strengthen the Confederation in a Danish war. He wanted to ruin it and supplant it. He therefore persuaded Austria to join in opposing this occupation of Holstein, and together Prussia and Austria sent an ultimatum to Denmark demanding the withdrawal within forty-eight hours of the new constitution incorporating Schleswig into Denmark. As a result of the war which followed (1864), the Danes relinquished the two duchies to Austria and Prussia, the latter finally occupying Schleswig and the former Holstein. Out of this joint occupation Bismarck, his diplomatic frontiers secure, then produced a war with Austria (1866) which took the form of a civil war within the Confederation, between Prussia and Austria and the German states supporting Austria. The vote against Prussia in the diet was nine to six.

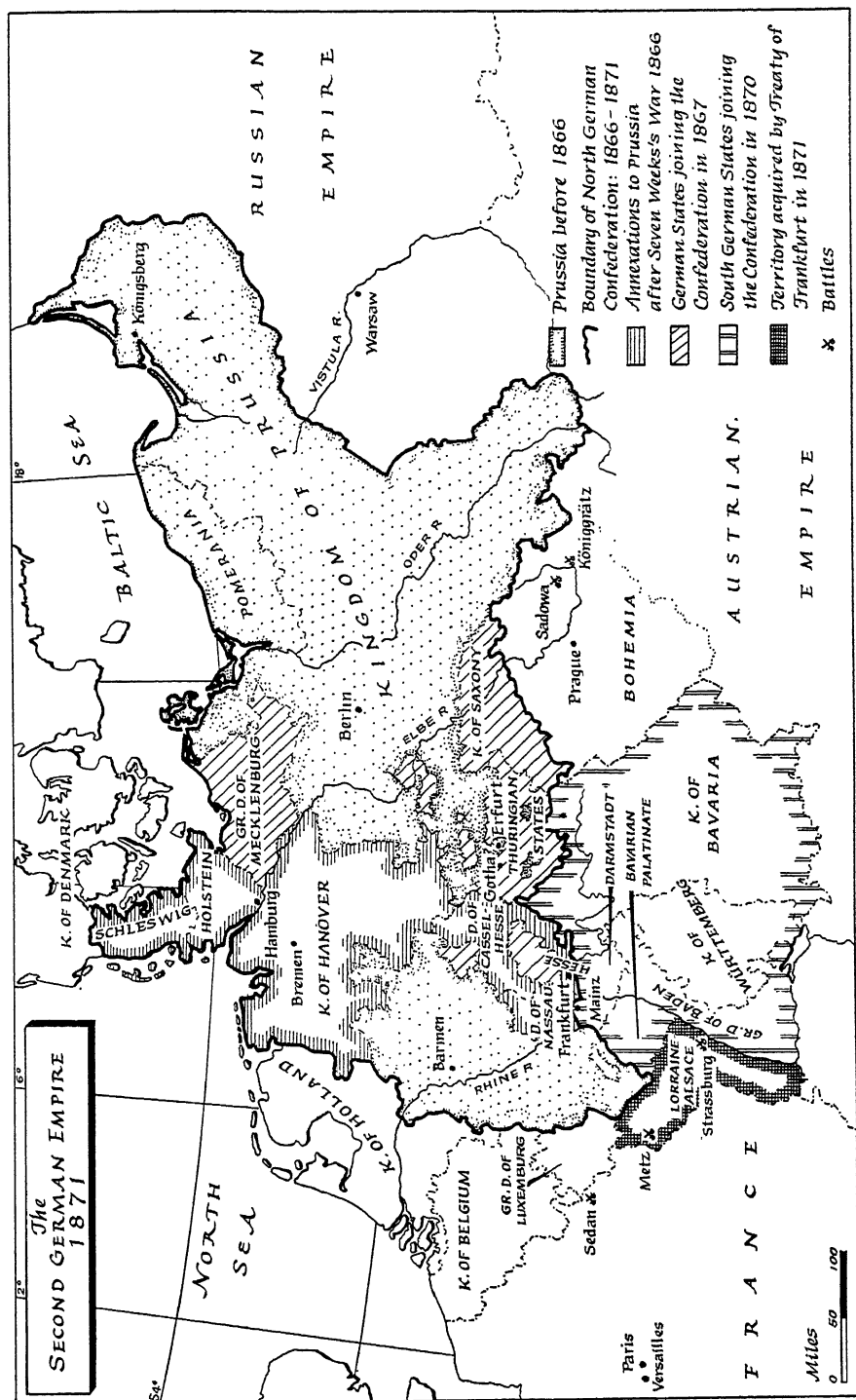
THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION AFTER 1866

The new Prussian armies defeated the Austrian troops (at Königgrätz in Bohemia) and the opposing smaller German states in short order (the Seven Weeks' War). In the Treaty of Prague with Austria Bismarck went out of his way to be lenient, demanding no territory for Prussia but only that Austria get out of Germany and give Venetia to Italy. But in Germany Bismarck took bold steps to unify the region north of the Main River. He first annexed outright to Prussia some 27,500 square miles of territory and four or five millions of Germans in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the kingdom of Hanover, the duchies of Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, and the free city of Frankfurt. The remaining twenty-one states north of the Main he joined with Prussia in a new North German Confederation, whose constitution he dictated. Its president was the king of Prussia and its chancellor, as the king's appointee, the chief of the Prussian ministry. Its upper chamber (*Bundesrat*) was to represent the states and its lower chamber (*Reichstag*), elected by universal manhood suffrage, the people. Prussia dominated the *Bundesrat*, and the chancellor was not responsible to the *Reichstag* but to the Prussian king. The member states were to retain independence except in the field of foreign and military affairs and the declaration of defensive war. The Prussian system of compulsory military service was introduced into all the states of the

Confederation. Thus had Prussia conquered and expanded into northern Germany.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870-1871)

South of the Main were Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt, still outside the Reich. The Austro-Prussian War was shorter and much more decisive than the French had calculated upon. Napoleon III had counted on either arbitrating or intervening in the conflict. It was now a question whether France, used to a system of small German states beyond the Rhine whose affairs she could manipulate, could adjust herself to the new, powerful, unified Germany. Bismarck knew that the sentiment among the southern German states was such that only a war with France could probably bring them into the North German Confederation. It was this war, the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), that he was quite willing to see come and, with French help, to precipitate. Bismarck had great fun in revealing to the southern German states, and to Europe in general, Napoleon III's greed for territory. He made military alliances with these states, who had territory on the left bank of the Rhine, after revealing to them Napoleon's designs on their lands as proved in earlier negotiations with Prussia. He published a document in the London *Times* in 1870 showing French designs on Belgium, and he kept the French from annexing Luxembourg. France thus remained uncompensated and unprotected from the new and enlarged Germany. By 1868 war was being prepared for on both sides. The southern German states adopted universal compulsory service and signed military conventions with Bismarck. Finally, through arousing fears of the possibility of a Hohenzollern succeeding to the empty throne of Spain, Bismarck finally managed to goad France into a declaration of war (15 July, 1870), and, as in 1866, the great powers again refrained from intervention. The Prussian and German armies won another speedy victory, culminating in the surrender of Sedan (2 September), and as the Second Empire of the French tumbled into ruins, the Second Empire (Reich) of the Germans (the Holy Roman Empire was the first) was proclaimed at Versailles, with the king of Prussia as emperor and Bismarck as imperial chancellor. Constitutionally the empire was an extension of the North German Confederation to include the German states south of the Main. Bismarck imposed a harsh treaty upon the French (Frankfurt, 1871). They were obliged to cede the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, although the inhabitants of these areas wished to determine their own fate. Bismarck decided to make money out of the war by levying an indemnity, huge for those days, of five billion gold francs (one billion dollars), some of which went to him and von Moltke, the Prussian general. French border provinces were to be occupied until the indemnity was paid. The new German Reich was the strongest state in Europe. Its nationalism was an expansion of the illiberal militarism and Junkerism of a conservative,



authoritarian Prussia. The new nation had acquired subnationalities of Poles, Slavs, and now French. This new military German nationalism in time forced a new militarization upon the European continent.

TREITSCHKE AND GERMAN NATIONALISM

Heinrich von Treitschke, who wrote praising Fichte on the hundredth anniversary of his birth (1862), was also a founder of German nationalism. Like Fichte, he was an admirer of Machiavelli. A Saxon rather than a Prussian, he taught at the University of Berlin after 1874, following upon years at the Universities of Leipzig and Heidelberg. He was, to begin with, a liberal who had little use for Bismarck. To him at one time Bismarck was "a shallow Junker" who, when he boasted of the "Blood and Iron with which he will subdue Germany," was guilty of a "vulgarity . . . only exceeded by its absurdity."³¹ He was at the same time a historian who did not think it possible for a scholar to be absolutely objective.³² "I do not covet the reputation of being called impartial by opponents," he wrote. "That is asking the impossible. A historian in unsettled times is only called impartial after his death. That anemic objectivity which does not say on which side the narrator stands is the exact opposite of the true historical sense. All great historians have openly revealed their attitude." Treitschke kept his liberalism until 1866, when Bismarck's war with Austria overcame it. Until 1879 he sat in the *Reichstag* with the National Liberal party. After that he was an out-and-out conservative. This professional alter ego of Bismarck never hid his views. He thought that the "Love of Fatherland is not just a fine word but a holy passion, the only thing which enriches and ennobles life."³³ To him, "the state is the true embodiment of mind and spirit, and only as its member, the individual shares in truth, real existence, and ethical status." The most important institution of the state was its army, "organized on a really national foundation," that is, on universal military service. "Such an army is suitable only to a true monarchy, like the German one, for the Germans are the most completely monarchical people of Europe." It is noble war that binds the nation together. "We have learned to perceive the moral majesty of war through the very processes which to the superficial observer seem brutal and inhuman. . . . War must be taken as part of the divinely appointed order. It is both justifiable and moral, and the idea of a perpetual peace is not only impossible but immoral as well."³⁴ "The hope of banishing war is not only meaningless but immoral, for its disappearance would turn the earth into a great temple of selfishness."³⁵ "Our living generation will preserve Fichte's spirit most

³¹G. P. Gooch, *Studies in German History*, p. 278.

³²Two of his important books were *Germany in the Nineteenth Century and Origins of Prussianism* (*The Teutonic Knights*).

³³Gooch, p. 278.

³⁴Kohn, *Prophets*, pp. 118, 126.

³⁵Gooch, p. 26.

faithfully when all noble minds among us will work to the end that in our fellow citizens there may grow and mature the character of the warrior who knows how to sacrifice himself for the state.”³⁶ In 1870 he wanted to become “more radical in questions of unity and more conservative in questions of liberty.” Three years earlier he had written, “the absurdity of universal suffrage for our people, which happily does not at present copy the French fanatical equalitarianism, was always clear to me. Our people’s strongest point was always its idealism, so it is thoroughly un-German that stupidity and ignorance decide.”³⁷ That man should strive for anything in the nature of social democracy was not his wish. “Class domination by necessity follows from the nature of society. Social democracy desires, as the name implies, something nonsensical. It is in no way the task of society to educate all men to the enjoyment of the goods of civilization. The participation of all men in all the blessings of civilization is not only a perhaps unobtainable ideal, but no ideal at all.” Among those to be dominated by an upper class were Jews. While not sharing in the violence of some German anti-Semitism of the period, he could still call it a “natural reaction of the German folk-sentiment against an alien element which has occupied too large a space in our life. . . . The Jews are our misfortune.” Slavs as well as Jews were a “sub-Germanic” people. The lack of universal military service explained the want of chivalry in the English character, which “so strikingly differs from the simple loyalty of the Germans.” It was “Germany’s example” that was causing “the transformation of armies into nations” and “of nations into armies.”³⁸ No German historian came to be so “heartily admired by the Nazis as this fiery nationalist, the standard-bearer of the academic anti-Semites, the ardent gossamer of war, who never ceased to proclaim the challenging message that ‘the State is power, not an academy of arts.’”³⁹ It is obvious that teaching of this sort rejects the humanistic tradition of the West.

THE DUAL MONARCHY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (1867)

The spirit of nationalism had thus spread from France to Italy and Germany and added by 1871 two new national states to the great powers of Europe. The pressures of Italians outside the new Italy and of Frenchmen, Danes, and Poles inside the new Germany were special national problems that helped to keep Europe insecure. The unification of Germany did not include the German Austrians and had been made at the expense of the political presence of Austria in the Germanies or Germanic Confederation. The new Germany was the small (*kleindeutsch*) and not the big Germany. Italian unification was at the cost of Hapsburg territory and influence in the Italian peninsula. Thus the Austrian Em-

³⁶Kohn, p. 111.

³⁷Gooch, p. 289.

³⁸Kohn, pp. 122, 124, 126, 128.

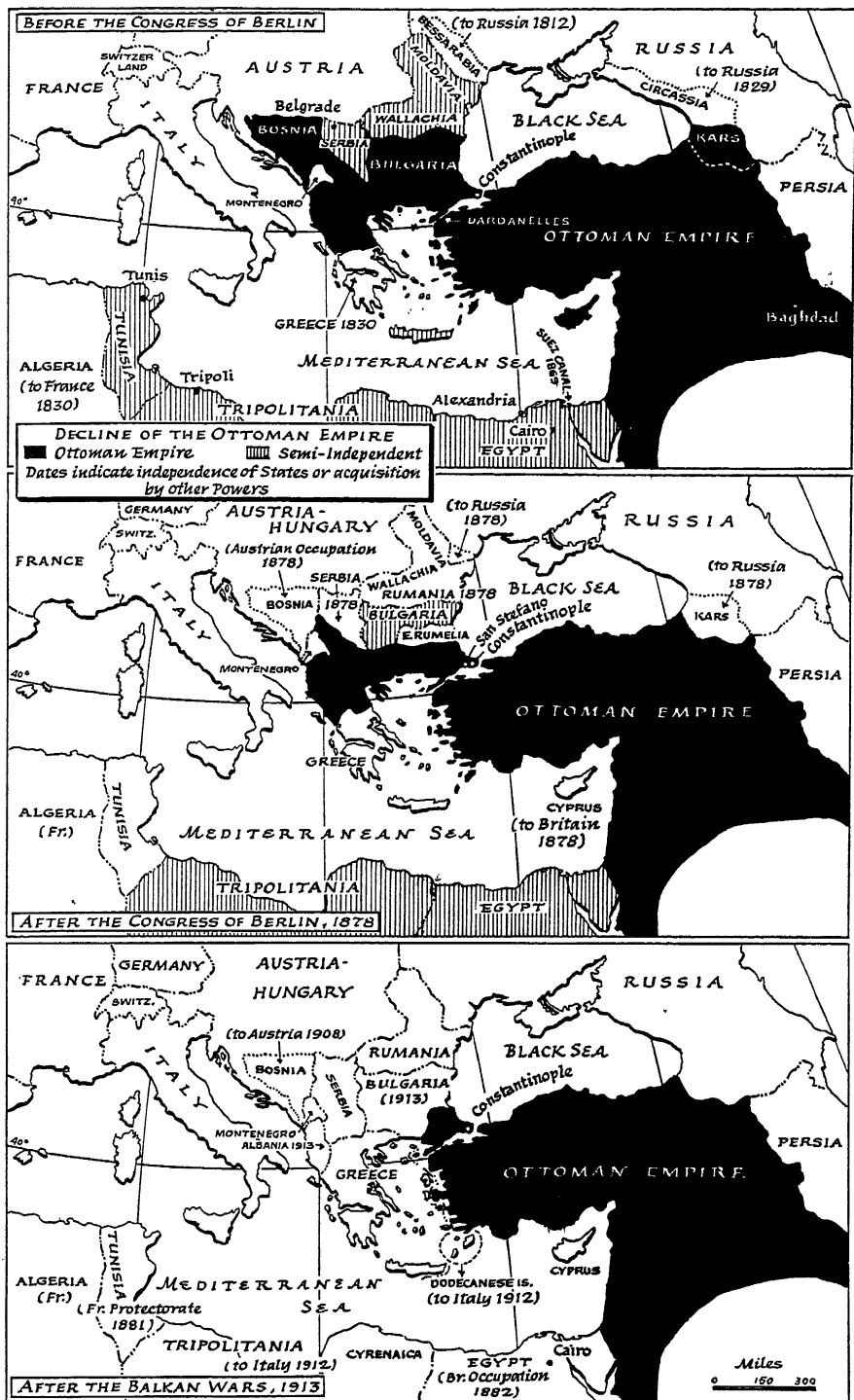
³⁹Gooch, p. 299.

pire, having survived the internal nationalistic convulsions of 1848-1849, was severely punished and limited, with diminished prestige, by the second nationalistic upheaval of 1859-1871. It was now a question of how long the Hapsburgs could prevent the further dissolution of their empire into small national states corresponding to the many nationalities within its boundaries. They were able to do so until World War I (1914-1918). But a step in this dissolution came in 1867, after the Austrian defeat in the Seven Weeks' War, when the Hungarians (Magyars) once again demanded a larger share in the government of the empire. They demanded and, in fact, secured an equal share, the result of the negotiations being the establishment of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Francis Joseph and his successors were to be kings of Hungary as well as emperors of Austria. Austria and Hungary were to be self-governed states with separate responsible ministries. But the power and unity of the whole state were to be preserved with common ministries of war, foreign policy, and finance, and these departments were to be taken care of in a kind of common parliament composed of two delegations of sixty members each, each elected by its respective parliament. An economic union between Hungary and the rest of the empire was set up, renewable every ten years. The dual monarchy rested upon a German minority in Austria (and Bohemia) and a Magyar minority in Hungary, the former ruling over a majority of Italians, Ruthenians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovenes and the latter over a majority of Rumanians, Croats, Serbs, and Slovaks. Count Beust, the Austrian negotiator of the arrangement, a Saxon whom events in Germany rendered unemployed, said to Count Andr ssy, the Hungarian representative, "You take care of your barbarians and we'll take care of ours." Andr ssy himself thought, "The Slavs are not fit to govern, they must be ruled."⁴⁰

NATIONALISM IN THE BALKANS

The spirit of nationalism also spread to the Balkan peninsula where it disrupted the European part of the empire of the Ottoman Turks. Here national opposition to the inefficient and oppressive government of the Moslem Turks was intensified by a similar opposition to Greeks whom the Turks used, in and out of the Greek Orthodox Church, to help to secure their hold on the Balkan peoples. The nationalistic movement in the Balkans was also incendiary for, as the Turks were displaced in Europe, both Russia and Austria-Hungary strove with each other to fill the ensuing power vacuum. The Russians, wanting a real "warm-water" access to the outside world, had always been interested in an approach to Constantinople and the Straits of the Dardanelles from the Balkan side, and after 1866 Austria-Hungary, expelled from both Italy and Germany, sought to maintain her position as a great power by expansion in the Balkans. Successful nationalistic movements in the

⁴⁰A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918*, p. 130.



Balkans, moreover, stimulated the revolt of the nationalities subject to German and Magyar in Austria-Hungary. The Balkans, continuously explosive, were largely responsible for the immediate outbreak of World War I.⁴¹

The Serbs were the first of the Balkan nationalities to revolt against the Turks (1804) and by 1817 had won their autonomy and chosen as their hereditary prince Milosh Obrenovich, a leader of the revolt. The Greeks were the second nationality to revolt. As in the case of other national movements, poets and scholars had worked to stimulate enthusiasm and, in the case of the Greeks, to establish a new language which would be a combination of classical Greek (and thus make available the glories of this ancient literature) and contemporary Greek. The Greek revolt began in 1821, and in the next year the Greeks declared their independence. The revolt provoked widespread romantic interest and great support in western Europe and the United States, leading finally to the intervention of England, France, and Russia. Lord Byron fought for them too. Russian victory in war against the Turks (1828-1829) obliged the latter to turn over the question of Greek independence to England, France, and Russia, who in 1830, in a conference of the three powers at London, declared Greece an independent monarchy under a Bavarian prince, Otto I (1833). The boundaries of neither autonomous Serbia nor independent Greece included, by any means, all their nationals.

In 1822 the Turks made native princes governors of the Rumanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and finding their nationalistic ambitions blocked by the powers, the inhabitants of each province chose the same ruler. Russia, in the treaty ending the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 (San Stefano), obliged the Turks to recognize the independence of Serbia and Rumania and to give autonomy to a "Big" Bulgaria, stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea and from the Black Sea to the Albanian Mountains. But this Russian accession of power was cut down by England, Germany, and Austria at the Congress of Berlin (1878). Serbia and Rumania retained their independence, but Big Bulgaria was reduced, divided, and with different kinds of autonomy put under the suzerainty of the sultan. In 1885 the divided parts of Bulgaria joined together in one state, which in 1908 secured its full independence. At this later date the unsatisfied hunger and ambitions of Balkan nationalities and the imperialistic rivalry of Austria-Hungary and Russia were about to produce further Balkan and new world wars.⁴²

⁴¹See pp. 658 ff.

⁴²See pp. 661 ff.

LIBERALISM: THE ADVANCE OF
DEMOCRACY IN THE 19TH CENTURY
(TO 1914)

The General Character of Liberalism

EARLY LIBERALISM. The French Revolution was a fruitful source of nineteenth-century political movements, both supporting and opposing the major emphasis of the western tradition. This tradition, marked by the continuous conflict between humanism and asceticism, may be described in its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century form as early liberalism. Classical and scientific humanism, together with Locke and the Glorious Revolution, when applied to the society of the old regime created the reform program of the *philosophes*, summarized by the leaders of the Revolution as liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Revolution itself gave impetus to the Romantic movement, which, in so far as it marked in its conservative expression a return to theocracy, absolutism, supernaturalism, and irresponsible individualism, was an aberration, or at least the reassertion of a medieval past that revolution had in fact not abolished. The Revolution also stimulated nationalism, which, in so far as it withheld or denied freedom in the name of "freedom" and sanctioned amoral conduct on behalf of the national state, was also an aberration. The main emphasis of the tradition was recaptured when the West took up again the early liberal program as strengthened by the positive accomplishments of the Revolution. In elaborating further the democratic implications of its ideals and perfecting the

machinery of constitutional, representative, parliamentary government, the liberal movement was able, under favorable conditions, to mediate the conservatism and the radicalism aroused by the French Revolution. It thus made possible, without further violence, the shift in the West from aristocratic to middle-class government and from bourgeois government to the beginnings of genuine democracy and democratic socialism. In the nineteenth century, therefore, the western tradition took the form of an expanding liberal movement. Among the great powers of Europe, England best exemplified this democratic advance. On the Continent, the old forces of absolutism, mercantilism, and aristocracy resisted liberalism more effectively.

ENGLISH CONSERVATISM

Before 1800 British conservatism, the tradition of the landholding aristocracy, under stress of the French Revolution expressed itself in the writings of Burke and Coleridge. In the nineteenth century it had to contend with a new middle class created by the Industrial Revolution. William Gladstone was to become the political leader of the new middle-class liberalism, Benjamin Disraeli of a new conservatism, anxious by democratic compromise to win the English workingman over to its point of view.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI

Disraeli was a staunch defender of the traditional organic bonds of crown and aristocracy, church and people, whose ancient and "sublime instincts" he was glad to trust. The normal Englishman, he thought, was trained to respect and obey his superiors in the social hierarchy. For him, "the divine right of kings may have been a plea for feeble tyrants," but in opposition to laissez-faire liberals and radicals who wished to minimize and control government, he thought that "the divine right of government [was] the keystone of human progress." It had to intervene to create a sound and healthy nation. He wanted nothing to interfere with the position of the landed nobility and gentry, who practiced their obligations "instead of talking about them." But industrialism had to be controlled, its new bourgeoisie "connected to a feudal and English sense of duty,"¹ and its workers won over to conservatism by the receipt of the ballot from a conservative government.²

THE CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW

Following Burke and Disraeli, the English conservative continued to stress his devotion to the great traditions and institutions of the past so

¹Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 130-148, on Disraeli.

²See p. 512.

easily upset by the rash reforms and revolutions of the present. The individual was a part of a living social organism, the national state, fashioned out of the long centuries and committed to the transmission of its sacred identity to the generations of the future. It must suffer no radical tampering. There must be no revolutionary break with the past, for it is questionable how well such breaks can be mended. Reform is necessary, but it must be evolutionary and cautious. Conservatism cannot resort to the reactionary view that "any change, at any time, for any purpose is highly to be deprecated." Conservatism preferred to emphasize the duties rather than the rights of the citizen, his native character with its loyalty and common sense rather than his bad environment.³ It often demanded reform itself, and when in power refused to repudiate earlier liberal improvements that had demonstrated their soundness.

A DEFINITION OF LIBERALISM

The word *liberalism* was first used in the nineteenth century, but the general attitude it suggests is as old as man's capacity to have a point of view. It is as a modern outlook the product of the centuries since the Renaissance. Preindustrial liberalism may be called early liberalism. That of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is often called bourgeois. To indicate his emancipation from some of its limitations, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), the most representative of English liberals, used the phrase "advanced liberalism." The concept of liberalism has thus been constantly changing. What it means today may be gathered from definitions of those who have made a special study of it. A European historian of liberalism suggests that its "primary postulate" is "the spiritual freedom of mankind." It "not only repudiates a naturalistic or deterministic interpretation of human action but posits a free individual conscious of his capacity for unfettered development and self expression." It sets out to secure this freedom for the individual by first concentrating on political liberty. This is "the crucial problem of limiting the interference of the state and of transforming state policy into a vehicle for promoting the liberties of individuals and groups." Liberalism came to associate equality with liberty, and therefore with democracy, which together are "complimentary and antithetical, complimentary inasmuch as absence of equality, at least equality of opportunity, degrades liberty to the level of exclusive and therefore oppressive privilege; antithetical inasmuch as equality is conducive to indiscriminate leveling and indirectly to excessive centralization, to the detriment of such bulwarks of liberty as local associations and institutions."⁴

An English historian calls liberalism "a belief in the value of the human personality, and a conviction that the source of all progress lies in the free

³These "principles of conservatism" are analyzed in F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Conservatism in England*.

⁴Ruggiero on "Liberalism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

CHRONOLOGY — Liberalism

	England	France	Germany and Italy
1750	Adam Smith (1723–1790) Burke (1729–1797)	<i>French Revolution</i> (1789–1795)	
1800	Bentham (1748–1832)		
	Malthus (1766–1834) Ricardo (1772–1823) James Mill (1773–1836) <i>Trade Unions Legalized</i> (1824) <i>Reform Bill</i> (1832) <i>Factory Act</i> (1833) <i>Slavery abolished</i> (1833) <i>Poor Law</i> (1834) <i>Chartism</i> (1838–1848) <i>Mines Act</i> (1842) Macaulay (1800–1859) Cobden (1804–1865) J. S. Mill (1806–1873) <i>Corn Law Repeal</i> (1846)	Benjamin Constant (1767–1830) <i>Concordat of 1801</i> Louis XVIII (r. 1814–1824) Charles X (r. 1824–1830) <i>Revolution of 1830</i> Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848) Guizot (1787–1874) Lamennais (1782–1854) Victor Cousin (1792–1867) Lacordaire (1802–1861) de Tocqueville (1805–1859)	<i>Frankfurt Parliament</i> (1848–1849)
1850	George Grote (1794–1871) Disraeli (1804–1881) <i>Reform Bill</i> (1867) Gladstone (1809–1898) <i>Education Act</i> (1870) T. H. Green (1836–1882) <i>Secret Ballot</i> (1872)	Louis Napoleon (1808–1873) Montalembert (1810–1870) Louis Veillot (1813–1883) Renouvier (1815–1903) Renan (1823–1892) Taine (1828–1893) <i>Franco-Prussian War</i> (1870–1871) Jules Ferry (1832–1893) <i>Trade Unions legalized</i> (1884) Boulangier (1837–1891) <i>Factory Acts</i> (1892, 1893) <i>Dreyfus Affair</i> (1894–1906) Zola (1840–1902) <i>Workman's Compensation Act</i> (1898)	Mazzini (1805–1872) Garibaldi (1807–1882) Pius IX (r. 1846–1878) <i>Syllabus of Errors</i> (1864) Bismarck (1815–1898) <i>Papal Infallibility</i> (1870) <i>"May" Laws</i> (1873) <i>Anti-Socialist Law</i> (1878) <i>Social Security Laws</i> (1883–1889) Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903) William II (r. 1888–1918)
1900	<i>Labor Party</i> (1900—) <i>Old Age Pension Act</i> (1908) L. T. Hobhouse (1864–1929) Lloyd George (1863–1945) <i>Parliament Act</i> (1911) <i>Woman Suffrage</i> (1918)	<i>Law of Associations</i> (1901) <i>Separation of Church and State</i> (1905) Anatole France (1844–1924) Proust (1871–1922) <i>Old Age Pension Act</i> (1911) Clemenceau (1841–1929)	Pius X (r. 1903–1914) <i>World War I</i> (1914–1918) Pius XI (r. 1922–1939) <i>Concordat of 1929</i>

exercise of individual energy; it produces an eagerness to emancipate all individuals or groups so that they may freely exercise their powers, so far as this can be done without injury to others; and it therefore involves a readiness to use the power of the state for the purposes of creating the conditions within which individual energy can thrive, of preventing all abuses of power, of affording to every citizen the means of acquiring mastery of his own capacities and of establishing a real equality of opportunity for all.”⁵

An American economist enlarges the concept of liberalism still further. “Liberalism,” he writes, “is a faith in the world and in man. It views the world as an environment in which it is possible progressively to achieve a better life in terms of the values of truth, beauty, goodness, and enjoyment; and it imputes to men at large the intelligence and the will to work for these values. It is a qualified optimism, in contrast with the doctrines of the vale-of-tears and original sin, which make men helpless, morally and materially, and dependent on miraculous intervention. In practice, the latter doctrines have meant a duty of submission to the authority of some human group claiming to speak for God, and also claiming the right to enforce, by torture and execution, both belief and conduct.”⁶ The liberal ethic is democratic; it exalts freedom against obedience and power. Either will be ‘abused’; but it is held both that the abuse of power generally leads to worse objective evils, and that even doing what is actually good, under authoritative command, is contrary to the ideal of the moral life. Within limits, self-government, by the individual and society, is to be preferred to good government, where a choice must be made. But only within limits; the liberal ideal is always one of balance and compromise, on the basis of judgment between conflicting principles and values, as well as interest. . . . Liberalism is a faith in the capacity and the courage of man to find and follow truth and right. . . . For it, no form of value is ‘absolute’; but this does not mean that one opinion is as good as another, or that error, moral choice, or good taste is unreal. . . . The liberal faith begins with skepticism, and repudiates dogma and wish-thinking on absolutistic grounds. . . .

“The core of liberalism is a faith in the ultimate potential equality of men as the basis of democracy. . . . [It relies] on rational agreement or mutual consent for the determination of policy. . . . [It holds that] the alternative to dictatorship is simply democracy in general as we have known it, struggling to solve its problems, along lines already familiar. It means co-operation in thinking and acting to promote progress, moral, intellectual, and aesthetic, with material and technical progress as the basis

⁵R. Muir on “Liberal Party,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th ed., 1940).

⁶“If the historical change to liberalism from ‘religious,’ i.e., ultimately theistic idealism, with its logical implication in social practice of ecclesiastical authoritarianism, and a static social order based on caste, constitutes moral degeneracy, the liberal can only say, ‘Make the most of it.’”

of all, and all under the limitation of gradualism and 'seasoned' with humor and play. The combination is the meaning of liberalism."⁷

Liberalism, then, is a faith in the essential goodness and rationality of man and in his ability, with limitations, to make free choices. It is a faith less in the abstraction *man* than in the individual man, or, in other words, in what is ordinarily called individualism. Its belief in future progress rests upon the potential capacities of this individual. It therefore sets out to free him and liberate his capacities for good. Freedom and liberation are its constant concern. To make them more meaningful, it seeks to remove as many of the various inequalities as possible that keep the individual from living the good life. It aims to establish equality of opportunity by removing all disabilities that have to do with race or religion, and to make it possible for all to be equally healthy and educated. It seeks to free him from unequal status before the law by guaranteeing certain inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It frees him from the tyranny of an absolute or authoritarian state, makes him a participant in political life, creates, that is, government by discussion and consent: democratic government. Liberalism seeks to liberate the individual from authoritarian dogma of any kind, since it denies philosophic absolutism. It wants the free mind. Intellectual freedom it knows is built upon other freedoms: freedoms to speak, write, print, gather together, or form associations. It aims also to set up an economy characterized by "free enterprise," reducing the intervention of the state in economic affairs to ensure freedom of contract, freedom of competition, and freedom of the market. It hopes to act as a balance between conservatism and radicalism and to guarantee progress by the gradual improvement of the conditions under which human beings live. It is hostile to violence, revolutions, and wars of all kinds except those of defense, thinking it a denial of human rationality to try to solve problems by shooting guns and shedding blood.

There is thus a political liberalism that has sought to build and perfect the machinery of constitutional, representative, parliamentary governments, a liberalism whose experience with theocracies and absolutisms has made it distrustful of political power. It wants to limit government to the establishment and maintenance of the conditions that make for the development of the free individual unhampered by unnecessary inequalities. There is an economic liberalism which has sought to build and perfect an economy based on free enterprise. In order to make enterprise free for everyone, it came to recognize in the twentieth century that government must also intervene to establish and maintain equality of opportunity in economic matters, and by the use of the powers of taxation distribute fairly the costs of government and remove gross inequalities of wealth. Thus, when the public welfare or good is involved, property ceases to be sacred. Social liberalism recognizes no legal castes and seeks to obliterate

⁷Frank H. Knight, in *Freedom and Reform*, pp. 396-397, 402.

all artificial differences between classes and human beings. While not insisting upon any abstract system of economic equality, it has sought more recently to regulate and moderate economic inequalities by systems of social insurance, and in other ways to guarantee social mobility. There is finally an intellectual liberalism which demands freedom to think, believe, speak, print, and meet. From long experience it is inclined to demand the separation of church and state in the conviction that religion is a private, not a public, matter. Under its impulse a liberal Christianity appeared less confident of orthodox dogma and otherworldliness than in ways to reform society in accordance with Christian principles. There was talk about the social gospel, even of Christian socialism.

LIBERALISM AND HUMANISM

From the above it is obvious that liberalism resembles humanism. From its earliest development among the Greeks, humanism has always meant a trust in human potentialities and a belief that under proper circumstances (primarily political, that is, as a free citizen of a democratic state) the individual can learn to live the good life. Humanism has demanded, therefore, that man be given this chance to realize his creative potentialities. It has felt that man was essentially a rational being and, as such, able to use properly the freedoms of choice and action necessary to realize his earthly hopes. The early Greek humanist was in this sense a liberal, and the development of Greek and Roman democracy an early part of a liberal movement. In this sense, Christian humanism of the later Roman world was an early Christian liberalism. If this is forcing a modern term upon an ancient development, then certainly humanism developing in the modern western world may be called a kind of liberalism.

The revival of humanism in the scholarship, art, music, and literature of the Renaissance meant liberation from the limitations of an ascetic outlook and an expansion and glorification of the individual. The Reformation—itsself ascetic—meant, in the short view, the liberation of Protestants from a theocratic medieval Church and, in the long view, freedom of conscience and finally tolerance. The scientific humanism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sought to enrich the life of man by a new application of his rationalism. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, building upon a long medieval tradition, was a step in western man's self-government. The Enlightenment was an emphatic assertion of man's ability to destroy the obstacles in the way of his progress toward happiness; the American and French revolutions aimed to get the march of progress on its way. Romanticism sought, by emphasizing the emotional side of man's nature, to expand his individuality; nationalism sought to liberate whole peoples from foreign oppression. These were all rich chapters in the expansion of the humanistic side of the western tradition. At the same time they were early phases in the history of democratic liberalism. The humanistic tradition thus merges into the liberal tradition of the West.

SOURCES OF ENGLISH LIBERAL THOUGHT

English liberal thought in the nineteenth century was developed by such groups as the utilitarians, the classical economists, and the philosophic radicals.⁸ Adam Smith⁹ was its chief economic source, a man who, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, tried to work out a science of political economy. Jeremy Bentham, the founder of utilitarianism,¹⁰ took his economic views from Adam Smith, and these were expanded by such disciples as James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill. The classical economists, David Ricardo (1772-1823) and John R. McCulloch, transformed the work of Smith into what was called a "dismal science" because of the influence of the pessimistic views on the growth of population of Thomas R. Malthus (1766-1834) and the formulation of depressing "laws" concerning labor and wages. To some, on the contrary, political economy now seemed "the highest exercise of the human mind."

ADAM SMITH

Smith's theories were meant to apply to a preindustrial England still closely regulated by the mercantile system. He wished to free this economy from such regulation and to guide it with the enlightened self-interest of the individual. He felt that there was a "natural" economy governed by economic laws built upon human selfishness. If this selfishness of individuals and groups were allowed to function naturally in the economic sphere it produced no serious conflict. The selfishness of the producer and the consumer, operating through the mechanism of exchange in accordance with a law of supply and demand, worked harmoniously in the common interest of all. There was therefore only one sound economic policy: remove the restrictions of the mercantile system; permit the economy to function naturally and spontaneously; reduce the role of the state to a minimum; let it act only to guarantee that nature in her economic sphere operate unimpededly. Such a policy French economists called *laissez faire* (let it act [by itself]).

LAISSEZ FAIRE AND THE STATUS QUO

Laissez faire sanctifies the social and economic inequalities of the status quo. If the harmonious operation of economic laws creates rich and poor, then this natural phenomenon is not to be tampered with. Such a view is related to earlier organic notions of society (Plato, medieval Church); only now inequality is grounded in the disposition of nature rather than of God or reason. A policy of *laissez faire* demands that the state guar-

⁸See Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*.

⁹See pp. 307 f.

¹⁰See pp. 297 f.

antee the inequality of rich and poor on the theory that it is unwise to interfere with nature. Since there is not enough wealth to create abundance for all, these men argued, to equalize wealth through any political interference would only work for universal poverty. It was the middle classes which had to be strengthened. James Mill thought that they were the "most useful of all classes, and at the same time the happiest, being free from the necessity of manual labor, without being exposed to the vices and excesses of the very rich." The liberal historian Macaulay believed that together with the higher orders they were "the natural representatives of the human race."

LAISSEZ FAIRE AND FREE TRADE

If the operation of enlightened selfishness produced harmony in the national economy, it would, if unobstructed, also produce harmony in the international economy. There should be no tariff barriers between nations; trade and commerce should be free. The free operation of the exchange mechanism on an international basis would produce the proper specialization of labor among nations. Such a doctrine was disruptive of the status quo in England, for the aristocracy and gentry had managed to protect their production of cereals from foreign competition in the form of the Corn Laws, forbidding the importation of grain into England except when the price had reached a nice, rewarding height. The classical economists and the new industrialists agreed that such laws raised food prices, the cost of living, the cost of labor, and the cost of manufacture and, therefore, interfered with the sale of English goods abroad. An Anti-Corn Law League took up an active propaganda, and in 1846, after the severe Irish famine of the previous year, the offending laws were actually abolished. This was followed by the gradual adoption under Gladstone's leadership of free trade for all goods. The abolition of the Corn Laws, inviting the competition of European and American grain, was a heavy blow to English agriculture and one from which it never recovered. Free trade encouraged a more complete industrialization of England. According to Richard Cobden, one of the leaders in the Anti-Corn Law agitation, it would bring about the millennium. "I see," he wrote, "in the Free Trade principle that which shall act on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe—drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race and creed and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace."

THE PRICE OF LABOR

If the economists were optimistic about free trade and the free operation of economic laws, they were less so concerning the relationship between capital and labor. In spite of the lack of regulation there seemed to be no natural harmony between factory owner and worker. For the economists labor was a commodity which the worker sold on the market

in competition with other workers. This labor was the basis of all value. Yet, the price the worker could expect for it could never be much more than it took to keep him and his family alive, or as Ricardo put it, "the natural price of labour" is "that price which is necessary to enable the labourers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race, without either increase or diminution." If wages went beyond this mere subsistence level, then population tended to increase to the point where competition between the more numerous workers forced wages down again. This has been called the "iron law of wages."

GROWTH OF POPULATION AND WAGES

The essays of Malthus proved that the normal increase of population was such as to bring constant pressure upon food supply. The worker with more than subsistence wages could avoid a return to subsistence wages only if he could control the birth rate and force it below the normal rate. He would thus reduce the number of workers competing for the capitalists' "wages' fund." The selfishness of the factory owner made him naturally opposed to increasing wages because such an increase reduced profits. There was such a thing as the "law of inverse variation of profits and wages." McCulloch thought of the laborer as "a portion of the national capital." He could "be considered in the light of machinery." James Mill argued that since "wages are the equivalent of labour, the capitalist who owns the wages owns the labour also, in the same way as if he employed not wage-earners but slaves. 'The only difference is in the mode of purchasing': since the slave-owner has acquired the perpetual claim to the labour of his slaves, while the capitalist only owns a month, or a week or some other limited duration of the labour of the labourer whom he pays."¹¹ Yet whatever the effects of the new industrial capitalism upon labor, these economists did not say that the state should intervene.

THE POOR LAW OF 1834

In 1834 Parliament, in which was now represented (after 1832) England's new factory owners, decided to write a new Poor Law to incorporate the views of the new political economy. To them it was unnatural that relief of the poor should be necessary. The unimpeded economy functioned too well for this, even though differences between rich and poor were unavoidable. There must be no opportunity for the able-bodied worker to get relief instead of work. If he sought relief it must be in a workhouse ("bastilles" to the worker). Conditions in the workhouse were to be less pleasant than earning a living outside would be, and man and wife on relief were to be separated so that no children could be conceived. Those so incapable as to need relief were not to be permitted to increase the population and thus be a source of greater expense¹² to society.

¹¹Halévy, p. 358.

¹²G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, *The British People, 1746-1946*, p. 235.

The English parliament of the early nineteenth century could not be used to carry this economic liberalism into practice until it represented the middle classes and the industrial towns. When this happened, however, it soon became clear to liberal thinkers that early industrial society was not necessarily a Utopia. Economic liberalism of the classical economists would have to go beyond laissez faire if the general aims of liberalism were to be realized. Enterprise had to be free for everyone. Thus liberalism shifted from a bourgeois to a working-class basis in the course of the nineteenth century, and from capitalism to socialism. The driving force back of this shift was not merely theory but the awful fact of the Industrial Revolution, whose early threat to reduce the masses of English men, women, and children to degradation had to be avoided, and whose great social and economic potentialities had to be directed and controlled for the benefit of all.

WILLIAM GLADSTONE

The development from conservatism to liberalism and from bourgeois to democratic (if not actually socialistic) liberalism can be seen in the career of William E. Gladstone (1809-1898), who was prime minister on four occasions (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94). Gladstone's father was a rich merchant of Liverpool, a city whose wealth was made out of the slave trade between Africa and the West Indies. His father had large plantations of sugar and coffee in Jamaica, British Guiana, and elsewhere, with some 1609 slaves. Before the abolition of slavery in the British colonies (1833), he had to defend his father from a bad reputation for cruelty in suppressing a slave revolt. Education at Eton and Oxford brought Gladstone the social graces and classical training of an English gentleman, a conservative outlook, and, in spite of an evangelical upbringing, sympathy with High Church Anglicanism. He did not become a disciple of Bentham or James Mill, but, a Tory to start with, was a disciple of Coleridge if of anybody. He frequently said that Homer, Aristotle, Dante, and Bishop Berkeley were his great teachers, and he learned most of Shelley by heart. But the young merchant's son who opposed the reform bill of 1832 became ultimately "the first official statesman who had convinced the workmen that he really cared for them."¹³ It was under his leadership that, for the most part, they got the vote, the secret ballot, and the other major reforms necessary for the establishment of a democratic state.¹⁴ He was never interested in socialism. "For me," he said, "socialism has no attractions; nothing but disappointment awaits the working classes if they yield to the exaggerated anticipations which are held out to them by the Labour party." As chancellor of the exchequer he was seriously concerned with removing the inequalities of taxation that favored the rich. As prime min-

¹³J. L. Hammond and R. D. Foot, *Gladstone and Liberalism*, p. 105.

¹⁴See p. 512.

ister he was the first important statesman to become exercised over England's glaring nationalist problem—the Irish. Here was an originally conquered people, Catholic in religion, taxed to maintain an Anglican Church in Ireland. Here was a landless peasantry subject to outrageous vexation and capricious eviction maintaining an absentee English landlord class. Gladstone came to understand that a solution of the Irish problem involved a disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the return of the land to the Irish farmer, and no less than self-government (Home Rule). The first he was able to carry through, but failure in the second and third meant that they were left to a later and less fortunate time.

GLADSTONE AND INTERNATIONALISM AND IMPERIALISM

Gladstone's attitude toward the Irish was characteristic of the liberal's attitude toward suppressed nationalities everywhere and toward an imperialism that brought oppression to subject peoples. In 1855 he declared in a speech that "if you want to see British law held in respect and British institutions adopted and beloved in the colonies, never associate with them the hated name of force and coercion exercised by us, at a distance, over their rising fortunes. Govern them upon a principle of freedom. . . . Defend them against aggression from without—regulate their foreign relations (these things belong to the colonial connexion, but of the duration of that connexion, let them be the judges)—and I predict that if you leave them the freedom of judgment, it is hard to say when the day will come when they will wish to separate from the great name of England." He was the leading champion of the Balkan nationalities against the Turks. When Bismarck took Alsace-Lorraine from France without consulting the inhabitants, Gladstone thought it "repulsive to the sense of modern civilization." British imperialism in Africa and the Middle East under the aegis of Disraeli he did not condone. "Remember the rights of the savage, as we call him. Remember that the happiness of his humble home, remember that the sanctity of life in the hill villages of Afghanistan among the winter snows, is as inviolable in the eye of Almighty God as can be your own."¹⁵ In his conduct of foreign affairs Gladstone often took the point of view of the good European rather than merely the good Englishman, trying to do what Europe, and not merely his fellow countrymen, would approve.

LIBERAL LEGISLATION

The vast body of liberal legislation after 1832 had three main purposes: (1) making the machinery of central and local government democratic; (2) introducing in some fields of legislation (while abandoning it in others) the principle of *laissez faire*; and (3) introducing socialistic features into municipal and central government. To list and describe this legislation

¹⁵Hammond and Foot, pp. 57–58.

is a poor way to get at the realization of the dreams and hopes of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *philosophes*. It brought an improvement in the quality of life for many who had had limited access to the benefits of civilized society. It brought new outlets and opportunities for many who had previously to work hard to survive and an increase in the standards of living. It was the work of both Liberal and Conservative (Whig and Tory) parties, which, in the twentieth century, were subject to the pressure of the new Labor party. The liberal Gladstone and the conservative Disraeli were its outstanding political defenders in the nineteenth century. In the writings of John Stuart Mill, especially influential in the sixties and seventies, and of T. H. Green and L. T. Hobhouse, in the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, can be followed the shift in theory from middle-class capitalistic to working-class socialistic liberalism.

THE ADVANCE OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

Before central and local government could be made democratic, it had in some cases to be created, and in any case removed from the control of the landed aristocracy and gentry. The Parliament which had won the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was controlled by the aristocracy and gentry and a very few members of the upper commercial bourgeoisie. By 1832 nothing had been done to enlarge the social groups controlling Parliament. The House of Commons, moreover, was thoroughly unrepresentative. New industrial towns such as Lancaster were not represented in Parliament because the law setting up representation from the boroughs was so ancient that they did not then legally exist. The law perpetuated such abuses as "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, towns that had actually disappeared, or almost done so, but still had regular representation in the House of Commons. They were sometimes sold by their aristocratic owners for around \$10,000 to the proper bidder. The problem of reformers before 1832 was to transfer the control of the House of Commons to the commercial, financial, and industrial middle classes without the use of force. In France it had taken a revolution to bring this about, and the utter perfection of the English parliament in the minds of some English Tories made it seem likely that revolution might also prove necessary in England. This was avoided by convincing the existing controllers of Parliament that the reform program was not an actual threat to property and that, if rejected, revolutionary violence might indeed be expected. Before a reform bill could be passed, the House of Lords had to be threatened with the appointment of sufficient new lords favorable to reform to overcome the opposition. The result was, by the Reform Bill of 1832, to lessen the property qualification for voting so that the number of male voters was increased from about 435,000 to 656,000 and, more important, sixty-five new industrial towns were given representation in Parliament. In Manchester the reform gave votes to 6726 out of a total population of 187,022 persons.

This middle-class suffrage was not enlarged again until 1867 under the conservative ministry of Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli. At this moment the vote was given to the workers in the towns, increasing the percentage of voters in the total male population of the United Kingdom from one-eighth to one-third. A third reform bill (1884) under Gladstone's second premiership (1880-1885) gave the vote to the agricultural worker, increasing the proportion of males voting from one-third to over three-fourths. J. S. Mill had wanted woman suffrage in 1867, but it did not come until 1918, after the impact of World War I, when universal suffrage was in effect adopted. A law of 1829 made it possible for Catholics to enter Parliament as well as to hold other offices. By 1858 Jews were admitted, and by 1885 atheists.

THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

Universal manhood suffrage was the first item on a program, or "Charter," prepared by English workers in the early nineteenth century to secure full political democracy. They had supported the Reform Bill of 1832 without actually having been rewarded for their efforts and felt duped, as had the French workers after supporting the July Revolution of 1830. Chartism, or the Chartist movement, was the first long-sustained workers' movement in England (1838-1848), and, while directed by men who were socialists of one kind and another, aimed to secure economic and social reform through political democracy. The other items of their program were (2) annual parliaments, (3) equal electoral districts, (4) vote by secret ballot, (5) removal of property qualifications for members of Parliament, and (6) payment of members of Parliament. Obviously, as long as (5) and (6) were not in force no working man could be a member of Parliament, and as long as (4) was not in force the voters could be publicly intimidated in one way or another. The Chartist movement was undertaken with much threat of violence, leading conservatives to believe in the necessity of further reform if revolution were to be avoided. It collapsed in London in 1848, after elaborate precautions had been taken to prevent a possible insurrection. The principles of the Charter were gradually carried out, however, in the years following 1848, revealing the comparatively slow but steady pace in the British achievement of democratic government. The fifth item was enacted in 1858; (4) came during Gladstone's first government (1872); and (3) during his second (1885). But it was not until 1911 that a man without a private income (6) could become a member of Parliament, and in the same year the maximum life of a single Parliament was cut from seven to five years. The economic and social organization of England made it possible for younger sons of the aristocracy still to play a major role in the House of Commons in the nineteenth century. In 1870 Gladstone opened the Civil Service to public competitive examination. In 1835 the reformed Parliament extended a reformed franchise to the English municipalities, thus providing for their

gradual democratization, but it was not until 1888 and 1894 that laws providing for elected county, rural, district, and parish councils set up democratic government for the countryside.

THE LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The legal limitation of the powers of the House of Lords in 1911 completed the pre-1914 elaboration of democratic government. When the Lords' threat to hold up reform in 1832 had been overcome, what is often called the Victorian Compromise came into practice, that is, the cooperation of landed, mercantile, and industrial interests in Parliament to achieve moderate and peaceful reform, while resisting all radical and revolutionary threats to property. It was understood that the House of Lords could delay, but not hold up permanently, legislation of the Commons. In 1909, however, the Lords had the audacity to refuse to pass a budget of Lloyd George, the chancellor of the exchequer in the last liberal government of England (1906–1916, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith). The budget contained a new tax on land aiming to deprive owners of any increased value that came from increases of population, urbanization, or services of the state rather than contributions of their own (unearned increment of land value). Only by repeated dissolution of Parliament and new elections, and finally by the threat of the king to appoint sufficient liberal lords to pass the budget (over four hundred), did the Lords give in. Under these circumstances the Parliament Act of 1911 was passed, providing that, in the case of a money bill, passage by the House of Commons made the bill a law within a month of passage. In the case of all other bills the Lords might refuse to pass twice, but on a third passage by the House of Commons in successive sessions within a period of two years, the bill became law whether or not accepted by the Lords.¹⁶ With this clipping of wings, the House of Lords has since resisted further efforts to modify its position in Parliament.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

If the English landlords could not protect themselves from the bourgeois attack upon the Corn Laws they did not hesitate to support legislation to oblige the new industrialists to put a minimum of humane conditions in their factories. In 1833 Parliament, under the leadership of the earl of Shaftesbury, forbade the labor of children under eight in the mills and established a working day of eight hours for children nine to thirteen and one of twelve hours for young persons from thirteen to eighteen. It also set up a system of government inspectors. A Mines Act of 1842 prohibited underground work for children under ten and for women. In 1847 came the ten-hour work day in the factories. In 1878 and again in 1901 the large body of factory legislation was codified, the minimum age

¹⁶Reduced from two years to one in 1948 by the second Labor government.

for child workers being raised by the latter act to twelve. In 1872 a code of Regulations for Mines excluded children under twelve from underground labor. In 1909, for certain types of industry, and in 1912, for mines, a liberal Parliament set up machinery for guaranteeing a minimum wage. Wages, hours, conditions of labor could not be left to the self-interest of the manufacturer. An Education Act of 1870 (Gladstone) somewhat tardily began to provide for a national system of elementary education, having to contend over the control of this activity, so necessary to a democracy, with the Anglican and nonconformist churches. As early as 1824 the right to form trade unions had been recognized and by the end of the century had been extended from skilled and better paid to unskilled or less skilled and lower paid trades. Since the rights of the trade unions were often interfered with by the courts, Parliament in 1906 protected the funds of the trade union from suits for damages and authorized in 1913 the expenditure of these funds for political purposes.

THE LABOR PARTY AND MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM

By 1872 the Independent Labor party (socialist) had come into existence, and by 1900, after action by the Trade Union Congress in 1899, the present Labor party (also socialist).¹⁷ By 1906 the Labor party had fifty members in Parliament, who joined together with the liberals in vastly expanding the activities of the state. Already in the later nineteenth century this expansion had taken place in the towns, making it possible for an English statesman to say as early as 1894, "We are all Socialist now." Local government must "supply sanitation, lighting and roads. . . . It is to Local Government, controlled and aided by the state offices in Whitehall, that the poorer citizen is beginning to look to supply the house he lives in; the electric light and gas he uses; free education for his children—from infant schools to university scholarships; medical clinics and isolation hospitals; books from the free library; baths and swimming; cricket fields and 'green belts' of open country for his Sunday walks; trams or buses to take the family to work or school; and a hundred other benefits to make life kind."¹⁸

SOCIAL SECURITY

The liberal parliaments under the leadership of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith, laid the foundations of an English system of social security. In 1906 compensation for injury was extended to practically all trades. In 1907 a Medical Inspection Act put all English children under medical supervision. In 1908 came an Old Age Pension Act giving every person over seventy whose annual income failed to exceed \$105 a weekly pension of \$1.25. The Housing and Town-Planning Act of 1909 gave local government wide powers to destroy unsatisfactory housing and create new and

¹⁷See pp. 572 f., 584 for English socialism.

¹⁸G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, III, 264.

to make obligatory a measure of planning for the future. The Labor Exchange Act of 1909 set up government employment bureaus. The National Insurance Act of 1911 provided for unemployment insurance and health insurance granting workers free medical attendance, free treatment at hospitals, and weekly allowances while ill. These new services (and increased prewar armament) were paid for by heavy, graduated income and inheritance taxes.

JOHN STUART MILL

The writings and career of John Stuart Mill illustrate well how English liberalism was able to shift from a middle-class to a working-class or even socialist program. His *Autobiography* records the remarkable change in his attitude, as well as the workings of a rich mind and sensitive heart. His father, James Mill, a loyal disciple and friend of Jeremy Bentham,¹⁹ refused to subject his son to the corrupting influence of school and taught him himself. Young John then received one of the most notoriously rigid educations ever given a youngster. He began to learn Greek at three and Latin at eight. By this time he had read in Greek all of Herodotus and "the first six dialogues of Plato," including the *Theaetetus*,²⁰ "which last dialogue I venture to think would have been better omitted, as it was totally impossible that I should understand it." "Of children's books, any more than of play things, I had scarcely any, except an occasional gift from a relation or acquaintance; among those I had, Robinson Crusoe was preeminent, and continued to delight me through all my boyhood." "In the same year in which I began Latin, I made my first commencement in the Greek poets with the *Iliad*. After I had made some progress in this, my father put Pope's translation into my hands. It was the first English verse I had cared to read, and it became one of the books in which for many years I most delighted; I think I must have read it from twenty to thirty times through. . . . Soon after this time I commenced Euclid, and somewhat later, algebra."²¹

At the age of twelve he began to study Aristotle's logic and at thirteen went through "a complete course of political economy," based upon a book of his father's "loved and intimate friend Ricardo." His lessons with his father stopped at fourteen, and he did not go on to University. By this time he had been instructed in many branches of learning "seldom acquired (if acquired at all) until the age of manhood." It was an education "which, whatever else it may have done, has proved how much more than is commonly supposed may be taught, and well taught, in those early years which, in the common modes of what is called instruction, are little better than wasted." "If I have accomplished anything, I owe it, among other fortunate circumstances, to the fact that through the early training

¹⁹See pp. 297 f.

²⁰See Vol. I, pp. 123, 132 f.

²¹*Autobiography of John Stuart Mill*, with preface by John Jacob Coss, pp. 4, 6, 7, hereafter cited in my text.

bestowed on me by my father, I started, I may fairly say, with an advantage of a quarter of a century over my contemporaries." (pp. 20, 21)

MILL, THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND BENTHAM

After a year in France, young Mill resumed his studies, among which was the history of the French Revolution. "I learnt with astonishment, that the principles of democracy, then apparently in so insignificant and hopeless a minority everywhere in Europe, had borne all before them in France thirty years earlier, and had been the creed of the nation. . . . From this time, as was natural, the subject took an immense hold of my feelings. It allied itself with all my juvenile aspirations toward the character of a democratic champion. What had happened so lately, seemed as if it might easily happen again: and the most transcendent glory I was capable of conceiving, was that of figuring, successful or unsuccessful, as a Girondist in an English Convention." What came to influence Mill most, however, was the utilitarianism of Bentham. According to Bentham's system society should be organized to produce the "greatest happiness for the greatest number." Mill's whole education had been meant to produce the perfect Benthamite, at least by indirection, but now he read Bentham for himself, and "the feeling rushed upon me, that all previous moralists were superseded, and that here indeed was the commencement of a new era in thought." After reading Bentham on legislation, the "principle of utility . . . fell exactly into its place as the keystone which held together the detached and fragmentary component parts of my knowledge and beliefs. It gave unity to my conceptions of things. I now had opinions: a creed, a doctrine, a philosophy; in one among the best senses of the word, a religion; the inculcation and diffusion of which could be made the principal outward purpose of a life. And I had a grand conception laid before me of changes to be effected in the condition of mankind through that doctrine." (pp. 44-45, 46, 47)

MILL AND MALTHUS

Mill explains in the *Autobiography* how Benthamism, together with certain opinions of his father and the principles of "modern political economy" and psychology, bound him and his friends into a school. "The French *philosophes* of the eighteenth century were the example we sought to imitate, and we hoped to accomplish no less results. No one of the set went to so great excesses in this boyish ambition as I did." Among the economists were David Ricardo, whom Mill had studied as a lad, and Thomas Malthus. Malthus, in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), had argued that the rate of increase in population was so much greater than the rate of increase in available food that the masses of mankind were inevitably doomed to poverty and hunger. Nature's way of reducing the number of humans had been famine and wars. Malthus thought that the masses themselves could avoid this dismal future only by volun-

tary restraint, by postponing marrying and remaining chaste, and raising smaller families. Otherwise there was little hope for any improvement in the conditions under which the masses of mankind live. Mill says that "this great doctrine, originally brought forward as an argument against the indefinite improbability of human affairs, we took up with ardent zeal in the contrary sense, as indicating the sole means of realizing that improbability by serving full employment at high wages to the whole labouring population through a voluntary restriction of the increase of their numbers." (Mill was once arrested for distributing information on artificial methods of birth control, after he had come across an abandoned dead infant on his way to work.) (pp. 76, 74)

"The other leading characteristics of the creed, which we held in common with my father," are worth listing as an example of the beliefs of a group of young liberals in England in the 1820's (often called the "philosophic radicals").

JAMES MILL AND THE PHILOSOPHIC RADICALS

"In politics, an almost unbounded confidence in the efficiency of two things: representative government, and complete freedom of discussion. So complete was my father's reliance on the influence of reason over the minds of mankind, whenever it is allowed to reach them, that he felt as if all would be gained if the whole population were taught to read, if all sorts of opinions were allowed to be addressed to them by word and in writing, and if by means of the suffrage they could nominate a legislature to give effect to the opinions they adopted. He thought that when the legislature no longer represented a class interest, it would aim at the general interest, honestly and with adequate wisdom; since the people would be sufficiently under the guidance of educated intelligence, to make in general a good choice of persons to represent them, and having done so, to leave to those whom they had chosen a liberal discretion. Accordingly aristocratic rule, the government of the Few in any of its shapes, being in his eyes the only thing which stood between mankind and an administration of their affairs by the best wisdom to be found among them, was the object of his sternest disapprobation, and a democratic suffrage the principal article of his political creed. . . ."²²

"Next to aristocracy, an established church, or corporation of priests, as being by position the great depravers of religion, and interested in opposing the progress of the human mind, was the object of his greatest detestation. . . . In ethics, his moral feelings were energetic and rigid on all points which he deemed important to human well being, while he was supremely indifferent in opinion (though his indifference did not show itself in personal conduct) to all those doctrines of the common morality, which he thought had no foundation but in asceticism and priestcraft. . . .

²²These views are elaborated in James Mill's *Government*.

In psychology, his fundamental doctrine was the formation of all human character by circumstances, through the universal Principle of Association, and the consequent unlimited possibility of improving the moral and intellectual condition of man by education. Of all his doctrines none was more important than this. . . ." "From the winter of 1821 . . . I had what might truly be called an object in life; to be a reformer of the world." (p. 75)

J. S. MILL AND UTILITARIANISM

After a severe nervous depression, which may be partly attributed to the rigor, intensity, and narrowness of his early education, Mill began to modify some of the tenets of utilitarianism. They were softened by poetry (Wordsworth) and by love inspired by an extraordinary friendship and marriage. In a series of articles on utilitarianism published in 1861, he sought to defend the happiness-of-the-greatest-number principle from charges that it was ignoble and godless. Happiness, he wrote, was something more than Bentham's mathematical excess of pleasure over pain. One had to consider the quality of pleasure as well as its quantity. There were other happinesses than those of the pig and the fool. Happiness must preserve "the sense of dignity, which all human beings possessed in one form or another." Pleasure had to do with caring for somebody else, with a "fellow-feeling with the collective interests of mankind," with "mental cultivation" of "the objects of nature, the achievements of art, the imaginations of poetry, the incidents of history, the ways of mankind, past and present, and their prospects in the future." Such pleasures as these are worthy of every man's effort. "There is absolutely no reason in the nature of things why an amount of mental culture sufficient to give an intelligent interest in these objects of contemplation should not be the inheritance of everyone born in a civilized country." It cannot be ignoble to get rid of poverty, and it "may be completely extinguished by the wisdom of society, combined with the good sense and providence of individuals, . . . nor disease, which may be indefinitely reduced in dimensions." Mill admits that it is possible to do without happiness. "It is done involuntarily by nineteen-twentieths of mankind, even in those parts of our present world which are least deep in barbarism; and it often has to be done voluntarily by the hero or the martyr." "The utilitarian morality does recognize in human beings the power of sacrificing their own greatest good for the good of others." "It only refuses to admit that the sacrifice is itself good. A sacrifice which does not increase, or tend to increase, the sum total of happiness, it considers is wasted. The only self-renunciation which it applauds, is devotion to the happiness, or to some of the means of happiness, of others; either of mankind collectively, or of individuals within the limits imposed by the collective interests of mankind." If utilitarianism did not necessarily take the "revealed will of God as the supreme law of morals," still, if God's wisdom and goodness were perfect, his revela-

tion "must fulfill the requirements of utility in a supreme degree." In any case Mill believed in the "possibility of giving to the service of humanity, even without the aid of belief in a Providence, both the psychological power and the social efficacy of a religion; making it take hold of human life, and color all thought, feeling, and action, in a manner of which the greatest ascendancy ever exercised by any religion may be but a type and foretaste."

Mill concludes this treatise by insisting that the greatest-happiness principle means that "one person's happiness, . . . is counted for exactly as much as another's. . . . The equal claim of everybody to happiness . . . involves an equal claim to all the means of happiness. . . . All persons are deemed to have a right to equality of treatment, except when some recognized social expediency requires the reverse. And hence all social inequalities which have ceased to be considered expedient, assume the character not of simple inexpediency, but of injustice, and appear so tyrannical, that people are apt to wonder how they ever could have been tolerated. . . . The entire history of social improvement has been a series of transitions, by which one custom or institution after another, from being a supposed primary necessity of social existence, has passed into the rank of an universally stigmatized injustice and tyranny. So it has been with the distinctions of slaves and freemen, nobles and serfs, patricians and plebeians; and so it will be, and in part already is, with the aristocracies of color, race, and sex."²³

MILL'S "ON LIBERTY"

In 1859, the year of the publication of Darwin's epoch-making *Origin of Species*, Mill published his very great treatise *On Liberty*. "The 'Liberty,'" he thought, "is likely to survive longer than anything else that I have written . . . because the conjunction of her [Mrs. Mill's] mind with mine has rendered it a kind of philosophic textbook of a single truth . . . : the importance, to man and society, of a large variety in types of character, and of giving full freedom to human nature to expand itself in innumerable and conflicting directions." In it Mill is not only concerned with upholding in all its implications the doctrine of "the sovereignty of the individual," but he is afraid of the dangers that are involved in the tyranny of the majority in a democratic society. He fears "lest the inevitable growth of social equality and of the government of public opinion, should impose on mankind an oppressive yoke of uniformity in opinion and practice." His own day he thought a transitional age when new opinions were welcome, but all such ages come to an end. "Some particular body of doctrine in times rallies the majority around it, organizes social institutions and modes of action conformably to itself, education impresses this new creed upon the new generations without the mental processes

²³Ed. E. A. Burt, *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, pp. 895-949.

that have led to it, and by degrees it acquires the very same power of compressing, so long exercised by the creeds of which it had taken the place. Whether this noxious power will be exercised, depends on whether mankind have by that time become aware that it cannot be exercised without stunting and dwarfing human nature. It is then that the teachings of the 'Liberty' will have their greatest value. And it is to be feared that they will retain that value for a long time."²⁴ Members of the present postwar generation can only recognize in writing of this kind the quality of prophecy.

MILL ON THE TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

"In political speculations, the tyranny of the majority is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard." "Protection . . . against tyranny of the magistrate is not enough: there needs be protection also against the tyranny of prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them. . . ." There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence. Mill contends therefore "that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection . . . to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. . . . The only part of the conduct of anyone, for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence, is of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign." This means "liberty of conscience in the most comprehensive sense; liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological." It means "the liberty of expressing and publishing opinions" and the "liberty of tastes and pursuits; of forming the plan of our life to suit our own character." "From the liberty of each individual follows the liberty, within the same limits of combination among individuals; freedom to unite, for any purpose not involving harm to others. . . . Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest."²⁵

MILL AND LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION

In defending the right of liberty of thought and expression Mill says that "if all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." "The peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race: posterity as well as the exist-

²⁴*Autobiography*, pp. 177, 178.

²⁵Ed. Burr, pp. 949-1041.

ing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth; if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error." "We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling would be an evil still." All silencing of discussions is based upon the infallibility of the silencer. "But they are not infallible. They have no authority to decide the question for all mankind, and exclude every other person from the means of judging." "Ages are no more infallible than individuals; every age having held many opinions which subsequent ages have deemed not only false but absurd; and it is certain that many opinions now general will be rejected by future ages, as it is that many, once general, are rejected by the present." "The beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded."

The individual may not excuse his intolerance or willingness to persecute on the grounds that truth will under any circumstances always prove to be victorious. "The dictum that truth always triumphs over persecution is one of those pleasant falsehoods which men repeat after one another till they pass into commonplaces but which all experience refutes. Persecution has always succeeded, save where the heretics were too strong a party to be effectually persecuted. No reasonable person can doubt that Christianity might have been extirpated in the Roman Empire. . . . It is a piece of idle sentimentality that truth, merely as truth, has any inherent power denied to error of prevailing against the dungeon and the state." Not only the persecution of law but that of social stigma outrages Mill. "Men might as well be imprisoned, or excluded from the means of earning their bread." Social intolerance "maintains all prevailing opinions outwardly undisturbed while it does not absolutely interdict the exercise of reason by dissentients afflicted with the malady of thought! . . . No one can be a great thinker who does not recognize that as a thinker it is his first duty to follow his intellect to whatever conclusions it may lead." Freedom of thought is also necessary "to enable average human beings to attain the mental stature which they are capable of." It is horrifying to Mill to permit a belief or creed to remain "as it were outside the mind, incrusting and petrifying it against all other influences addressed to the higher parts of our nature; manifesting its power by not suffering any fresh and living conviction to get in, but itself doing nothing for the mind or heart, except standing sentinel over them to keep them vacant." He wants to avoid "the deep slumber of a decided opinion."

THE LIMITS OF INDIVIDUALITY

The *Liberty* is not only a defense of intellectual liberty but of individuality. Individuality has to do with freedom of men "to act upon their

opinions—to carry these out in their lives, without hindrance either physical or moral, from their fellow-men, so long as it is at their own risk and peril. . . . he must not make himself a nuisance to other people.” “It is desirable . . . that in things which do not primarily concern others, individuality should assert itself.” “Among the works of man which human life is rightly employed in perfecting and beautifying, the first in importance is surely man himself,” and men today are “but starved specimens of what nature can and will produce.” “Society has now fairly got the better of individuality.” “The mind itself is bound to the yoke; even in what people do for pleasure, conformity is the first thing thought of; they like to be in crowds; they exercise choice only among things commonly done; peculiarity of taste, eccentricity of conduct, are shunned equally with crimes; until by dint of not following their own nature they have no nature to follow; their human capacities are withered and starved; they become incapable of any stray wishes or native pleasures, and are generally without either opinions or feelings of home growth or properly their own.”

“Now is this, or is it not, the desirable condition of human nature?” Mill asks. “It is so, on the Calvinistic theory. According to that, the one great offense of man is self-will. All the good of which humanity is capable is comprised in obedience. You have no choice; thus you must do, and no otherwise: ‘whatever is not a duty is a sin.’ Human nature being radically corrupt, there is no redemption for anyone until human nature is killed within him. To one holding this theory of life, crushing out any of the human faculties, capacities, and susceptibilities, is no evil: man needs no capacity, but that of surrendering himself to the will of God: and if he uses any of his faculties for any other purpose but to do that supposed will more effectually, he is better without them. This is the theory of Calvinism; and it is held, in a mitigated form, by many who do not consider themselves Calvinists; the mitigation consisting in giving a less ascetic interpretation to the alleged will of God; asserting it to be his will that mankind should gratify some of their inclinations; of course not in the manner they themselves prefer, but in the way of obedience, that is, in a way prescribed to them by authority; and, therefore, by the necessary condition of the case, the same for all.

“In some such insidious form there is at present a strong tendency to this narrow theory of life, and to the pinched and hidebound type of human character which it patronizes. Many persons, no doubt, sincerely think that human beings thus cramped and dwarfed are as their Maker designed them to be; just as many have thought that trees are a much finer thing when clipped into pollards, or cut into figures of animals, than as nature made them. But if it be any part of religion to believe that man was made by a good Being, it is more consistent with that faith to believe that this Being gave all human faculties that they might be cultivated and unfolded, not rooted out and consumed, and that he takes delight in every

nearer approach made by his creatures to the ideal conception embodied in them, every increase in any of their capabilities of comprehension, of action, or of enjoyment. There is a different type of human excellence from the Calvinistic; a conception of humanity as having its nature bestowed on it for other purposes than merely to be abnegated. 'Pagan self-assertion' is one of the elements of human worth, as well as 'Christian self-denial.' There is a Greek idea of self-development, which the Platonic and Christian ideal of self-government blends with, but does not supersede. It may be better to be a John Knox than an Alcibiades, but it is better to be a Pericles than either; nor would a Pericles, if we had one in these days, be without anything good which belonged to John Knox."

"It is not by wearing down into uniformity all that is individual in themselves, but by cultivating it, and calling it forth, within the limits imposed by the rights and interests of others, that human beings become a noble and beautiful object of contemplation; and as the works partake the character of those who do them, by the same process human life becomes rich, diversified, and animating, furnishing more abundant aliment to high thoughts and elevating feelings and strengthening the tie which binds every individual to the race, by making the race infinitely better worth belonging to. . . . What more or better can be said of any condition of human affairs than that it brings human beings themselves nearer to the best thing they can be." This is the kind of atmosphere in which genius thrives, for "genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom." This is not the normal state of affairs nor the state of the world in 1859. "Originality is the one thing which unoriginal minds cannot feel the use of. . . . Whatever homage may be professed or even paid to real or supposed mental superiority, the general tendency of things throughout the world is to render mediocrity the ascendant power among mankind. . . . At present individuals are lost in the crowd. In politics it is almost a triviality to say that public opinion now rules the world. The only power deserving the name is that of masses, and of governments while they make themselves the origin of the tendencies and instincts of masses."

"The initiation of all wise or noble things comes and must come from individuals; generally at first from some one individual. The honor and glory of the average man is that he is capable of following that initiative; that he can respond internally to wise and noble things, and be led to them with his eyes open." "In this age, the mere example of nonconformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom is itself a service. Precisely because the tyranny of opinion is such as to make eccentricity a reproach, it is desirable, in order to break through that tyranny, that people should be eccentric. Eccentricity has always abounded when and where strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigor, and moral courage it contained. That so few now dare to be

eccentric marks the chief danger of the time. . . . The worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a State which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill . . . in the details of business; a State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish.”

MILL ON RELIGION

Such a liberal-humanistic attitude as the above was sharply critical of the Christian ascetic tradition. In the opinions of Bentham, of course, we are carried back to the eighteenth-century conflict between the *philosophes* and Christianity. In a work on the *Church of England Catechism Explained*, Bentham accused the Church of teaching children “insincerity . . . by making them affirm what they cannot possibly understand or mean,” and in another on the *Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind* (1822), written with the historian of Greece, George Grote, he defines religion as “belief in the existence of an almighty Being, by whom pains and pleasures will be dispensed to mankind during an infinite and future state of existence. . . . Religion reduces happiness by forbidding many harmless pleasures, and by subtracting ‘duty to God’ from duty to man. It impedes intellectual progress by separating belief from its only safe ground, experience, and by rejecting the test of utility it overclouds moral science with fictitious ‘intuitions.’ Finally religion ‘subsidizes a standing-army’ of wonder-working priests, who deprave the intellect and cherish superstition, and who (to crown their infamy) form an ‘unholy alliance with the sinister interests of the earth.’”²⁶

James Mill gave young John this book to read, and “I made a marginal analysis of it.” “It was one of the books which by the searching character of its analysis produced the greatest effect upon me.” Mill admits in the *Autobiography* that he was “one of the very few examples, in this country, of one who has, not thrown off religious belief, but never had it: I grew up in a negative state with regard to it. I looked upon the modern exactly as I did upon the ancient religion, as something which in no way concerned me.” Mill’s father was a sceptic yielding “to the conviction, that, concerning the origin of things nothing whatever can be known.” “He found it impossible to believe that a world so full of evil was the work of an Author combining infinite power with perfect goodness and righteousness.” He saw in religion “the greatest enemy of moral-

²⁶Basil Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, pp. 134–135.

ity: first, by setting up factitious excellencies,—belief in creeds, devotional feelings, and ceremonies, not connected with the good of human kind,—and causing these to be accepted as substitutes for genuine virtues: but above all, by radically vitiating the standard of morals; making it consist in doing the will of a being, on whom it lavishes indeed all the phrases of adulation, but whom in sober truth it depicts as eminently hateful.” He thought that “mankind have gone on adding trait after trait till they reached the most perfect conception of wickedness which the human mind can devise, and have called this God, and prostrated themselves before it.” This *ne plus ultra* of wickedness he considered to be embodied in what is commonly presented to mankind as the creed of Christianity. “Think [he used to say] of a being who would make a Hell—who would create the human race with the infallible foreknowledge, and therefore with the intention, that the great majority of them were to be consigned to horrible and everlasting torment.”²⁷

MILL ON CHRISTIAN MORALITY

In the *On Liberty* Mill expresses his own opinion on Christian morality. He calls it “incomplete and one-sided,” and believes that “unless ideas and feelings, not sanctioned by it, had contributed to the formation of European life and character, human affairs would have been in a worse condition than they are now.” Mill calls its ideal “negative rather than positive, passive rather than active; innocence rather than nobleness; abstinence from evil rather than energetic pursuit of good.” “In its horror of sensuality, it made an idol of asceticism, which has been gradually compromised away into one of legality. It holds out the hope of heaven and the threat of hell, as the appointed and appropriate motives to a virtuous life: in this falling far below the best of the ancients,” and giving to human morality an essentially selfish character, by disconnecting each man’s feelings of duty from the interests of his fellow-creatures, except in so far as a self-interested inducement is offered to him for consulting them. It is essentially a doctrine of passive obedience: it inculcates submission to all authorities found established; who indeed are not to be actively obeyed when they command what religion forbids, but who are not to be resisted, far less rebelled against, for any amount of wrong to ourselves.”²⁸

Mill argues that “what little recognition the idea of obligation to the public obtains in modern morality is derived from Greek and Roman sources, not from Christian; as, even in the morality of private life, whatever exists of magnanimity, highmindedness, personal dignity, even the sense of honor, is derived from the purely human, not the religious part of our education, and never could have grown out of a standard of ethics in which the only worth, professedly recognized, is that of obedience.” The teachings of Jesus are “irreconcilable with nothing which a compre-

²⁷ *Autobiography*, pp. 28–29.

²⁸ Ed. E. A. Burt, “On Liberty,” *op. cit.*, pp. 987 ff.

hensive morality requires." But they "contain, and were meant to contain, only a part of the truth: that many essential elements of the highest morality are among the things which are not provided for, nor intended to be provided for, in the recorded deliverances of the Founder of Christianity, and which have been entirely thrown aside in the system of ethics erected on the basis of those deliverances by the Christian Church. And this being so, I think it a great error to persist in attempting to find in Christian doctrine that complete rule for our guidance which its author intended it to sanction and enforce, but only partially to provide. I believe, too, that this narrow theory is becoming a grave practical evil. . . . I much fear that by attempting to form the mind and feelings on an exclusively religious type, and discarding those secular standards . . . which heretofore coexisted with and supplemented the Christian ethics, . . . there will result, and is even now resulting, a low, abject type of character, which, submit itself as it may to what it deems the Supreme Will, is incapable of rising to or sympathizing in the conception of Supreme Goodness. I believe that other ethics than any which can be evolved from exclusively Christian sources, must exist side by side with Christian ethics to produce the moral regeneration of mankind; and that the Christian system is no exception to the rule, that in an imperfect state of the human mind the interests of truth require a diversity of opinions."

During his last years, in an essay on *Theism*, Mill modified to some extent his earlier ideas on religion and Christianity. The essay was finally published with two others, *Nature* and *The Utility of Religion*.²⁹ In the *Utility of Religion* Mill expresses the opinion that "Belief . . . in the supernatural . . . cannot be considered to be any longer required, either for enabling us to know what is right and wrong in social morality, or for supplying us with motives to do right and abstain from wrong." He says also that "it is impossible that anyone who habitually thinks and who is unable to blunt his inquiring intellect by sophistry, should be able without misgiving to go on ascribing absolute perfection to the author and ruler of so clumsily made and capriciously governed a creation as this planet and the life of its inhabitants." While admitting "the beauty and benignity and moral greatness which so eminently distinguish the sayings and teachings of Christ," he finds it again difficult to recognize as "the object of highest worship . . . a being who could make a Hell; and who could create countless generations of human beings with the certain foreknowledge that he was creating them for this fate. Is there any moral enormity which might not be justified by imitation of such a Deity?" "This simple and innocent faith can only . . . co-exist with a torpid and inactive state of the speculative faculties." As for a belief in immortality, "they who have had their happiness can bear to part with existence: but it is hard to die without ever having lived." But what interests Mill more than these teachings of Christianity is the religion of humanity. "When,"

²⁹3d ed. (1885).

he says, "we consider how ardent a sentiment, in favorable circumstances of education, the love of country has become, we cannot judge it impossible that the love of that larger country, the world, may be nursed with similar strength, both as a source of elevated emotion and as a principle of duty." If people can be made to feel and act as if the "good of their country" was worth sacrificing everything for, maybe this feeling could be elevated to "the universal good." Such an emotion would "derive its power . . . from sympathy and benevolence and the passion for ideal excellence." The reward of such a religion would be "not a problematical future existence, but the approbation, in this, of those whom we respect, and ideally of all those, dead or living, whom we admire or venerate. . . . The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires towards an ideal object, recognized as the highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire. This condition is fulfilled by the Religion of Humanity in as eminent a degree, and in as high a sense, as by the supernatural religions even in their best manifestations, and far more so than in any of their others."

In the *Theism*, after arguing closely about the evidences for a God, for his attributes, for a belief in immortality, and for Revelation, Mill seeks the support of Christianity for a religion of Humanity. He concludes that there is evidence, "but insufficient for proof," for the existence of God. "The indication given by such evidence as there is, points to the creation, not indeed of the universe, but of the present order of it by an Intelligent Mind, whose power over the materials was not absolute, whose love for his creatures was not his sole actuating inducement, but who nevertheless desired their good. The notion of a providential government by an omnipotent Being for the good of his creatures must be entirely dismissed. . . . The whole domain of the supernatural is thus removed from the region of Belief into that of simple Hope." "But," Mill says, "when the reason is strongly cultivated, the imagination may safely follow its own end, and do its best to make life pleasant and lovely inside the castle, in reliance on the fortifications raised and maintained by Reason round the outward bounds." "It appears to me that the indulgence of hope with regard to the government of the universe and the destiny of man after death, while we recognize as a clear truth that we have no ground for more than a hope, is legitimate and philosophically defensible." "The power of the Creator once recognized as limited, there is nothing to disprove the supposition that his goodness is complete and that the ideally perfect character in whose likeness we should wish to form ourselves and to whose supposed approbation we refer our actions, may have a real existence in a Being to whom we owe all such good as we enjoy."

Whatever one may believe or hope about God, there is still Jesus. "It is Christ, rather than God, whom Christianity has held up to believers as the pattern of perfection for humanity. . . . about the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity

of insight, which if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the Prophet of Nazareth even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspirations, on the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed on earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity." Such attitudes will help support the "Religion of Humanity" and "of Duty." It will help one to promote "the very slow and often almost insensible progress by which good is gradually gaining ground from evil. . . . To do something during life, on even the humblest scale if nothing more is within reach, towards bringing this consummation ever so little nearer (the final victory of Good) is the most animating and invigorating thought which can inspire a human creature." "Supernatural hopes . . . may still contribute not a little to give to this religion its due ascendancy over the human mind."

MILL AS A HUMANIST-LIBERAL

In other respects Mill can be taken as a representative of the humanist-liberal tradition of the West. He was thoroughly trained in the classical tradition and was an especial admirer of the Greeks. The Greeks "considered wisdom not as a private luxury to be indulged in a select salon or in a precious cloister, but as a quality essential to success, a practical weapon of daily life available to all." Socrates, "the greatest of all teachers, laid down no word of dogma; his teaching was by demonstration of a method, of the thrust and parry of a clear thinking mind."³⁰

To promote clear thinking himself, Mill wrote what became a very popular textbook on logic, earning from Gladstone the name of "the saint of rationalism." Any attempts to get away from the empiricist approach to thought, to base it completely on intuition, as in the case of the Scottish philosopher Hamilton, he opposed. Of the kind of *a priori*, free-wheeling thinking, uncontrolled by experience, of a philosopher like Hegel he used the words "depraving" and "sickening." Like a good Greek he felt the obligation to participate in practical politics when the opportunity came, and he was elected to Parliament in 1865 as an Independent Liberal. He often delighted Parliament with his wit. On one occasion he was taken to task for referring to the Conservatives as stupid. His reply was "I never meant to say that the Conservatives are generally stupid, I meant to say that stupid people are generally Conservative. I believe that is so obviously and universally admitted a principle that I hardly think any gentlemen will deny it. Suppose any party, in addition to whatever share it may possess of the ability of the community, has nearly the whole of its stu-

³⁰Michael Packe, *The Life of John Stuart Mill*, p. 133.

pidity, that party must by the law of its constitution, be the stupidest party; and I do not see why honourable gentlemen should see that position as at all offensive to theory for it ensures their being always an extremely powerful party. . . . There is so much dense, solid force in sheer stupidity, that any body of able men with that force pressing behind them may ensure victory in many a struggle, and many a victory the Conservative party has gained through that power.”³¹ In 1867 Mill was the first to raise the question of women’s suffrage in a parliamentary assembly by moving to amend the reform bill extending the suffrage by substituting “person” for “men.” Had he lived, English women might have received the vote long before they did. It was a speech by Mill that preserved Hyde Park as the kind of haven of free speech and assemblage the *On Liberty* argued for. It was his fear of the tyranny of the majority that led him to advocate proportional representation and public and plural (extra votes for the educated) voting. Mill was neither superpatriot nor imperialist, and he did his best to bring corrupt and irresponsible colonial officials to justice. He took very seriously the self-assumed task of popularizing the best thought of his day, English or French.

MILL AND LAISSEZ FAIRE

He tried to come to terms with classical economics in his *Political Economy*, which went through some thirty-two editions in fifty years. In the interests of a larger economic justice he found it quite necessary to abandon laissez faire principles. He supported the co-operative movement, was concerned with the extension of democracy to industry, and while advocating the abolition of primogeniture was anxious to establish an English landowning peasantry. In the *Autobiography* he says that he and Mrs. Mill finally went “far beyond Democracy” and would be classed “under the general designation of Socialists. While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most Socialistic systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labour, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to. The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action, with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labor.”³²

³¹Packe, p. 454. ³²*Autobiography*, p. 162.

The shift from bourgeois liberalism to socialism, individualism to collectivism, laissez faire to positive intervention and the welfare state can be traced in other writers than Mill, notably in T. H. Green³³ and L. T. Hobhouse. Green was concerned with the early liberal idea of freedom of contract, which argued that the state must not interfere in any arrangements governing wages or conditions of labor between employer and employee, since such intervention was a violation of individual liberty (*Essay on Freedom of Contract*, 1880). It was obvious to him that when the parties to a contract were not equal in bargaining power (the big corporation or small business, for example, and the unemployed worker) the state need not regard such contracts as being sacred. "To uphold the sanctity of contracts is doubtless a prime business of government, but it is no less its business to provide against contracts being made, which from the helplessness of one of the parties to them, instead of being a security for freedom, become an instrument of disguised oppression."³⁴ Hobhouse wrote about the necessity of intervention in order to establish an environment in which the personality can grow to its full capacity.³⁵ Essential to any such development was the right to work and the right to a living wage. The state had to intervene to protect children in labor contracts. It could not permit the health and welfare of its citizens to suffer from inequality in bargaining conditions, or there was no meaning to ideas of liberty and equality. Encouragement of trade unionism was only one means of securing this equality. Democratic government destroyed the fear of government because the people are then the government, and anxious to use it for their good. When society by the mere fact of its existence creates wealth it must use this wealth in the interest of the community. There are kinds of property which it is perfectly proper for municipalities and national governments to own. In fact, Hobhouse says, "I venture to conclude that the differences between a true, consistent, public-spirited Liberalism and a rational [socialist] Collectivism ought, with a genuine effort at mutual understanding, to disappear. The two parties [Liberal and Labor] are called on to make a common cause against the growing power of wealth, which, by its control of the Press, and of the means of political organization, is more and more a menace to the healthy working of popular government."³⁶ In twentieth-century England the Liberal party, because of this change in attitude, has tended to dissolve, the right wing going to the Conservatives and the left to the Labor party.

³³See C. Brinton, *English Political Thought*, pp. 212-216.

³⁴Brinton, p. 220.

³⁵L. T. Hobhouse, "Liberalism and Socialism," *Democracy and Reaction*.

³⁶Hobhouse, p. 237.

The stream of French liberalism in the nineteenth century was weaker, and at the same time more turbulent, than the English because influenced so much by revolution. The main tradition of the French Revolution was, of course, liberal, but its violence precipitated (1) the military dictatorship of Napoleon I and the First French Empire and (2) the Bourbon absolutism of Charles X. This in turn brought about the Revolution of 1830 and the liberal bourgeois Orléanist monarchy of Louis Philippe.

This early nineteenth-century liberalism can be found in the writings of men like Benjamin Constant, Victor Cousin, and the historian François Guizot (1787–1874), who became Louis Philippe's premier in 1840. The bourgeois and constitutional character of Louis' government Guizot was staunch in defending, regarding it as a continuation of the kind of monarchy set up by the National Constituent Assembly. He was anxious to imitate the example of England in promoting change without further revolution. The bourgeoisie he was inclined to identify with the nation, as the class able to absorb the most capable and energetic of other classes. A propertied suffrage was preferable, since it limited political life to the best citizens. It was no hardship, since it empowered all those who acquired property. "Get rich," he said, "and you will get the vote." When workers urged Guizot to let them have a share in the government he replied that they had only themselves and not society to blame for their fate. Because they enjoyed civil liberty was no reason why they should expect to help govern. Civil but not political rights could be enjoyed by the propertyless. Demands for an increase in the suffrage were "artificial, superficial, and dishonest, organized by cliques of evil journalists and revolutionists who were plotting to overthrow the sound bourgeois order." Since, he thought, class conflict had largely disappeared it was useless for government to try to alleviate what was left. "In the ordinary course of events these relations settle themselves. I am convinced that any attempt by the government to intervene would be chimerical and disastrous." "To accept the principle that all poverty comes from an evil system of society and that therefore it is the bounden duty of the government to protect the unfortunate by redistributing wealth would destroy the sense of responsibility in men, and rouse evil passions by raising false hopes of economic equality."⁸⁷

LIBERALISM UNDER NAPOLEON III

Government of the Guizot kind brought about the Revolution of 1848 and the Second Republic. Again revolutionary violence resulted in the dictatorship of another Napoleon (III) and the Second Empire (1852–1870). French liberalism could now grow only in opposition to what were

⁸⁷J. S. Schapiro, *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism*, p. 236.

essentially the totalitarian methods of this prince whose miscalculating ambition finally made it necessary for him to woo popularity by concessions. He became involved, for example, in the extraordinary project of destroying the Mexican republic and substituting for it a French Empire in the person of Archduke Maximilian of Austria. But at the close of the American Civil War the United States government threatened to intervene in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, and Napoleon had to remove his troops. Maximilian was then shot by the Mexicans (19 June, 1867), and Napoleon's new-world dreams were rudely terminated.

This failure, combined with others, led him to further liberal concessions involving larger freedoms of press and assembly. The opposition now became bolder. The republican party won the allegiance of the Parisians, and a new party appeared, aiming to make the Empire a liberal parliamentary government. Indeed, in 1869 and 1870, as war with Germany threatened, Napoleon took steps to transform the Senate and the legislative body of the imperial government into the regular organs of a parliamentary regime. The Franco-Prussian War, however, rendered impossible any hopes of perpetuating a liberal empire in the Napoleonic family. The French armies were no match for the invading Germans in August, 1870. On 1 September they suffered a disastrous defeat at Sedan; Napoleon himself was taken prisoner, and on the next day the surrounded army surrendered. When the scope of the disaster became known the Parisian republicans refused to support the Empire any longer, proclaimed a republic, and set up a Government of National Defense.

THE PARISIAN COMMUNE

It was not until 1875 that Frenchmen were certain that they wished to have a Third Republic succeed the Second Empire. The National Assembly which the Emergency Government caused to be elected by universal manhood suffrage to make a peace with Germany was dominated by monarchists. In the last months of the Franco-Prussian War the Germans were forced to lay siege to republican Paris. After the conclusion of a harsh peace surrendering Alsace-Lorraine the city was in no mood to tolerate the setting up of a monarchical or imperial government. When the Assembly moved from Bordeaux to Versailles, instead of Paris, and passed laws ignoring the sufferings of Paris during the German siege, the Parisians revolted, set up a revolutionary government of their own called the Commune, and proposed to organize France into a permanent federation of autonomous communes.

War with Germany was thus followed by civil war between a France represented by a monarchical Assembly and a rebellious, republican Paris. The city was subdued by the forces of the Assembly after another siege. "The number of men who perished in this horrible fray is estimated at 17,000. The cemeteries, the squares, private or public gardens, saw trenches opened in which nameless corpses were deposited without reg-

ister and without list by thousands.”³⁸ Conservative and radical France were thus again at each other’s throat. It is possible that a monarchy might again have been set up in France had the Bourbons, Orléanists, and Bonapartists been able to agree upon a candidate. As it was, after a quick recovery from the worst effects of foreign and civil war the National Assembly drew up what is known as the Constitution of 1875, establishing the government of the Third French Republic.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The government of the Third Republic was bicameral and parliamentary, that is, with a premier and cabinet responsible to the Chamber of Deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage and to a Senate with a veto power on laws passed by the Deputies. Together Senate and Chamber of Deputies formed the National Assembly which elected the president for a term of seven years. Inasmuch as all acts of the president had to be signed by a minister who thus became responsible, the president was by far less powerful than, and overshadowed by, the head of the ministry or premier. “The ministers are jointly and severally responsible to the Chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts.” The premier and his cabinet had to resign if voted down by the Chambers. In effect, this meant that the Chamber of Deputies controlled the executive branch of the government. The local government of France remained centralized, the departments and their largest subdivisions (*arrondissements*) being headed by prefects and subprefects appointed by the central government.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

If the form of government after 1870 was liberal, its actions were tardy and hesitant in protecting the worker against the abuses of the early Industrial Revolution. A law of 1892 controlled the employment of women and children, established a ten-hour day, and put the mines under governmental supervision. In the next year conditions regulating sanitation and safety in factories were set up and free medical attendance provided for workingmen and their families. By 1907 the eight-hour day was fixed for miners. Trade unions were recognized and protected in 1884. In 1898 the law provided for workers’ compensation for injuries in the factories, and in 1911 a system of old-age pensions was established. At the same time such liberal freedoms as speech, press, and association were provided in an often quite exceptional and distinguished manner.

CHALLENGES TO THE THIRD REPUBLIC

These accomplishments consolidated the sentiment of the nation behind a liberal republic, but not until it had been repeatedly challenged by

³⁸Quoted in C. D. Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, pp. 335–336.

monarchical, military, and clerical groups, often in combination, anxious to put an end to the further liberalization of French government and society. When republicans first secured control of both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in 1878 they forced Marshal MacMahon, elected president by the National Assembly in 1873 to prepare for a monarchy, to resign (30 January, 1879) when he refused to retire certain antirepublican generals. Ten years later another general, Boulanger, minister of war in 1886, was threatening the life of the Republic. In January, 1889, after being elected six times to the Chamber in 1888, he won a notable election as a candidate from Paris. But the general did not have the courage to try to carry through a coup d'état against the Republic. When summoned before the Senate to be tried on a charge of conspiracy against the safety of the state, he escaped to Brussels, and after conviction by the Senate committed suicide on the grave of his mistress. The movement behind him quickly subsided.

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

In the period from 1894 to 1906 France was torn by a bitter dispute over the Dreyfus Affair, in which the forces supporting the Republic were often opposed by the military, aided by ugly, anti-Semitic, arrogantly and aristocratically nationalistic, and clerical and monastic groups. Captain Alfred Dreyfus was an Alsatian Jew attached to the general staff of the French army who came under the suspicion of espionage by the war office. He was accused as a traitor who sold secret and vital documents to the enemy. The most important document in question, addressed to the German military attaché, Colonel von Schwartzkoppen, listed a number of documents concerning new weapons and plans with the "Preliminary Firing Manual of the Field Artillery," which the writer was transmitting to the attaché. The writer was actually a thoroughly disreputable scoundrel, an officer in the French army, Esterhazy. Yet Dreyfus was arrested, imprisoned, tried by secret court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced "to deportation for life to a fortified place [Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana], to forfeiture of his rank, and to degradation." Subsequently the head of the counterespionage section, Major Picquart, was confronted with a special-delivery letter put together from fragments taken from Schwartzkoppen's wastebasket and addressed to Monsieur le Commandant Esterhazy. Picquart was soon convinced that Dreyfus was innocent, but he was told by higher authority that "the case can't be reopened. General Mercier, General Saussier, are involved in it." "That [Dreyfus was innocent] is unimportant; that is not a consideration which should be brought into the reckoning."³⁹ Indeed, a case against Dreyfus was built up by forgeries crudely prepared by Colonel Henry of the counterespionage section.

³⁹Chapman, *The Dreyfus Case*, p. 96.

The circumstances of Dreyfus's arrest and trial awakened the doubt of many important and responsible people, including a young journalist named Clemenceau. When Esterhazy was finally tried by a court-martial he was found not guilty. The army had determined that the Dreyfus case should not be reopened. When the novelist Émile Zola raised protests against the courts-martial of both Dreyfus and Esterhazy in a newspaper article headlined "J'accuse," he was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, while people shouted "Up with the Army! Down with the Jews!" The public now began to take sides. Men like Anatole France, Monet, and Marcel Proust began to demand a revision of the case; others, such as Dégas, to oppose. After court-martial, Colonel Picquart was dismissed from the service, and Colonel Henry, confronted with his forgery of anti-Dreyfus documents and finally arrested, in his cell, "took off his jacket, lay down on his bed, and with his razor cut his throat."⁴⁰

Under these circumstances it became a question of whether the government would permit the army and its anti-Semitic, super-nationalistic, and clerical cohorts to override the elementary demands of justice. Dreyfus was finally granted a retrial in a court-martial held at Rennes in Brittany (1899), to which he was brought from Devil's Island. It was not so much Dreyfus's innocence as the prestige of the army that was at stake. He was again found guilty, but under "extenuating circumstances," and sentenced to ten years' retention. The government then intervened and President Loubet pardoned Dreyfus, "remitted the balance of his sentence," and "cancelled the order for his degradation."⁴¹ But it took seven more years of effort on the part of the supporters of Dreyfus (Dreyfusards) before he was cleared of guilt by the highest civil court in 1906 and the verdict of the Rennes court-martial altogether quashed. He was then promoted to the rank of major and given the fourth grade of the Legion of Honor by a special act of the legislature. What had begun as an affair of the army continued in the course of years as a crusade for simple justice carried on by large sections of the public, finally involving the defense of the Republic against militarism, monarchism, anti-Semitism, clericalism, and supercharged nationalism. In the end the supporters of a liberal Republic managed, however hesitantly, to thwart the enemy.

THE CHURCH AND THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The fact that the anti-Dreyfusards numbered among them large sections of the Catholic clergy (especially the Assumptionist monks) brought to a head the problem of the relation of church and state in France. After 1870 the French clergy were monarchical rather than republican. They supported the fiasco of General Boulanger in the hope of destroying the Republic. The failure of this movement led Pope Leo XIII to try to recon-

⁴⁰Chapman, p. 226.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 303.

cile the Church with the Republic. In an encyclical of 16 February, 1892 (*Inter Innumeras Sollicitudines*), he said that all forms of government devoted to the commonweal were good and should be accepted. Catholics should elect men who within the constitution of the Republic would make good laws. This movement of accommodation (the *Ralliement*) was not supported heartily by the French church and those monarchical groups associated with it. It was not taken seriously by such radicals as Clemenceau. And since the pope entrusted the propaganda for the movement to the press of the Assumptionist fathers, enthusiastic anti-Dreyfusards, the *Ralliement* became involved in the larger issues of this struggle.

LOUIS VEUILLLOT

The opposition between the Third Republic and the Church is, in a larger sense, but another particular example of the ancient struggle between what has been called humanism and asceticism in this book. Lamennais has been referred to as a Catholic anxious to relate religion with social problems,⁴² and such liberal Catholics as Jean Lacordaire and Count Charles de Montalembert were eager to get along with the liberal tradition. Such men, however, were a small minority in the Church and one opposed by a majority who regarded any compromise of Catholicism with liberalism as impossible. In France a representative of this outlook was Louis Veuillot. In 1866 he published a pamphlet called *The Liberal Illusion*. In it he says that "the only way of realizing the ideal of universal liberty, universal equality, universal fraternity is to establish the universal reign of Christ. For the liberty that is man's due is liberty to attain his supernatural end, which is union with Christ: and the only society ever known to recognize all men as equals and brothers is the society of the disciples of Christ." He wanted the Church to be able to employ force, for "Force in the hands of the Church is the force of right," and he wanted the state to be subject to the church, the temporal subject to the spiritual sword. The material sword is "duty bound to obey the commandment of the Pontiff. It is the Pontiff who bids it come forth from the scabbard and who bids it return thereto." "Force ought to protect, to affirm, to vindicate the grandest, the noblest, the most necessary right of man, which is to acknowledge and to serve God; it should enable the Church to extend to every man on earth the benefit of this right. Let us never relinquish this right which liberal Catholicism surrenders, so that it can drift down the current, along with the crowd." "Liberal Catholicism has no value whatever as a doctrine or as a means of defending religion. . . . It is nothing but an illusion, nothing but a piece of stubbornness—a pose." "It behooves us to lock arms around the Sovereign Pontiff, to follow unswervingly his inspired directions. . . . It behooves us to abstain from any attempt to twist his words to our own sense: When

⁴²See p. 402.

the Sovereign Pontiff has proclaimed a pastoral decision, no one has the right to add or to suppress the smallest vowel, no *addere*, no *minuere*. Whatever he affirms, that is true forever.”⁴³

Veuillot's view was also that of the papacy in the nineteenth century. Its anachronistic character was emphasized by the pontificate of Pius IX (1846–1878). Pope Pius IX was at first the hope of liberal elements in Italy, who thought that he might be the fitting head of a new federation of Italian states. The events of 1848, when Mazzini and Garibaldi set up a short-lived anticlerical republic in Rome, frightened him out of his liberalism to such an extent that in 1870 he could say, with reference to the tradition of the Church, what Louis XIV is credited with saying with respect to the state: that he was it.⁴⁴ In 1854 Pius proclaimed to the world what such medieval theologians as Saints Anselm, Bernard, and Thomas had never quite dared to affirm, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. “We, with the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and with our own, do declare, pronounce and define that the doctrine which holds that the Virgin Mary was, in the first instant of her conception, preserved untouched by any taint of original guilt . . . was revealed by God and therefore is to be firmly and steadfastly believed by all the faithful.”⁴⁵

THE “SYLLABUS OF ERRORS”

Ten years later in the rather extraordinary *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) Pius went so far as to condemn “much that has become a part of the humanist heritage of Europe.” He condemned the notion “that the Church ought to tolerate the errors of philosophy; leaving to philosophy the care of their correction,”—that “the method and principles, by which the old scholastic doctors cultivated theology, are no longer suitable to the demands of the age.” He condemned as well the belief “that every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason . . . that the eternal salvation may (at least) be hoped for, of all those who are not at all in the true church of Christ. That Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion: in which it is possible to please God equally as in the Catholic Church.” Difficult as it is to believe, the pope at this time is still saying that it is wrong to assert “that the Church has not the power of availing herself of force, or of any direct or indirect temporal power. . . . That ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the temporal causes—whether civil or criminal—of the clergy ought by all means to be abolished. . . . That National Churches can be established, after being withdrawn and separated from the authority of the holy Pontiff.” There are condemned also the ideas “that the best theory of civil society

⁴³Tr. George B. O'Toole. I am using the excerpt in Hans Kohn, *Making of the Modern French Mind*, pp. 170–175.

⁴⁴Philip Spencer, *Politics of Belief in Nineteenth Century France*, p. 235.

⁴⁵H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, p. 380.

requires that popular schools, open to the children of all classes, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority” and “that the Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church.” One is not to believe “that it is allowable to refuse obedience to legitimate princes; nay more, to rise in insurrection against them.” Finally Pius condemned the notion “that in the present day, it is no longer necessary that the Catholic religion be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship: whence it has been wisely provided by the law, in some countries nominally Catholic, that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the free exercise of their own worship. . . . That the Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.”⁴⁶

THE DOCTRINE OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

At a moment when it was losing its temporal power to the new, liberal Kingdom of Italy (1870) the papacy through Pius IX climbed to the peak of one phase of its history by announcing that “we [Pope Pius IX] . . . teach and define as a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* (that is, when—fulfilling the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians—on his supreme Apostolical authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church), through the divine assistance promised him in blessed Peter, is endowed with that infallibility, with which the Divine Redeemer has willed that His Church—in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals—should be equipped: and therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff of themselves—and not by virtue of the consent of the Church—are irreformable. If anyone shall presume (which God forbid!) to contradict this our definition: let him be overthrown.”⁴⁷

LIBERALISM AND EDUCATION

The western state had never taken kindly to challenges from the Church, and now in the nineteenth century, in the case of France at least, it was fortified by a revolutionary liberalism and nationalism. A part of this liberalism consisted in the belief that it could contribute to the perfection and happiness of man by improving his environment, an important element of which was his education. Every liberal western state adopted the ideal of a free and compulsory elementary, if not also secondary, education for all its children. But who was to teach in these schools? What was to be taught? And what was to be done with the schools of the churches? The schools of a liberal state must obviously teach the doctrines of liberalism. The tradition of liberalism was rational and scientific, revolutionary and progressive, and in the course of the nineteenth century democratic. The public schools of a liberal state composed of citizens adhering to many religions would of necessity have to practice toler-

⁴⁶Bettenson, pp. 195, 380–383. ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 383.

ance and teach a rational and scientific approach to knowledge, holding up the necessity of adapting to change, with the hope of changing always for the better and of teaching the meaning of democracy and its practice. Such aims clashed with the heavily religious programs still taught in church schools. The liberal-humanistic-ascetic conflict thus became a battle for and in the schools.

PIUS XI ON EDUCATION

The nature of this conflict may be illustrated by considering the pronouncement of another pope on the question of the *Christian Education of Youth*. Here it is clearly stated that "education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created," and therefore "there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man's last end."⁴⁸ Such education must be in the hands of the Church, "because every form of instruction, no less than every human action, has a necessary connection with man's last end, and therefore cannot be withdrawn from the dictates of the divine law, of which the Church is guardian, interpreter and infallible mistress." (p. 41) "It is the inalienable right as well as the indispensable duty of the Church, to watch over the entire education of her children, in all institutions, public or private, not merely in regard to the religious instruction there given, but in regard to every other branch of learning and every regulation in so far as religion and morality are concerned." (p. 43) "It is the right, or to speak more correctly, it is the duty of the state to protect in its legislation, the prior rights . . . of the family as regards the Christian education of its offspring, and consequently also to respect the supernatural rights of the Church in this same realm of Christian education." (p. 48) "Unjust and unlawful is any monopoly, educational or scholastic, which, physically or morally, forces families to make use of government schools, contrary to the dictates of their Christian conscience, or contrary even to their legitimate preferences." The Church must take "every precaution to prevent them [the arts and sciences] from falling into error by opposition to divine doctrine, or from overstepping their proper limits, and thus invading and disturbing the domain of faith." (p. 53) The basis of Christian education must be a recognition of "the effects of original sin, the chief of which are weakness of will and disorderly inclinations." "Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace and relying on the sole powers of human nature, is unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various names which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority and action, attributing to the child

⁴⁸Encyclical of Pius XI (1929), in *Five Great Encyclicals* (The Paulist Press), p. 39, hereafter cited in my text.

an exclusive primacy of initiative, and an activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his education." (p. 55)

"Hence considered in its historical origin, the school is by its very nature an institution subsidiary and complementary to the family and to the Church." (p. 59) "The so-called 'neutral' or 'lay' school from which religion is excluded, is contrary to the fundamental principles of education." "The frequenting of non-Catholic schools, whether neutral or mixed, those namely which are open to Catholics and non-Catholics alike, is forbidden for Catholic children, and can be at most tolerated, on the approval of the ordinary [bishop] alone. . . . Neither can Catholics admit that other type of mixed school . . . in which the students are provided with separate religious instruction, but receive other lessons in common with non-Catholic pupils from non-Catholic teachers." For a school to be a fit place for Catholic students "it is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and textbooks in every branch, be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church." (p. 60) In a state where there are many religious beliefs, "it becomes the duty of the State, indeed it is the easier and more reasonable method of procedure, to leave free scope to the initiative of the Church and family, while giving them such assistance as justice demands." (p. 61) Quoting Pope Leo XIII, Pius declares, "What is still more important" is to bring "into full conformity with the Catholic faith, what is taught in literature, in the sciences, and above all in philosophy, on which depends in great part the right orientation of the other branches of knowledge." (p. 63)

THE THIRD REPUBLIC AND EDUCATION

The Third French Republic did not intend to entrust the education of its youth to so illiberal a church in accordance with so illiberal a doctrine. In 1870 most of the elementary instruction in France was given in church schools taught by religious orders not legally authorized but permitted to function. In 1880 the Jesuit order was again dissolved and together with it all congregations which did not within three months apply for authorization by the state. In the next two years about three hundred congregations were obliged to dissolve, and in some cases troops were used by the government. In 1882, under the leadership of Jules Ferry, a program of free compulsory elementary education without religious instruction was set up aiming to supplant the church schools with teachers educated in the normal schools of the state. The inability of the Church to come to terms with the Republic led to further steps against the regular clergy in 1901, when a Law of Associations forbade all orders not wholly French, obliged the congregations still authorized to apply again for approval, and forbade all members of unauthorized congregations to teach. The enforcement of the law was thorough. Some twelve thousand schools conducted by monks and nuns were closed, and by 1903 only five male

monastic orders were allowed. Subsequently teaching by any monastic order was forbidden (1904).

THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE

From the problem of education the Third Republic now turned to the connection between church and state. For England this was necessary only to a limited extent. To be sure, the English church in Ireland and Wales was disestablished, and the Anglican and Nonconformist churches had to suffer competition from the state in the field of education; but there was no serious attempt to separate church and state in England because, under a common head, there was no fundamental hostility between the two. In France, however, this was not the case. France was a Catholic nation, and its church was regulated by the state in accordance with the Concordat of 1801.⁴⁹ The hostility of the papacy to liberalism, and of the French church to the liberal Republic, the participation of the Church in the anti-Dreyfus campaign, and the difficulties over the question of education led to the separation of the French church from the state (1905).

The separation took the form of abrogating the Concordat of 1801. There was to be freedom of worship in France, the government was henceforth to pay no subsidies to clergy and have no part in their appointment. Lay associations for worship were to be formed to which the churches and church property were to be entrusted. The French church, under no state control, was free to play its part as a branch of the Roman Catholic Church. Pius X condemned the separation of 1905 and forbade Catholics to join in the formation of the lay associations. The property of the Church was then confiscated by the state, but by 1907 a settlement was reached on the basis of separation. In this way a liberal doctrine became a political reality in France. It has never been seriously questioned that the result has been very good for both church and state.

FRENCH LIBERAL THOUGHT

The liberal position was carried on in word as well as in deed in nineteenth-century France by such men as Alexis Comte de Tocqueville (1805-1859), Ernest Renan (1823-1892), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), and Charles Renouvier (1815-1903).

Alexis de Tocqueville did not have Guizot's trust in the government of bankers and industrialists. He had watched and admired a democratic society in operation in the United States in 1831 and published his classic observations in a book *Concerning Democracy in America* in 1835. He objected to bourgeois liberalism as a narrow, materialistic, class rule and sought to justify in history the demands for a liberalism based on liberty

⁴⁹See p. 377.

and equality. It was a democratic society that best incorporated these and was thus both "inevitable and beneficent." De Tocqueville, like J. S. Mill, was also exercised by the possibility of democracy's effacing the individual and the minority group who resisted its majority dictation. "When I feel the hand of power lie heavy on my brow, I care but little to know who oppresses me, and I am not the more disposed to pass beneath the yoke because it is held out to me by the arms of a million men."⁵⁰ Could democracy be reconciled "with respect for property, with deference for rights, with safety for freedom and with reverence for religion?" In America it had been.

The power of the United States Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution "forms one of the most powerful barriers that have ever been devised against the tyranny of political assemblies" and gives individuals and minorities a sense of security. He liked the division of political power and administration among federal, state, and local governments. "De Tocqueville was profoundly convinced that America was a land with a world mission, not a unique and isolated experiment that had no significance for the rest of the world. Only in America was the universal passion for equality freely expressed and freely applied. Democracy in America was the philosophic ideal of a freedom-loving people, not, as in Europe, the embittered creed of oppressed classes animated by hatred of those who ruled them. For this reason it was a bold and successful step in the march of history toward freedom and equality. America had created the pattern of the future of mankind. Sooner or later, De Tocqueville believed, the rest of the world would achieve a system of equality similar to that in America."⁵¹

ERNEST RENAN

Ernest Renan has been called "the leading French scholar and humanist of the late nineteenth century." He wanted France to unite with Germany and England in "a force capable of directing the world toward a liberal civilization, equally remote from the naively blind haste of democracy and the childish whims of a return to the past." In his *Future of Science* (1848) he held strongly to the faith of the scientific humanist. "By every way open to us we begin to proclaim the right of human reason to reform society by means of rational science. We can state without exaggeration that science holds the future of humanity. Science alone can explain human destiny and teach the way of attaining it. The scientific organization of mankind is the final word of modern science, its bold but legitimate pretension." In his *Recollections of My Youth* (1883) he argued that "the one object in life is the development of the mind, and the first condition for the development of the mind is that it

⁵⁰See Schapiro, "Alexis de Tocqueville, Pioneer of Democratic Liberalism in France," *Liberalism*, pp. 290-308.

⁵¹Schapiro, p. 302.

should have liberty. The worst social state from this point of view is the theocratic state, like Islam, or the ancient Pontifical state in which dogma reigns supreme." "There can be no denying that it will take time for the liberty, which is the aim and object of human society, to take root in France as it has in America." When the Franco-Prussian War broke out he exclaimed: "The greatest mistake which liberals could make in the midst of the horrors which surround us would be to despair. The future belongs to liberalism. This war . . . has come because the principles of liberalism have been abandoned, principles which at the same time concern peace and the union of nations."⁵² He wanted a "United States of Europe, bound by a federal pact."

TAINÉ

Taine, a distinguished historian of the old regime in France, saw much in the English to admire. The first object of his admiration was their "political constitution," because "it is stable, and is in no danger, like ours, of being forcibly overturned and remodelled every twenty years. It is liberal, and permits individuals to take part as actors or assistants in public affairs instead of regarding them with mere curiosity. . . . It lends itself without perturbations to continued improvements, and tends in practice to good government, that which pays the most respect to individual initiative and confides power to the most worthy." A second superior institution was the English church. "It subordinates rites and dogmas to morality. It inculcates self-government, the supremacy of conscience, the cultivation of the will. It leaves a sufficiently large space to interpretation and to individual sentiment. It is not actually hostile to the spirit of modern science, nor to the tendencies of modern times. Its ministers are married; it founds schools; it approves of action; it does not counsel asceticism." The third superiority of England was "the greatness of the acquired wealth, combined with the increased power of producing and amassing." "The tokens of comfort and opulence are more numerous there than in any other country in the world. This is true of moral as well as of physical matters; not only does England understand better than France how to manage her public and private affairs, enrich her soil, improve her cattle, superintend and manufacture, clear, colonize, and turn to account distant countries; but she knows still better how to cultivate herself." France has a better climate, a better distribution of wealth, and a gayer, freer, and more neighborly domestic and social life. "One may say everything in conversation, tell a story and uphold a theory to the end. Romances, criticism, art, philosophy, violent curiosity have not to submit to the trammels which religion, morality, and official propriety impose upon them across the Channel. At Paris we think with more independence, with a more entire disinterestedness, in a wholly abstract

⁵²Kohn, *Making of the Modern French Mind*, pp. 46, 47, 149, 155.

style, without preoccupying ourselves about the consequences, without standing in dread of the thunders of public reprobation."⁵³

CHARLES RENOUVIER

According to Renouvier it is the moral stature of the individual that makes him sacred, and "no society can be moral which does not recognize as the basis of all moral order the individual's conscience, his right, and his reason." "The moral development of the individual, answerable ultimately to his sole conscience, that is both a basis and the end of all society and the sole criterion of its rightness, moral progress being the only real form of progress." "To try and explain the events and course of history without seeing in the observation and violation of the moral law their essential factor is so absurd as to build up a theory of a planet by taking into account all possible attraction except that of the sun."⁵⁴ Nor is morality conceivable without the "autonomy of the will and the reason" and the freedom to exercise them. There is no inevitable progress, only the progress man chooses to make.

Renouvier, like Bentham, is inclined to view the state and society from the point of view of the individual rather than as any special form of collectivity. "There are no collective interests, material or moral, no rights, no duties, apart from those of the individual members of society." To him the end of the state is not so much the maintenance of order as the correcting of injustices. "The state is fulfilling its proper function just in so far as it restores justice where men had violated it, restores natural equality where inequality has appeared as the result of wrong doing." That justice, he thought, in his day was to be established in the economic sphere, for the West had come to a measure of civil and political equality. Since the poor are devoured by the idle rich, it is the duty of the state "to exercise social justice, to prevent accumulation of wealth, to organize labour, to limit profits, to have the monopoly of certain trades, to set up co-operation, insurances, and national credit with a progressive income tax." "All great reforms are perpetually checked by a class whose position is secure and that has wealth it wants to keep, which calls itself governing and does not know how to govern but only how to keep the country in a state of stagnation, from which it suffers but from which they benefit, seeking as they do a moral and material monopoly." He thought that free co-operative groups and associations would do more by way of reform than the state.

Renouvier hated aggressive nationalism and war. "The influence or predominance of one's country must only be desired, just in the same way as one accepts and respects that of the individual, that is, just in so far as it is founded on real merit, and not on intrigue, violence, or ill-gotten grains." It was wrong to spend more money on the military than

⁵³Kohn, pp. 161, 163-164.

⁵⁴R. H. Soltan, *French Political Thought in the 19th Century*, p. 307.

on education in any case, and it was wrong to force men to fight against their will. "A righteous state must never have any other soldiers than volunteers . . . it is a monstrous abuse to condemn a citizen to fight against his conscience." He would reject all policies and attitudes that lead to war. All conquest and territorial expansion ought to be abandoned and all patriotism that promotes it. War to secure national liberation is even questionable. It were better to reform the state within which the nationality lives. Nationalism is only a breeder of war. Renouvier urges upon the nation such a desire for peace that it will not resort to war even if it regards itself as the victim of injustice. Certainly one must disabuse himself of the notion of a war to end war; that is "the most deadly of sophistries, it is unreason let loose."

German and Italian Liberalism

GERMANY AND WESTERN LIBERALISM

If before 1914 the liberal victory in France was weaker than in England, in the Germanic Empire after 1870-1871 there was no victory at all. "Bismarck, the great hater, held no other statesman of his time in such scorn as 'the Grand Old Man' [Gladstone] who let his policy be guided by humanitarian and even pacifist ideals, opposed the advance of imperialism, approached the Irish nationalist movement in an accommodating spirit, and extended the suffrage for the British parliament."⁵⁵ Beginning with its Romantic movement after the Napoleonic wars, Germany was inclined to reject first French and then western liberal thought, and in fact to adopt an antiwestern attitude. German nationalism cultivated this hostility to the West. Fichte, feeling that it was "unquestionably equivalent to have character and to be a German," thought that "German culture was more primal and fundamental than Western civilization."⁵⁶ Nationalism of the Prussian kind finally crushed liberalism. The efforts of German liberal nationalists at the Frankfurt Parliament were put to nought by the Prussian monarchy. When Prussia, under the leadership of Bismarck, took over the unification movement it was to make Prussia dominant in Germany, a Prussia built upon the power of aristocratic Junkers, the professional army, and a militarized bureaucracy, all combined with fanatical crusades against the Slavs. In the course of unification, when liberals protested in their *Landtag* against the increase of the Prussian army, Bismarck ignored these while he acted unconstitutionally. And when the war of 1866 was over and the annexations were made the liberals thanked him for it. A German historian

⁵⁵Franz Schnabel on "The Bismarck Problem," in ed. Hans Kohn, *German History: Some New German Views*, p. 69.

⁵⁶Karl Buckheim, in *New German Views*, p. 46.

speaks of German liberalism developing from a "party of law and order into a service group of success worshippers."⁵⁷

BISMARCK AND LIBERALISM

Bismarck thus precluded the development of a liberal Germany. In 1879, when he abandoned free trade for protection, he gave an added blow to the liberal party. German liberals came to be the kind who could say, "the power-political interests of the nation are, when they are involved, the final and decisive interests in the service of which its economic policy has to be placed."⁵⁸ "It is a fact that a state finds it difficult to re-establish itself when its moral foundations have been shattered, when law and justice, which are the foundations of states, are held in scorn, when its leaders, citing expediency, exempt themselves in their policies from those very principles without which no state and in general no human society can be maintained."⁵⁹

BISMARCK AND THE CHURCH

Bismarck, in fact, was a diplomat of the old school, accustomed to ignore the popular bases of power to deal directly with princes and their ministers. He had nothing to offer Germany and Europe other than the building up of the power of the state. The morality of how this should be done did not concern him as much as that it be done. "He considered that territorial compactness and the independence of modern great states, which recognize legal order among themselves only in the shape of alternating alliances, constituted not merely a valuable, but in fact a final achievement of civilization."⁶⁰ If within this backward-looking framework Bismarck's conduct of foreign relations was brilliant, he was utterly at a loss to know how to deal with popular forces at home. The events of 1870-1871 had created a Catholic Center party in Germany (now Christian Democrats) determined to have some say in the government of the new Reich. Bismarck was mindful of the long struggle of medieval German emperors with the papacy, and he did not wish the Catholic Church further meddling in affairs of state. He was alarmed at the willingness of the Vatican Council in 1870 to co-operate with Pius IX in declaring the infallibility of the pope. Most of the German bishops at this council were opposed, and after it was over a small group of "Old Catholics" refused to accept infallibility and organized a separate group of their own. Bismarck was sympathetic with this party. The Center party supported Rome and infallibility. It wanted Germany to support the temporal power of the pope over and against the new Kingdom of Italy. It represented the view of the smaller states in the Reich suspicious

⁵⁷Schnabel, in *New German Views*, p. 70.

⁵⁸Max Weber, in *New German Views*, p. 17.

⁵⁹Schnabel, in *New German Views*, p. 91.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 93.

of the dominance of Prussia and anxious to protect the local rights of the non-Prussian members of the Empire.

THE "KULTURKAMPF"

Bismarck decided that it was necessary for him to fight this organized Catholicism representing one-third of the population of Germany. It was a *Kulturkampf*—a fight for civilization. He announced in the course of it, "Have no fear—to Canossa we shall not go, either in body or spirit."⁶¹ Bismarck's attack took the form of securing the expulsion of the Jesuits and breaking off relations between Prussia and the Vatican. In 1873 came a series of laws, the "May" Laws, putting limits to the disciplinary powers of bishops, setting up state standards for appointments to the Catholic clergy and for the education of priests, and making it simpler to revolt against the Church. When these laws were resisted by the Catholic clergy, the aroused state took measures to dissolve all religious orders and congregations not engaged in the care of the sick, and to arrest, imprison, exile, or in other ways punish the offending clergy. But the Church and the Center party did not bow, and the latter grew in strength. In the *Reichstag*, Lutherans began to support the Center, fearing what might eventually happen to them, and the Socialists joined the opposition. In the end, the illiberal Bismarck in Protestant Germany, unlike the liberals in Catholic France, had to acknowledge his defeat, and in the course of the eighties much of the anti-Catholic legislation was revoked or ignored. In a sense, therefore, he did follow Henry IV to Canossa and for a while had to rely on conservatives and Center-party deputies to govern.

BISMARCK, THE SOCIALISTS, AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Bismarck was actually no more successful against the growing number of Socialists (Social Democratic party). He saw Disraeli gain conservative friends among the English workers by extending the suffrage and Napoleon III in France trusting the masses to support him with universal manhood suffrage. He determined to combat the growth of socialism in Germany and win friends for Prussian authoritarianism by combining repression with benevolence. In a series of laws from 1878 on, the Social Democratic party was outlawed and prohibited from spreading its propaganda in publications or in public meetings. In the eighties Bismarck pushed through Parliament, with Liberals, Progressives, and Socialists opposed (that is, with only Conservative and Center support), a series of social-security laws, the earliest and most comprehensive in Europe. Then there was passed legislation insuring the great majority of workers against losses from illness (1883), accident (1884), and disability and old age (1889). These were followed at a later date with the regulation of hours of labor, recognition of trade unions, and establishment of labor

⁶¹For Canossa, see Vol. I, p. 538.

exchanges. The insurance system set up was for the most part obligatory, and it was not resisted by the German workers. But it did not prevent the increase of Socialist deputies in the *Reichstag* (110 seats in 1912, the strongest party group), though it may have had something to do with the fact that they were so easily rallied to support the imperial system in 1914.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The government of Prussia had been expanded into that of the North German Confederation after 1866, and that in turn to the Reich after 1870-1871. Despite the outward trappings, these governments were not actually democratic. The Prussian constitution of 1850 set up a three-class system of suffrage favoring property. When Prussia became the Reich its predominance in the new Empire was assured. The king of Prussia was the emperor of Germany, and the chief minister of Prussia was usually also the chancellor of the Empire, appointed by and responsible to the emperor and not the *Reichstag*. There was actually no imperial cabinet, the chancellor appointing a few state secretaries (foreign affairs, interior) who held strictly subordinate positions. The Prussian minister of war might be asked by the chancellor to answer questions in the *Reichstag*, but it could not compel him in any way; and the chief of staff and the general staff, responsible for planning and carrying out plans for war with the emperor's own military cabinet, were answerable to the emperor alone. In the *Bundesrat*, the upper house representing the federal members of the Reich, Prussian votes were enough to prevent any change in the constitution or any reduction of the military establishment. The *Bundesrat* usually initiated legislation. Thus, while the *Reichstag* was elected by universal manhood suffrage and came to have a decisive vote on the budget, it actually played an inferior role in the imperial government. One observer called it "the figleaf of absolutism." Bismarck, preparing Germany for eventual disaster, did not give his people a rich experience in self-government, and nothing accomplished by his successors under Wilhelm II (1888-1918) made up for this lack.

ITALIAN LIBERALISM

Italian liberalism was exhausted in creating a united Italy under the liberal monarchy of Savoy. It too had its difficulties with the Church inasmuch as the popes after 1870, having lost their temporal power, sulked in the Vatican as "prisoners," refusing to emerge until their pact with Mussolini in 1929, and going so far as to prohibit the participation of Catholics in the affairs of the impious national government. Italy after 1870 was too beset by problems of a more elementary kind than liberalism to be able to put the latter into adequate practice. The large estates in the south and Sicily, the extreme poverty and illiteracy of the Italian peasantry, and the unchecked growth of population in an economy unable to support it made it difficult for Italians to realize the fond hopes that

unification had raised. It was rather in Switzerland, Holland, and Scandinavia than in Italy and Germany that support was brought to the liberal program.

LIMITATIONS OF THE VICTORY OF LIBERALISM

The adoption of the political machinery of liberal democracy however important did not mean in fact that liberalism suddenly transformed the nations of western Europe. The forces of conservatism were strong and recalcitrant everywhere. But the program of liberalism had been worked out, and its democratic and collectivistic implications discussed. England had set the pace in the creation of a liberal society. It was, however, an open question whether or not nationalism and industrialism could be made thoroughly compatible with the liberal-humanistic dream.

INDUSTRIALISM, SOCIALISM, AND IMPERIALISM

Industrialism

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. It has already been necessary to refer to the Industrial Revolution and to imperialism. In the previous chapter it was said that the Industrial Revolution helped to stimulate liberalism and the change from a middle-class, or bourgeois, to a democratic, or socialistic, liberalism. Another chapter argued that the Industrial Revolution helped to intensify the spirit of nationalism. A description of the growth of early capitalism emphasized its commercial character, but also referred to an Industrial Revolution of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The transfer of this early commercial and industrial capitalism to European colonies in the first modern centuries was an early chapter in western imperialism. The economic history of western Europe must now be resumed and related to the western tradition by giving further meaning to the terms Industrial Revolution and industrialism, the social system it created.

THE ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution shifted production from manufacture to "machinafacture," if the word can be tolerated; that is, it shifted from making by hand tools to making by machines driven by new kinds of power. Production by machinery involves the mechanization of the

industrial process. It gives importance to specialists in the engines using new motive power, that is, to mechanical, electrical, petroleum, or atomic engineers. It is constantly stimulated by the inventor. The revolution began in England with an outburst of inventive talent comparable only with the outburst of artistic talent during the Italian Renaissance, and the invention has ever since been a necessary feature of its further progress. The Industrial Revolution is thus a continuation, under new circumstances, of man's adaptation to a long series of such inventions as stone and metal tools, fire, the wheel, the sail, the water wheel, and the windmill. It began with new inventions culminating in the steam engine, and applied first to mining and the manufacture of textiles. With astonishing rapidity it moved from one established industry to another, creating new ones as it spread. While discovering new sources and working out fresh combinations of old and new sources of power, it has moved from England to western Europe, Belgium, northern France, the Rhineland (Ruhr), and northern Italy. It is still in the process of expanding to the rest of Europe. From the European it has spread and is still spreading to other continents, taking hold of such nations as the United States and Japan.

THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATION

The industrialized state has proved itself so much more powerful than the nonindustrialized state, especially in the means of waging and maintaining mechanized warfare, that, given the ever-present possibility of war, the nation wishing to survive as the master of its own fate must mechanize. The industrialized nation, moreover, has produced wealth in abundance and made available to its citizens a variety of cheap goods; it has, in other words, so increased its standard of living that demands for industrialization go beyond the desire to wage war successfully. Industrialization has become the chief means of warding off the poverty of expanding populations. A people wanting the products of modern industry and unable to make them has to purchase them with its own raw materials and thus make itself dependent upon industrial nations. The result of these pressures will be, so far as possible, the industrialization of all the peoples of the globe.

SOME CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The circumstances responsible for the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England must have resembled those responsible for its spread elsewhere. They included the availability of capital at a low rate of interest in sufficient amounts to buy machines and build and operate factories. A period of rising prices gives promise of enormous profits. The decrease of infant mortality resulted in a growth of population

furnishing increased labor power. The great increase in enclosures¹ provided food for an increased population and sent unemployed villagers to the industrial towns. Certain bottlenecks had developed in the major industries that could only be removed by the proper inventions: "In mining the want of an efficient device to deal with flood work; in iron-making the shortage of a suitable fuel; in the metal trades a consequent shortage of materials; and in textiles an inadequate supply of yarn."² When once engaged the industrial process was, subject to the fluctuations of a capitalistic economy, accumulative.

THE ORIGINS OF THE FACTORY

The circumstances leading to the forcing of the laborer into the factory were also many. In enterprises such as the iron industry, "the mechanics of smelting and rolling were such that it was virtually impossible to produce on a small scale." In the cotton factory one source of power could drive many machines operated by many workers. "On grounds of quality it was essential that the manufacture of chemicals and machinery should be subject to oversight: it was the need for supervision of work that led Peter Stubs to gather the scattered file-makers into his works at Warrington. In the pottery trade the economies to be derived from division and sub-division of labour" were responsible for the first big Wedgwood factory. "In the woollen industry the necessity of putting a stop to embezzlement of material was the main incentive to aggregation in the mills of Benjamin Gott." The worker himself had no great desire to leave shop or home and field to enter the factory. "It was only under the impact of powerful forces, attractive and repellent, that the English labourer or craftsman was transformed into a factory hand."³

THE MECHANIZATION OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Mechanization of one phase of an industry leads to mechanization of others. The Industrial Revolution in England began in a large way when the cotton textile industry hoped to compete with Indian cotton for the popularity of wool. English cottons had been mixed with linen in order to make a finer fabric. The new inventions in the spinning of cotton produced a thread fine enough to weave a pure cotton cloth capable of competing with the Indian. Inventions in spinning machinery led to inventions in weaving and to successive reciprocal improvements. Subsequent inventions have mechanized the whole cotton industry from picking, seeding, and carding the raw cotton to bleaching, finishing, dyeing, and printing the woven product of mechanical looms. From the cotton branches of the textile industry a similar mechanization spread to

¹See p. 223.

²T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830*, pp. 59, 91-92.

³*Ibid.*, p. 109.

CHRONOLOGY — Industrialism, Socialism, and Imperialism

	French and German Socialists	English Socialists	Other Persons and Events
1750	Babeuf (1760-1797) Saint-Simon (1760-1825)		<i>American Revolution</i> (1775-1783) <i>French Revolution</i> (1789-1795)
1800	Fourier (1772-1837) Lamennais (1782-1854) Feuerbach (1804-1872) Wilhelm von Ketteler (1811-1877) Louis Blanc (1811-1882) Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) Marx (1818-1883) Engels (1820-1895)	Robert Owen (1771-1858) Frederick Maurice (1805-1872) Charles Kingsley (1819-1875)	Leopold I (r. 1831-1865) <i>Revolutions of 1848</i> <i>Communist Manifesto</i> (1848)
1850	Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900) Adolf Stöcker (1835-1909) August Bebel (1840-1913) Eduard Bernstein (1850-1932) Viktor Adler (1852-1918) Karl Kautsky (1854-1938)	John Ludlow (1821-1911) <i>Fabian Society</i> (1884-) G. B. Shaw (1856-1950) J. A. Hobson (1858-1940)	<i>Syllabus of Errors</i> (1864) Bismarck (1815-1898) Leo XIII (r. 1887-1903) <i>The Condition of Labor</i> (1891) <i>Sino-Japanese War</i> (1894-1895)
1900		Beatrice Webb (1858-1943) Sidney Webb (1859-1947) Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937) H. G. Wells (1866-1946) G. D. H. Cole (1889-)	<i>Russo-Japanese War</i> (1904-1905) Lenin (1870-1924) <i>World War I</i> (1914-1918)

wool, silk, and flax, and ultimately to the extraordinary synthetic fabrics of today.

NEW MOTIVE POWER AND FURTHER MECHANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Each discovery of new sources of power subjected mechanized industries to further advance and change. The steam engine was followed by the electric motor and dynamo. Water and steam were used for huge turbines producing electric power. The steam and electric engines were supplanted and supplemented by internal-combustion engines using petroleum. The atomic engine has already been developed, and the solar engine is the object of experimentation. From the textile industry mechanization spread to mining and the manufacture of iron and steel. With the substitution of coal (coke) for charcoal in the smelting furnaces the juxtaposition of coal and iron mines, as in England and the Lorraine-Ruhr area, became a matter of the utmost strategic industrial importance. With the use of steel and steel alloys for the new machines and the development of machine-making engineering industries (machine tools), the circle was complete, machines making machines. For many types of heavy construction wood and stone were supplanted by iron and steel. New steel kings (Vickers, Krupp, Schneider, Carnegie) came to rule a new steel age.

In established industries such as textiles and mining the machine was used to supplant or supplement hand labor. It was applied to agriculture with drills and new plows, cultivators and tractors, threshing machines and combines. Every new development was applied immediately to military use.

THE SPREAD OF MECHANIZATION

New inventions constantly led to the establishment of new industries. The steam engine and its progeny of other-powered engines were almost immediately applied to the field of transportation: steam engines to carry people and goods over improved roads, over railroads, over sea and ocean roads; electric engines for all these and undersea roads as well; internal-combustion engines for automobiles and airplanes on bigger and better roads and airways, and atomic engines for them all. Not only were people and goods transported but sound and light waves. The human voice, the musical instrument, dramatic action and illustration, all communication in the form of messages, ideas, instruction, persuasion, and amusement were carried on new printing presses, phonographs, radios, television sets, telephones and telegraphs, over wires, through the air, or via almost anything. The labor-saving device was applied to housekeeping, and the house became again a domestic factory with washers for clothes and dishes, driers, refrigerators, deep-freezes, mixers, automatic furnaces, and no end of other devices, including father's razor, all making their respective noises and threatening to crowd and drive all human and

animal occupants out of the house. After taking over the work of hands and feet, the machines invaded the mind and conscience. Gigantic registration mechanisms enslaved universities, and machines graded exams, measured alcoholic intake, and detected lies. *Automation* becomes a by-word as well as a profession, and it is a question whether man has not also acquired a mechanical brain and heart and become an automaton.

INDUSTRIALISM

The transformations wrought by the Industrial Revolution created a system of society called industrialism. Industrial society is characterized by the factory, at first—and often still—an ugly barnlike structure with a smoking chimney and housing machines, power engines, and workers. Here under one roof, or in a giant complex of buildings, the various productive processes from raw material to finished goods are brought into technological order and, when possible, strung out on a conveyor belt. The worker answers the morning call of the whistle, punches a time clock as he enters and leaves the factory, and while tending his machine is subjected to the supervision and discipline of a shop hierarchy of bosses, foremen, and superintendents. The division of labor in the large factory is so specialized that the worker performs but a single operation, and at the end of the day is glad to escape with his fellows from the noise of machinery and the monotonous routine of work to what is often mechanized amusement. The factories are grouped in old towns long developed by the earlier urban and commercial revolution or in new factory towns. The best located towns expand more or less at random as factories increase in number and size and the population grows. Housing problems are usually solved in a cheap, unimaginative, and standardized fashion, and in America the railroad tracks often separated the residential sections of the owners of the factories from the industrial area and slums. The town was “nice” when it had no factories. As industrialism grew, workers were attracted from the countryside until in some instances the national percentage of industrial workers surpassed those in agriculture. The commercial and professional bourgeoisie was now enlarged by the factory owners, and the earlier urban proletariat by the new factory-machine tenders increasingly organized into trade unions. There was enormous increase in productivity as the machine was more universally harnessed to industry, and an increase of wealth such as man had never seen before. When the industrialist appeared to be taking more than his due and the millionaires made their appearance, a struggle arose between them and the organized workers over the distribution of the profits of industry. Industrialism thus brought notably higher standards of living. To the English worker it quickly brought regular hot meals of meat and potatoes. When industry developed mass production its products became available to worker and peasant. In the contemporary United States those standards have reached an unprecedented height.

INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

Industrialism, then, is the most recent phase in the development of western capitalism. The unexpended or convertible profits from earlier trade, commerce, and agriculture, together with the accumulated capital of the early eighteenth century, were now invested in the new machines and factories. This fund swelled as the extraordinary profits of the new mechanized industry were gathered in and reinvested in the business or in new businesses. Commercial capitalism thus helped to produce and continued to supplement industrial capitalism. To them was added financial capitalism, the profits made by banks in supplying credit, and by brokerage houses and security exchanges in financing new, and expanding old, businesses with the issue and sale of stocks and bonds. The new industrial capitalism was organized most typically in the corporation, a means of combining large and small investors into one unit and thus distributing the profits of industry to a widening body of stock- and bondholders. But the freedom which corporations demanded to direct their affairs as they pleased included also the freedom to combine in cartels and trusts with other similar or related corporations for the purpose of reducing costs of manufacture, controlling prices, and partitioning the market. The monopoly in possession of "freedom" was therefore in a position to deny freedom to others by wiping out small corporations or businesses unable to compete and by emptying the pockets of consumers by arbitrary increases of prices (the combination in restraint of trade). It is characteristic of industrialism that capitalist owners sit on the boards of more than one corporation and constitute a kind of upper controlling class. The officers of the great corporations are managers rather than owners and take their toll in the form of handsome salaries and bonuses. The promoter steers investments into the channels of new industry. Altogether the industrial capitalist, the corporation manager, and the promoter form a new aristocracy of wealth of enormous power, able, now under various limitations, through their control of investment, factory discipline, and the price structure, to influence directly and indirectly the lives of millions of industrial workers and, indeed, of all citizens.

INDUSTRIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

The international ramifications of industry and finance as well as trade influenced national foreign policies, controlled wars and peace, and determined the extension of industrialism to undeveloped and primitive peoples. Indeed, industrial capitalism did not confine itself within national boundaries. It became international as the Industrial Revolution annihilated time, space, and distance. Individual corporations expanded to international size like trusts and cartels. Surplus capital moved from one nation and one continent to another in search of investment as local opportunities were exhausted or offered a much poorer chance to make money. Foreign capital indeed helped to stimulate the early Industrial

Revolution in England. Railroads in foreign, and especially in undeveloped, lands were a very profitable source of investment. Moreover, they brought industrial products to inaccessible areas and made available in turn the raw materials of these countries. Since industrialism turned out to be the one method of coping with and maintaining and improving the standard of living for a growing population, nonindustrial lands sought to introduce it. Surplus capital for industrialization was available only in countries already industrialized, and the owners of such capital either invested directly in new industries or loaned money to princes and governments anxious to industrialize. Such a development took place in colonies already conquered or in non-colonial lands which thus became economically dependent. Economic dependence led to protectorates and annexation. Thus the spread of western industrialization often took the form of imperialism. The Industrial Revolution seemed to confirm the advances made by western peoples in other fields and gave western civilization a complexity and additional dynamic and expansive force.

INDUSTRIALISM AND CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

At the same time it raised certain fundamental questions as to the further direction this civilization would take in the political, economic, social, and cultural realms. Before this revolution was well established, western states were controlled by a landed aristocracy and a small group of similarly minded and very wealthy merchants. Early liberalism demanded that the new industrial capitalists be given their share in the formulation and execution of state policy, and this was done. As industrial capitalism grew and became more powerful it was uncertain whether or not political power was to be exercised chiefly on behalf of the new industrialist class. For these men, supported by the new school of classical economists, made the rather extraordinary demand that they be left alone by the state to make money and acquire economic power as they pleased. The management of the whole business world was to be left to their enlightened selfishness. From the scientific thought of the eighteenth century they had inherited the notion that the world of economic affairs, like the world of the physical sciences, functioned according to laws, the chief of which seemed to be that man is primarily a selfish, acquisitive, profit-seeking, money-mad animal, the satisfaction of whose greed is the best lubricant of the economic system. Indeed, industrial capitalism must feed on profits, and a part at least of these profits must be saved in order that they may be reinvested in the business or in new business, and profits increased, and partly reinvested, and so on and on. There was a "law" of supply and demand which determined prices. There was a "law" of wages which kept and reduced the human being to a labor commodity for sale in a labor market. There was a "law" of population growth which guaranteed that, when prosperous, man only increased his kind to the point where everyone again was miserable. It

was dangerous to interfere with this "natural" economic world, or at least dangerous for anyone except the owners of property. Enterprise to accumulate profits as one saw fit should be left free. Individual initiative should not be interfered with. This made for competition between enterprisers, and competition was healthy. The economic order operated for the benefit of this kind of human being. To support the race for fortunes was to enhance and vitalize the system. It was really only the economic view that mattered. Life could be reduced to a matter of dollars and cents.⁴

INDUSTRIALISM AND THE WESTERN TRADITION

It was not altogether clear, however, as industrialism established itself, that when given autonomy it was in intimate accord with those larger ideals of the West that were expressed in the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the French Revolution. The government of industry did not usually reflect the democratic development of the West. A justice of the Supreme Court of the United States (Brandeis) found it necessary to speak of "industrial absolutism."⁵ Decisions made and carried out in the name of enlightened self-interest, economic selfishness, or mere profits often seemed hard and inhuman. The "natural" functioning of the economic order, under these auspices, produced unhealthy industrial towns, dangerous working conditions in factories, and unpredictable unemployment and depressions, all calling for correction. For the old inequalities between a landed aristocracy and the peasants of feudal days there appeared the new inequalities between a monied aristocracy and the industrial proletariat. The relentless pursuit of wealth did not appear propitious for a rich and flourishing culture. Artists denounced the exclusive concern with money and the absence of taste of the new factory owners as philistinism. The enlightened selfishness and often brutal functioning of the industrial system seemed contrary to tenets of Christian love. A new religion seemed to be rising, a technocratic polytheism devoted to the twin gods of wealth and power, and its temples were private chapels for its mechanical saints: the steam, electric, oil, and atomic engines.

THE GREAT HOPE OF INDUSTRIALISM

The serious question must therefore be put as to whether industrialism tended to promote or thwart the main developments of the western tradition. How did it fit into the humanistic emphasis, classical, scientific, liberal (democratic), and Christian, and its ancient struggle with asceticism? It is obvious that the Industrial Revolution brought the great hope

⁴See Chap. ix, pp. 506-508, for the views of this classical school.

⁵"The main objection to the large corporation is that it makes possible—and in many cases makes inevitable—the exercise of industrial absolutism." Quoted in R. H. Tawney, *Equality*, p. 216.

of realizing the humanistic dream of an earthly society in which the human being had a fair chance of creating the good life in accordance with his capacities. The machines released man from some hard, brutalizing, and exhausting labor, and thus made possible the storing of some reserve strength and vigor to seek satisfaction for his higher nature. The machine saved time from the performance of the world's necessary work so that man had some leisure as well as physical reserve to give meaning and dignity to human existence. The Industrial Revolution raised man's productivity as never before and increased his wealth. It was a sure way to raise the standard of living of a vastly increased global population. It seemed to furnish the inevitable economic basis for the expansion of the human personality. The revolution seemed to confirm the promise of scientific humanists from Francis Bacon on; for example, that the methods and results of science could be applied to improve man's earthly estate. A medicine that had learned from science soon began its dramatic triumph over disease. Science itself solved new problems of importance to man and extended his understanding of nature. From this extension came new inventions and new industries to enlarge his dominion over nature. This gradual transformation of man's external existence gave tangible meaning to progress. Clocks, railroad engines, and automobiles got better and better as new models succeeded old models at regular intervals.

THE LIMITATIONS OF INDUSTRIALISM

Yet despite these impressive achievements, the scientific-industrial Utopia was slow in establishing itself, and in our day its limitations and perversions are helping to thwart the realization of the liberal-humanistic dream. A new, efficient, scientific-industrial discipline is reducing man to uniformity and threatening him with atomic hell for failure to conform. A new asceticism is preparing the mass man, the robot and automaton, without hope of the kingdom of God and the kingdom of man, for the awful prospect of global incineration. What are these limitations and perversions of scientific industrialism which are helping to overwhelm if not destroy the humanistic tradition of the West?

ECONOMIC LAW AND DETERMINISM

One of them is its determinism. Western man has had a difficult time defending his independence or autonomy, and thus his freedom of will and choice, against deterministic systems. In the ancient world there was the determinism of Fate. In the Christian world there has been the determinism of an omnipotent and omniscient God that in the hands of certain theologians (Augustine, Calvin) has become predestination to heaven and hell. In the modern world we have had to do with the determinism of science, the reduction of the world of nature to inexorable law. The eighteenth century applied this ideal of science from physical to human nature. There were social as well as physical sciences, and

among these was an economic science, consisting of a knowledge of the economic laws governing the world of trade, commerce, and industry. In taking over this notion capitalistic commerce and industry appropriated scientific determinism. It depersonalized the economic relations of man. They were as they were because of the law, and it was useless and dangerous to try to manipulate them. Such a notion justified the seemingly inhuman operations of this law, and it contributed to a conservative, if not reactionary, conception of society. When Christian society was supposed to be governed by the laws of God, man was taught to be content with the position in which God had placed him. In the Middle Ages this was a divine sanction for serfdom. If modern economic society is the product of the laws of nature, then man had best be content with the position in which nature has placed him. In some eighteenth-century Scottish coal mines this was again a status resembling serfdom. Of course man has resisted and shown disrespect for all such attempts of his betters to put him in his proper place. This disrespect and resistance has contributed to the humanistic-liberal tradition.

MACHINERY AND DETERMINISM

The determinism of industrialism is more serious because with it economic laws work through machinery. It is therefore mechanization. Human subjection to economic law is subjection to an impersonal abstraction to be sure, but such laws have proved relative and subject to manipulation. Human subjection to a machine is different. The machine has to be worked many hours day and night. When the article reaches the worker's station in the assembly line he has to do his part. Doing this over and over again, year in and year out, does something to the personality. Such mechanization is an old, old problem. Albert Schweitzer tells the story⁶ of the old Chinese gardener who resisted the efforts of a pupil of Confucius to get him to mechanize his method of draining water from the spring. "You take a long piece of wood for a lever," said the pupil, "weighted behind, but light in front; with this you dip for the water and it comes up without the least trouble. They call this device a draw-well." But the gardener replied, "If a man uses machines, he carries on all the affairs of life like a machine; whoever carries on his affairs like a machine gets a machine-like heart; and when anyone has a machine-like heart in his breast, he loses true simplicity." The Chinese gardener would say that the trouble with his fellow Chinese of today, and indeed with all the rest of mankind, is that so many have acquired machine-like hearts and have lost true simplicity. Yet the problem of the draw-well is much simpler than that of the drill press or the atomic reactor or a mechanical mass production. "The tendency in mass production is to transfer initiative and significance from the worker who once

⁶*Civilization and Ethics* (3d ed.), p. 268.

operated the machine to the machine that operates the worker." If men were not virtually displaced or operated by the machine, then "in the ideal world that the scientist was creating" they "were tolerated only to the extent that they took on the attributes of machines, free from passion and emotion, indifferent to values, unconcerned with any ends except those derived from the immediate job or process." Thus the nature of man which humanism makes subject to rational, moral, and aesthetic appeals is made amenable chiefly to mechanical stimuli. "So instead of furthering the present processes of automation, instead of submitting to a love-denying and life-strangling routine, our hope lies in restoring to the very center of the mechanical world the human personality, now lost and bewildered . . . in the jungle of mechanisms it has created." "If we passively submit to the automatic processes that are already in motion, then the end of Western Civilization is already in sight."⁷

TAWNEY ON HUMANISM AND INDUSTRIALISM

In pursuit of this theme, an English historian of the relationship of early capitalism to Protestantism remarks that "Humanism is the antithesis . . . of materialism. Its essence is simple. It is the attitude which judges the externals of life by their effect in assisting or hindering the life of the spirit. It is the belief that the machinery of existence—property and material wealth and industrial organization, and the whole fabric and mechanism of social institutions—is to be regarded as means to an end, and that this end is the growth towards perfection of individual human beings."

"The humanist spirit, like the religious spirit, is not, indeed, indifferent to these things which, on their own plane, are obviously important, but it resists their encroachment upon spheres which do not belong to them. It insists that they are not the objects of life, but its instruments, which are to be maintained when they are serviceable, and changed when they are not. Its aim is to liberate and cultivate the powers which make for energy and refinement; and it is critical, therefore, of all forms of organization which sacrifice spontaneity to mechanism, or which seek, whether in the name of economic efficiency or social equality, to reduce the variety of individual character and genius for a drab and monotonous uniformity. But it desires to cultivate these powers in all men, not only in a few."⁸

THE STATE AND ANTIHUMANISTIC INDUSTRIALISM

Industrialism is antihumanistic then to the extent that it subjects the human being to a mechanistic routine and a deterministic outlook. It is antihumanistic also to the extent that it promotes unworthy and irresponsible social attitudes, that is, attitudes which promote the economic

⁷Lewis Mumford, *In the Name of Sanity*, pp. 53, 118, 114, 62.

⁸Tawney, pp. 83-84.

advantage of one individual at the expense, or by exploitation, of another. Capitalistic industrialism has been and is inclined to exalt the value of accumulating the almighty dollar, pound, or franc without too much concern with the way in which this accumulation was or is made or used. It catered and still caters to the greed of the unscrupulous and immoral who recognize no limits to the exploitation of human weakness. We have tolerated and been inclined to venerate the rugged individualist who elbows others out of the way and likes to push people around. "Enlightened self-interest does not . . . evoke those individual energies which are most socially productive so well as those which are competitively successful, while it tends, by drawing the whole of business into the hands of hard, pushful men, to keep out quieter and more essentially creative minds."⁹ As the state became more democratic in the nineteenth century it was obliged to step in and strive to correct the more blatant of the industrial anomalies and the social irresponsibility of industrial capitalism in order that its great humanistic promise might be kept vital.

INDUSTRIALISM AND EDUCATION

One of the problems it has so far failed to solve is the education of its citizens. It has not dared to spend enough money to supply sufficient or adequate schools to ensure that the heritage of the past be handed down uncheaped and undiluted to the vastly increased numbers of children the Industrial Revolution has made possible. Thus the rational heritage of the past is in danger of being lost for want of rational discipline, and the literary and artistic heritage for want of reading ability and inclination and aesthetic evaluation. The inhabitants of modern industrial societies are being subjected to the policies and practices of a press, radio, television, film, and amusement industry that only occasionally takes its mind off profit and surplus, and is quite willing to corrupt and seduce rather than try to raise and enlighten public taste and interest. In our own day science and industry have shown, together with other victims of national psychoses (including professors), that some of their practitioners are willing to serve any master who lets them pursue their own methods and profits. They will experiment on the human victims of totalitarian concentration camps or set up shops to use their labor. Outside the concentration camp they will not hesitate to work on problems set up by the dictators and to produce the supplies needed by their war machines. Nor have they been able to exercise much restraint on the nature of scientific experiment and industry. The result was that atomic energy was first released to kill hundreds of thousands of the enemy. Chemical and bacteriological research are awaiting similar military application. Thus what was and still is a great hope for the realization of the liberal-humanistic dream leads, at times, together with other features of our

⁹J. A. Hobson, *The Industrial System*, p. 317.

society to great despair that it may be directing the western world along the way of dead or declining civilizations.

Socialism

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

The early results of the Industrial Revolution in England, France, and Germany awakened protests and led to legislation aiming to control the socially irresponsible conduct of some of the new factory owners.¹⁰ The slowness with which such legislation was introduced and carried out, however, made it possible for more radical solutions to appear than conservatives and liberals in the parliaments were willing to consider. The existence of these radical proposals, especially when their advocates were members of legislative bodies, speeded up the enactment of social legislation. The fair prospect thus emerged of modifying gradually and without violence the evils of early industrialism.

SOCIALISM

The more radical proposals to correct the abuses tolerated by the early industrial fortune hunters are usually called socialist. If we accept the classification first made by Karl Marx (1818-1883), socialists were of two kinds—the Utopian and the scientific. Utopian socialism, predominantly French, has been already related to the Romantic movement.¹¹ It may be said to have lasted until 1848. In January of that year, a year of widespread revolution, Karl Marx with the collaboration of Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) published in London, for the Communist League (composed chiefly of exiled German workers), the *Communist Manifesto*. This vigorous document contains an outline of the views of Marx and Engels, held to be “scientific,” and with which they aimed to supplant the Utopian and other socialist outlooks. In his earlier book, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, Engels had justified the adoption of a radical viewpoint toward industrialism.¹² Marx in 1867 published a large substantiation and elaboration of the views taken in the *Manifesto* in the first volume of *Das Kapital*.¹³ Engels published two more volumes of *Das Kapital*, after Marx’s death, from his notes to complete what has become the bible of scientific (Marxian) socialism. These views became the program of the first powerful socialist party—the German Social Democrats—and thus, since Marx, too, always thought of himself as a German thinker, they may be regarded as a German,

¹⁰In England outraged humanitarian sentiments first took such forms as Societies “for Bettering the Condition of the Poor”; “for Improving the Condition of the Infant Chimney-Sweepers”; and “for the Relief of Persons Imprisoned for small sums.”

¹¹See p. 402.

¹²London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1926.

¹³Chicago, C. H. Kerr and Co., 1906.

supplanting a French, phase of socialism. The German Social Democratic party became a model for other European socialist parties, and Marxism, as interpreted chiefly by Lenin (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, 1870-1924), became the program of the Russian Bolshevik party, and so the official doctrine of the Soviet Union, and the source of world communism.

ENGELS AND MARX AND THE CONDITIONS OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY WORKER

Engels and Marx put great emphasis upon the actual conditions of the English factory workers to justify their demands for a violent reform of industrial capitalism. Since Engels's work took 1844 as its point of departure, Marx in Volume I of *Das Kapital* was inclined to emphasize conditions from 1844 to 1867. The latter year in England saw the extension of the suffrage to the urban workers.¹⁴ The years from 1832 to 1867 marked the beginning of a long series of factory acts aiming to correct the worst of early conditions, and 1847 saw the introduction of the ten-hour working day. The material which Engels and Marx used for their books came often from the reports of parliamentary commissions of investigation. But in their outrage over man's inhumanity to man and their zeal to make their doctrine and prediction foolproof, Engels, and especially Marx, were inclined to ignore the concern with, correction of, and improvement in English conditions. But what they reported in their books horrified and still horrifies all sensitive readers.¹⁵

ENGELS'S BOOK, "THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASS IN ENGLAND IN 1844"

Engels was twenty-four when he published his book on the English working class. The son of a wealthy manufacturer of Barmen, Germany, he had come to England in 1842 for a job in a Manchester spinning factory partly owned by his father. His book was therefore the result of study, association with leaders of the English labor movement (Utopian Socialist and Chartist), and firsthand acquaintance with conditions in a typical new factory town. At the end of his first chapter he speaks of "the deep wrath of the whole working-class, from Glasgow to London, against the rich, by whom they are systematically plundered and mercilessly left to their fate, a wrath which before too long a time goes by, a time almost within the power of man to predict, must break out into a Revolution in comparison with which the French Revolution, and the year 1794, will prove to have been child's play."¹⁶

¹⁴See p. 512.

¹⁵The actual extent of these evils and their apportionment among various groups of workers is now a matter of dispute among economic historians, who still admit, however, that "there is every evidence that great misery existed." See *Capitalism and the Historians*, ed. C. A. Hayek.

¹⁶Engels, *Working Class*, p. 18.

Since Engels may be presumed to have known Manchester well, we may quote from his description of one of its worst spots, "the south bank of the Irk." "On this declivitous hillside there are planted three rows of houses. . . . Among them are mills on the river. . . . Right and left a multitude of covered passages lead from the main street into numerous courts, and he who turns in thither gets into a filth and disgusting grime, the equal of which is not to be found—especially in the courts which lead down to the Irk, and which contain unqualifiedly the most horrible dwellings which I have yet beheld. In one of these courts there stands directly at the entrance, at the end of the covered passage, a privy without a door, so dirty that the inhabitants can pass into and out of the court only by passing through foul pools of stagnant urine and excrement. This is the first court on the Irk above Ducie Bridge—in case any one should care to look into it. Below it on the river there are several tanneries which fill the whole neighborhood with the stench of animal putrefaction. . . . The view from this bridge (Ducie) . . . is characteristic for the whole district. At the bottom flows, or rather stagnates, the Irk, a narrow, coal-black, foul-smelling stream, full of *débris* and refuse, which it deposits on the shallower right bank. . . . Below the bridge you look upon the piles of *débris*, the refuse, filth, and offal from the courts on the steep left bank; here each house is packed close behind its neighbour and a piece of each is visible, all black, smoky, crumbling, ancient, with broken panes and window frames. The background is furnished by old barrack-like factory buildings. On the lower right bank stands a long row of houses and mills; the second house being a ruin without a roof, piled with *débris*; the third stands so low that the lowest floor is uninhabitable, and therefore without windows or doors. There the background embraces the pauper burial-ground, the station of the Liverpool and Leeds railway, and, in the rear of this, the Workhouse, the 'Poor-Law Bastille' of Manchester, which, like a citadel, looks threateningly down from behind its high walls and parapets on the hill-top, upon the working-people's quarter below. . . .

"Above Ducie Bridge, the left bank grows more flat and the right bank steeper, but the condition of the dwellings on both banks grows worse rather than better. . . . Everywhere half or wholly ruined buildings, some of them actually uninhabited, which means a great deal here; rarely a wooden or stone floor to be seen in the houses, almost uniformly broken, ill-fitting windows and doors, and a state of filth! Everywhere heaps of *débris*, refuse and offal; standing pools for gutters, and a stench which alone would make it impossible for a human being in any degree civilised to live in such a district." Near a railroad bridge Engels discovered a "chaos of small one-storied, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor; kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in

one. In such a hole, scarcely five feet long by six broad, I found two beds . . . which, with a staircase and chimney-place, exactly filled the room. In several others I found absolutely nothing, while the door stood open, and the inhabitants leaned against it. . . . This whole collection of cattle-sheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory. . . .

"Enough! The whole side of the Irk is built in this way, a planless, knotted chaos of houses, more or less on the verge of uninhabitableness, whose unclean interiors fully correspond with their filthy external surroundings. And how could the people be clean with no proper opportunity for satisfying the most natural and ordinary wants? Privies are so rare here that they are filled up every day, or are too remote for most of the inhabitants to use."

THE PIGS IN MANCHESTER

In a newer quarter of the city (from St. Michael's Church to Shude Hill) conditions were somewhat better, but "another feature most injurious to the cleanliness of the inhabitants is the multitude of pigs walking about in all the alleys, rooting into the offal heaps or kept imprisoned in small pens. Here, as in most of the working-men's quarters of Manchester, the pork-raisers rent the courts and build pig-pens in them. In almost every court one or even several such pens may be found, into which the inhabitants of the court throw all refuse and offal, whence the swine grow fat; and the atmosphere, confined on all four sides, is utterly corrupted by putrefying animal and vegetable substances."¹⁷

In discussing the work of children in factories, Engels cites the evidence of doctors before official investigating commissions as to "the peculiar bending of the lower ends of the thigh bones" among mill children. One doctor reported that "the number of cases of curvature of the spine which have fallen under my observation, and which were evidently consequent upon too protracted standing, was not less than three hundred." After reading official reports on the employment of children in mines Engels writes, "children of four, five, and seven years are employed. They are set to transporting the ore or coal loosened by the miner from its place to the horse-path or the main shaft, and to opening and shutting the doors . . . for the passage of workers and material. For watching the doors the smallest children are usually employed, who thus pass twelve hours daily, in the dark, alone, sitting usually in damp passages without even having work enough to save them from the stupefying, brutalising tedium of doing nothing. The transport of coal and iron-stone, on the other hand, is very hard labour, the stuff being shoved in large tubs, without wheels, over the uneven floor of

¹⁷Engels, pp. 48-53.

the mine; often over moist clay or through water, and frequently up steep inclines and through paths so low-roofed that the workers are forced to creep on hands and knees. For this more wearing labour, therefore, older children and half-grown girls are employed. . . . The children and young people who are employed in transporting coal and iron-stone all complain of being over-tired. Even in the most recklessly conducted industrial establishments there is no such universal and exaggerated overwork. . . . It is constantly happening that children throw themselves down on the stone hearth or the floor as soon as they reach home, fall asleep at once without being able to take a bite of food, and have to be washed and put to bed while asleep; it even happens that they lie down on the way home, and are found by their parents late at night on the road. It seems to be a universal practice among these children to spend Sunday in bed to recover in some degree from the over-exertion of the week."¹⁸

MARX'S "DAS KAPITAL"

Marx's condemnation of early industrial capitalism in the first volume of *Das Kapital* uses material from official reports after 1844 and reports on industries not yet subject to legislative control. He makes an indignant and effective indictment. At one point he quotes from a report in the *London Daily Telegraph* (17 January, 1860) of a meeting held at Nottingham on 14 January. There a Mr. Broughton Charlton, county magistrate, said "that there was an amount of privation and suffering among that portion of the population connected with the lace trade, unknown in other parts of the kingdom, indeed, in the civilized world. . . . Children of nine or ten years are dragged from their squalid beds at two, three, or four o'clock in the morning and compelled to work for a bare subsistence until ten, eleven, or twelve at night, their limbs wearing away, their frames dwindling, their faces whitening, and their humanity absolutely sinking into a stone-like torpor, utterly horrible to contemplate. . . . The system, as the Rev. Montagu Valpy describes it, is one of unmitigated slavery, socially, physically, morally, and spiritually. . . . What can be thought of a town which holds a public meeting to petition that the period of labour for men should be diminished to eighteen hours a day? . . . We declaim against the Virginia and Carolina cotton-planters. Is their black-market, their lash, and their barter of human flesh more detestable than this slow sacrifice of humanity which takes place in order that veils and collars may be fabricated for the benefit of capitalists?"¹⁹

From reports of parliamentary investigations of the potteries of Staffordshire of 1860 and 1863 Marx cites the evidence of a child, nine years old, who was seven years and ten months when he began to work. He

¹⁸Engels, pp. 152-153, 244-245.

¹⁹Marx, *Capital*, pp. 268-269.

came to work every day in the week at 6 A.M., and left off about 9 P.M. "I work till 9 o'clock at night six days in the week. I have done so seven or eight weeks." A boy of twelve reported, "I come at 6. Sometimes I come at 4. I worked all last night till 6 o'clock this morning. I have not been in bed since the night before last. There were eight or nine other boys working last night." From the evidence of a doctor of the North Staffordshire Infirmary reporting to the Commission in 1863 he quotes: "The potters as a class, both men and women, represent a degenerated population, both physically and morally. They are, as a rule, stunted in growth, ill-shaped, and frequently ill-formed in the chest; they become prematurely old, and are certainly short-lived . . . they are especially prone to chest-disease, to pneumonia, phthisis, bronchitis, and asthma." Another doctor of the same infirmary says that his "indignation has been aroused again and again at the sight of poor children whose health has been sacrificed to gratify the avarice of either parents or employers." In the match industry "half the workers are children under thirteen and young persons under eighteen. . . . The manufacture is, on account of its unhealthiness and unpleasantness in such bad odour, that only the most miserable part of the labouring class, half-starved widows and so forth, deliver up their children to it, 'the ragged, half-starved, untaught children.'" Citing a "Report relating to the grievances complained of by the journeymen bakers, etc., London 1862 [and 1863]," Marx remarks that "the evidence given roused not the heart of the public but its stomach. Englishmen, always well up in the Bible, knew well enough that man, unless by elective grace a capitalist, or landlord or sinecurist, is commanded to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, but they did not know that he had to eat daily in his bread a certain quantity of human perspiration mixed with the discharge of abscesses, cobwebs, dead black-beetles and putrid German yeast, without counting alum, sand, and other agreeable mineral ingredients. Without any regard to his holiness, Free-trade, the free baking-trade was therefore placed under the supervision of the State inspectors."²⁰

The employees of a Scotch railroad accused of responsibility for a serious railroad accident say to a coroner's jury that their workday has "during the last five or six years . . . been screwed up to 14, 18, and 20 hours, and under a specially severe pressure of holiday-makers, at times of excursion trains, it often lasted for 40 or 50 hours without a break. They were ordinary men, not Cyclops. At a certain point their labour-power failed. Torpor seized them. Their brain ceased to think, their eyes to see. The thoroughly 'respectable' British jurymen answered by a verdict that sent them to the next assizes on a charge of manslaughter, and, in a gentle 'rider' to their verdict, expressed the pious hope that the capitalistic magnates of the railways would, in future, be more extrava-

²⁰Marx, *Capital*, pp. 269-271, 274-275.

gant in the purchase of a sufficient quantity of labour-power, and more 'abstemious,' more 'self-denying,' more 'thrifty,' in the draining of paid labour power." With the American slave market in mind, Marx refers to "the notorious district of Bethnal Green," where "a public market is held every Monday and Tuesday morning, where children of both sexes from 9 years of age and upwards, hire themselves out to the silk manufacturers. The usual terms are 1s. 8d. a week (this belongs to the parents) and '2d. for myself and tea.' The contract is binding only for the week."²¹

Citing again government reports, Marx refers to conditions in the tile- and brickmaking industry, where "the recently invented machinery is, in England, used only here and there," and in the domestic lace-making industry. In the former from "May until September the work lasts from 5 in the morning till 8 in the evening, and where the drying is done in the open air, it often lasts from 4 in the morning till 9 in the evening. . . . Both boys and girls of 6 and even of 4 years of age are employed. . . . In a certain tile field at Mosley, *e.g.*, a young woman, 24 years of age, was in the habit of making 2,000 tiles a day, with the assistance of 2 little girls, who carried the clay for her and stacked the tiles. The girls carried daily 10 tons up the slippery sides of the clay pits, from a depth of 30 feet and then for a distance of 210 feet." "The worst is that the brick-makers despair of themselves. You might as well, said one of the latter kind to a chaplain of Southallfield, try to raise and improve the devil as a brickie, sir!" The finishing of lace was often done in private homes and resulted in conditions such as these: "It is not at all uncommon in Nottingham to find 14 to 20 children huddled together in a small room, of, perhaps, not more than 12 feet square, and employed for 15 hours out of the 24, at work that of itself is exhausting, from its weariness and monotony, and is besides carried on under every possible unwholesome condition. . . . Even the very youngest children work with a strained attention and a rapidity that is astonishing, hardly ever giving their fingers rest or slowing their motion. If a question be asked them, they never raise their eyes from their work for fear of losing a single moment. The 'long stick' is used by the mistresses as a stimulant more and more as the working hours are prolonged. 'The children gradually tire and become as restless as birds towards the end of their long detention at an occupation that is monotonous, eye-straining, and exhausting from the uniformity in the posture of the body. Their work is like slavery.' "²²

THE ATTACK OF SOCIALISM UPON CAPITALISM

It is not surprising that the existence of such conditions as a part of the system of early industrial capitalism should have brought forth socialist protests, and these protests were intensified by the fact that the bourgeois liberalism of the early nineteenth century, in adhering to the doctrines of

²¹Marx, p. 433.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 511.

the classical economists, was inclined to say that such conditions were inevitable, only the result of economic "laws," and that there was nothing to be done about them. The general approach of the socialist toward the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century was to deprecate first of all its praise of constitutional government, political democracy, and intellectual and religious freedom, in view of the social and economic status that in the name of economic freedom it imposed upon the vast majority of the citizens of industrial states. Socialism was hostile, cynical, and indifferent to the kind of liberal-democratic "freedom" that tolerated long hours of factory discipline, what it called wage slavery, insecurity of employment with imminent threat of hunger, and unhealthy living conditions. To the extent that Christianity blinked at these conditions, and in keeping its eyes upon the other world made its peace with the masters and exploiters of this one, it was hostile to it and called for a new religion. It attacked also the fundamentals upon which the whole capitalistic system was based. In wishing to substitute a socialism for a capitalism it proposed to substitute for what capitalism called "individualism" what it called "collectivism," and for what capitalism praised as competition a new co-operation and association. It had little respect for the institution of private property as such, looking upon the utilization of property from the point of view of the whole community. It was therefore inclined to reward the members of the community not as leisure-class enjoyers of the profits of capital employment but as actual workers or contributors to the welfare of the whole community.

SAINT-SIMON

The most important of the Utopian socialists were the Frenchmen, Count Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and François Fourier (1772-1837), and the Englishman Robert Owen (1771-1858). Louis Blanc, an active participant in the Revolution of 1848,²³ was another important critic of early French capitalistic society. Saint-Simon had little use for the conventional bourgeois politician. He was impressed by the development of science and its application to industry, and he wished to utilize all their benefits for what he called "the most numerous and the poorest class." In order to do this he felt the real management of society should be in the hands of the producers or industrialists, and in these he included the actual owners of industry as well as workers (there is no class conflict in Saint-Simon), supported by bankers, scientists, scholars, and artists as advisers. Such a control required centralized planning and instructions to the politicians. The system has been called an early "technocracy."²⁴ Saint-Simon was not interested in any sacredness of any right of private property, but thought in terms of its being handed over to those who were best able to use it for the benefit of the whole community. His disciples,

²³See pp. 400-401.

²⁴G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, Vol. I, Chap. iv on Saint-Simon.

the Saint-Simonians,²⁵ spoke in terms of collective ownership by the state, with grants of use to the proficient and enlightened. With his book on the "New Christianity" he founded an actual, short-lived, Saint-Simonian church. It was a plea for the extension of Christian brotherhood to a concern with this world. "Religion must aid society in its chief purpose, which is the most rapid improvement of the lot of the poor." Knowing that his scientific and socially minded industrial society could not be had without peace, he wanted a world federation of states and a world parliament erected over the growing system of national states.

BLANC AND FOURIER

Unlike most of the Utopians, Louis Blanc thought in terms of politics and invited the worker to capture the state and organize it in his own interest. This would include the collective ownership by the state of private property. The state would then turn over the use of this property to associations of workers (National Workshops) who would share in the profits. These men were inspired by the traditions of the Enlightenment and in some cases by the example of Babeuf.²⁶ Fourier and Owen made a similar approach to the solution of the social problem. Since the evils of industrial capitalism were the result of the importance given to the national and international organization of the market, that is, since all human considerations were to be subordinated to the facts of the market, they thought to escape from these conditions by organizing small, self-sufficient and self-governing communities of some 1500 or 2000 members in which the individual might live a comfortable life in accordance with his various interests and capacities. In such communities there would be a communal ownership of the property needed by all and a common contribution of services to the maintenance of the activities necessary to the community's life. The multiplication of such co-operative communities of well-rounded individuals would set up new ideals for the transformation of the competitive spirit of capitalist industrialism. Fourier called his community a phalanx, and he waited in vain during his life for the man to join him at lunch who would supply the capital needed to inaugurate a phalanx.

OWEN

Communities based upon the ideas of Fourier and Owen and aiming to found a new harmony were actually established in the New World. Before he set up his community in New Harmony, Indiana, Robert Owen had made an earlier attempt to soften the harsh developments of early industrialism by showing in his management of cotton mills at New Lanark, Scotland, that it was possible to make money and be concerned with the welfare of his employees. He had first made money as a manu-

²⁵See p. 402.

²⁶See pp. 373-374.

facturer of textile machinery in Manchester. At New Lanark he tried to carry out ideas about the formation of character that returned to notions of the Enlightenment about the controlling influence of environment. "The character of a man," he said, "is, without a single exception, always formed for him; . . . it . . . is chiefly created by his predecessors; . . . they give him, or may give him, his ideas and habits, which are the powers that govern and direct his conduct."²⁷ At New Lanark he set up an ideal industrial community with proper housing and schools that became the model of its day. Because Christianity blamed the individual rather than the environment for his conduct Owen attacked it. It subjected the individual to the control of the priest. Like other Utopians and romantics, he blamed it for repression of the flesh and for the hypocrisy of talking in terms of high and impossible ideals and tolerating a low standard of conduct in Christians. He wanted a new religion, too, but worldly, untheological, and devoted to the interests of all humanity.

His experience with New Lanark led Owen to write about the model community which, if spread, would transform the heartless competition of industry. While "perfect equality," he thought, was "incompatible with the condition of human life," in his community there would "be the nearest approach to it in practice that the difference of age and original organization will admit." After the failure of the New Harmony experiment Owen returned to England to participate in the rather extraordinary development of the trade unions in the early Thirties. He wanted to use the trade union, organized on a national scale, to destroy capitalism and introduce a system of co-operative production. Actually his disciples founded the Rochdale Pioneer's Co-operative Society in 1844, and thus the consumers' co-operative movement started on its important European career of moderating the influence of capitalism.

KARL MARX

Utopian socialism was supplanted by the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels. For most of his life Marx lived the pathetic, embittered, and frustrated life of an exile. The Marxes, like many German-Jewish families, had felt it necessary, because of the inferior status of Jews, to abandon Judaism for Christianity. Karl was a doctor in jurisprudence, specializing in philosophy and history, and hoped for an academic position. But in this, like Heine, he was disappointed. He then turned to radical journalism, and in 1844 found himself, along with Heine, a member of the group of German exiles in Paris, where he was devoting himself to the study of economics. He was asked to leave France in 1845 and went to Brussels. After attempts to organize revolution in Germany in 1848-1849 had failed he went to London, where he spent the rest of his life studying and writing in the British Museum. Engels made the life of

²⁷Quoted in Crane Brinton, *English Political Thought in the 19th Century*, p. 45.

a scholar possible for him. When he finished his preliminary work on *Das Kapital* he wrote to Engels, "Well, this volume is finished. It is you and you alone who made it possible. Without your self-sacrifice I could not possibly have done all that tremendous work on these three volumes. I embrace you with a heart full of gratitude."²⁸ Engels not only endowed Marx; he collaborated with him closely in thought and work. This is so much so that it is necessary to consult Engels as well as Marx to arrive at an adequate statement of what scientific socialism was and is. The system is often referred to as that of Marx and Engels. Together they focused into one scheme of thought what became a dogmatic creed for a large portion of the European working class and so remains today. They were not, however, mere theorists. They participated in the organization of socialist parties on a national and international scale.

MARX AND HEGEL AND FEUERBACH

Marx considered his system scientific, when compared with the schemes of the Utopians, because it avoided the moral and religious aspirations of a man like Saint-Simon. Building upon the solid foundation of philosophy, he developed a theory which he felt was fully confirmed by the facts, so fully, indeed, that he came to be very impatient with those who disagreed with him. As a student Marx had come under the influence of Hegel,²⁹ who had developed the scheme of the dialectic to the point where the conflict of ideas produced by Spirit or Idea in the course of the centuries had culminated in the modern (German) state. "The state is the march of God through the world. . . . We must therefore worship the state as the manifestation of the divine on earth." Marx accepted the notion of the working of a dialectical conflict between thesis and antithesis, producing a synthesis that is then responsible for a recommencement of the process. But he spoke of "the mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands. . . . With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again." By this Marx meant that the dialectic must be materialistic and not idealistic. His system is called *dialectical materialism*. That Marx switched the dialectic from a conflict of ideas to a conflict of economic or material forces was due in part to the influence of another German philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), who turned in disgust from the study of theology to nature, and "with nature, man in his entire quality." In so doing Feuerbach reintroduced the sensational and materialistic psychology of the Enlightenment. The real is not the idea but the object of the senses. "The object, in its true meaning, is given only by the senses . . . nothing is unquestionably and immediately certain except the object of the senses, of perception and sensation." Marx was an eighteenth-century environmentalist, that is, he thought that the environment was all-determinative, but his adoption of

²⁸Leopold Schwarzschild, *The Red Prussian*, p. 316.

²⁹See pp. 418-420.

Feuerbach's view and his concern with economics led him to believe that it was the conflict in the external, real world of economic facts that best explained the course of history. "The material, sensible, actual world to which we ourselves belong, is the only reality. . . . Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is only the highest product of matter." Engels says, "We conceived of ideas as materialistic, as pictures of real things."³⁰

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY, OR ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

In the dialectical conflict between economic realities Marx saw an economic interpretation of history, or economic determinism. This is the view, he says, "which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society, in the changes in the modes of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes, and in the struggles of these classes against one another."³¹ In the preface to a book published in 1859 (*The Critique of Political Economy*) Marx tries to explain, in language that can hardly be called scientific, more precisely what he means by economic determinism. "In the social production which men carry on," he writes, "men enter into definite relations which are indispensable and independent of their will: these relations of production correspond to a definite stage in the development of their powers of production."³²

The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation—on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms in social consciousness.

"The mode of production or material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life.

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material powers of production come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before.

"From forms for the development of the powers of production these relations turn into fetters upon them. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change in the economic foundation the whole vast superstructure is fairly rapidly transformed.

"In broad outline, we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society.

"The bourgeois relations of production are the final antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic, in the sense not of in-

³⁰Cf. T. B. H. Brameld, *A Philosophic Approach to Communism*, p. 57.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

³²Quoted in G. D. H. Cole, I, 268-269.

dividual antagonism but of antagonism arising out of conditions environing the life of individuals in society. At the same time, the productive powers which develop in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism.

"This social formation therefore constitutes the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society."

Marx is here saying that the economic structure of society is the real foundation, and that all else (social, political, spiritual) is determined by it. More specifically, it is the mode of production that determines the other characteristics of society, and the mode of production fosters social revolution when its potentialities are thwarted by property relations. Western history has witnessed a series of such revolutions. It is about to witness another, for the present potentialities of machine production are thwarted by the institutions of private property and the capitalistic monopoly of ownership of the instruments of production, exchange, and distribution. When this contemporary antagonism has been solved we shall have emerged from the prehistoric stage of human society.

THE "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

This is made clearer in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848. "Does it require deep insight," the Manifesto asks, "to understand that with changes in man's material conditions of life, social relations and social system, his ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, his consciousness, also changes?" The history of ideas proves "that the intellectual production changes with material production. The ruling ideas of any particular age have ever been only the ideas of its ruling class." "When the ancient world was in its decline, the ancient religions were overcome by the Christian religion. When, in the eighteenth century, Christian ideas gave place to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The idea of religious liberty and liberty of conscience, merely expressed the rule of free competition within the domain of knowledge."³³

To the statement that there are "eternal truths such as freedom, justice, etc., which are common to all social systems," the manifesto answers, "Communism abolishes these eternal truths, it abolishes religion and morality instead of constituting them on a new basis." Since the "Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations, no wonder that in the course of its development it breaks most radically with traditional ideas."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The state, like religion, morality, and all spiritual and intellectual activities, is but a reflection of the basic economic structure, a part of the

³³This and the following passages are from the translation of the Manifesto in R. W. Postgate, *Revolutions from 1789 to 1906*.

superstructure. The Manifesto calls the modern state but an "executive committee for administering the affairs of the whole bourgeois class," and the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of "revolutions in the methods of production and exchange." In fact, "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Modern commercial and industrial capitalism has produced social revolution within its womb and the proletariat to carry out the revolution. The time has come when "the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation of the rule of the proletariat." The bourgeoisie is unfit to rule "because it is unable to assure the existence in slavery to its slave, because it is forced to let him sink into a state in which it must feed him, instead of being fed by him." "It produces . . . its own grave-diggers. Its downfall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

THE ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

When the Communists have conquered political power they will destroy bourgeois property. "The Communists can condense their theory into one sentence: abolition of private property." "You are horrified," the Manifesto goes on, "because we would abolish private property. But in your existing society, private property is already abolished for 9/10s of the population; the essential for its existence is that it shall not exist for these 9/10s. . . . In one word you reproach us because we would abolish your property. Precisely so; that is our intention." "By individual you merely mean bourgeois, the bourgeois owner of property. But this individual must certainly be abolished."

THE PROGRAM OF THE PROLETARIAT

When the proletariat has become "the ruling class" it will "use its political power—(1) to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organized as a ruling class, and to increase as rapidly as possible the total mass of productive forces." This will involve (2) "for the most advanced countries" (a) the abolition of property in land and confiscation of ground rents to the state; (b) "a heavily progressive income tax"; (c) "abolition of inheritance"; (d) "confiscation of the property of emigrants and rebels"; (e) "centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly"; (f) "centralization of the means of transport in the hands of the state"; (g) "extension of national factories and instruments of production, cultivation, and improvement of waste lands in accordance with a general social plan"; (h) "obligation of all to labour, organization of industrial armies, especially for agriculture"; and (i) "free public education for all children."

THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY

With Marx and Engels the heaven on earth is no mere Utopia. As the proletariat "destroys by force the old conditions of production, it destroys along with these conditions of production the conditions of existence of class antagonism, classes in general, and therewith, its own domination as a class." "In the place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class antagonisms, an association appears in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." This is the classless society. Under these ideal circumstances there is no necessity for the state. It withers away as the dialectic stops working. The victory of proletarian revolutions everywhere will mean the establishment of universal peace, for "in the same measure as the exploitation of one individual by another is ended, the exploitation of one nation by another will be ended also." "With the disappearance of classes within the nation, the state of enmity between the nations will come to an end." The Manifesto ends with the declaration that Communists "openly declare that their ends can only be attained by the forcible overthrow of existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all Lands, Unite!"

MARXISM AND RELIGION

It remains to fill out this picture from subsequent writings of Marx and Engels.³⁴ The notion that all civilizations are determined by their systems of production may be further illuminated by the Marxian conception of religion. Morality, Marx and Engels felt, was essentially a matter of class and therefore of the economic conditions which produced the class. Slavery was not objected to in the ancient world because it was felt necessary to the system of production. An industrial capitalism resting upon the machine has no need for slavery, and accordingly "slavery on the basis of capitalist production is unjust." It is the same for religion as a whole; its nature is dependent upon the economy. In primitive societies where production is dependent upon the mysterious forces of nature religion has "its roots in the limited and ignorant ideas of savagery." It has persisted into the modern scientific, capitalistic world because the processes of the economy are still mysterious. No one can quite figure out how the economic laws work. Marx and Engels inherited the extreme religious views of the Enlightenment. Religion was "the opium of the people," and its abolition, as "the illusory happiness of the people, is the requirement of their real happiness." They are hostile to Christianity because they feel that it preaches social "cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submission [and] humility," when what the proletariat needs is the exact opposite. They argue that Christianity

³⁴In what follows I am using M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*.

has been hypocritical in urging noble principles while supporting oppressors and being chiefly interested in itself. Marx can say that the English church "will more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 articles than on 1/39th of its income." Christianity never took a stand against slavery or the slave trade until the Enlightenment. If the medieval Church supported the aristocratic status quo, Protestantism was the religion of the new capitalistic bourgeoisie. It changed almost all "the traditional holidays into workdays" and makes Sabbathbreaking a crime only when it has nothing to do with working in factories or making money on Sundays. Marx took satisfaction in quoting a certain Reverend J. Townsend (1786) to the effect "that it is a wise law of nature that the poor are improvident, since want forces them to do the servile and 'ignoble' work of society, thereby relieving the 'more delicate' from drudgery." To provide for the poor in Poor Laws tended to destroy "the harmony and beauty, the symmetry and order of that system which God and Nature have established in the world." If religion, Marx maintained, is "the opiate that intoxicated the poor so as to make it easier to rob them," under socialism it will not persist. Mystery will disappear, even the mysteries of capitalism. As the state disappears with the antagonism of the classes, so religion will go with it. "For the simple reason that there will be nothing left to reflect on religion dies [a] natural death." If priests and preachers are the defenders of the status quo, so it is with the scholars, and especially the economists, who are simply "hired prize fighters, . . . the sophists and sycophants of the ruling class."

MARX'S THEORY OF SURPLUS VALUE

Marx not only supplied the proletariat with an economic theory of history but with a body of economic theory. He wished to supplant the classical theory and to make quite clear how the proletariat was being exploited by the capitalistic system, and why it was inevitable that capitalism would be supplanted by socialism, whether peacefully or violently. Marx's explanation of capital's exploitation of labor is in terms of a theory of surplus value. The value of all commodities, Marx agrees, is their labor content. So it is with the labor of the human being. As a commodity it is worth what it takes to produce it and keep it alive. But the worker in the course of a working day produces more value than he gets in his subsistence wage. If he works ten hours a day it may well be that in half this time he produces the value of his wages. The rest, the value of the labor of the remaining half day, is appropriated by the capitalist as "surplus value." The profits of the capitalist are thus filched from the worker. As they pile up they are concentrated in fewer hands, and the capitalistic enterprise grows bigger and bigger as monopoly supplants competition. "One capitalist 'decapitalizes' another." "One capitalist kills many." This might not be so serious if fundamental

weaknesses in the system did not occur. Yet one of these is that the satisfaction of the greed of the capitalist is the result of the social effort of the workers in the factory. "Whereas production is social, the control of industry is in the hands of the private capitalists, who supervise the processes, decide upon policies, and in consideration of personal interests, determine the channels into which the social productive energy will flow. Moreover, the products resulting from the collective productive forces are not appropriated socially but become the property of the capitalist who disposes of them as he pleases."

Not only do the profits of the capitalists consist of the social efforts of the laborer, but while insisting upon a highly disciplined regime within the factory he insists upon utter planlessness for society as a whole. Society is to be regulated only by the fight among capitalists for profits. The result, Marx urges, is the growing misery of the workers and the regular succession of depressions. "Intent on savings which would lower his 'price of production,' the capitalist is economical about his machinery but allows 'the most outrageous squandering of labor power' and prodigality in the use of the life and health of the laborer, scorning all provision that would render 'the process of production human, agreeable or even bearable.'" The proletariat become aware that it is up to them to create a more satisfactory social system and prepare for the crisis which will enable them to take over, whether by the ballot or by violent revolution. When this has happened a dictatorship of the proletariat will be necessary to effect the transition from a capitalistic to a socialist society. When private property is destroyed and class antagonism disappears there will be no need for the conventional state in the new co-operative, classless society. "The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the conduct of the processes of production. The state is not abolished. It dies out." The ultimate ideal of such a society is "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need." Society becomes "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." The mode of production of this socialist society marks "the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom." "The associated producers regulate their interchange with nature rationally [and] bring it under their common control instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power. . . . They accomplish their task . . . under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it."

MARXISM AND REVOLUTION

At the time the socialist ideal was first being worked out it did not appear that the ballot would become universal. Its proponents therefore had to consider unpolitical ways of realizing the ideal, either by private voluntary effort or by revolution. As the ballot was extended to ever-larger groups, however, the peaceful and democratic method of

establishing socialism became possible. Both Marx and Engels recognized this. Still they did not abandon the alternative of revolutionary means. They knew that the history of the major changes in the religious, political, and social development of the West recorded the need for violence, that indeed the western tradition was in part revolutionary. They knew that the shift from capitalism to socialism was indeed a major shift that would be resisted by large-property owners and would require a major adjustment in outlook. To overcome this resistance and precipitate a large acquiescence forcible seizure of political power might be advisable. But where parliamentary institutions were a firm part of the civilization of the West, not only did liberals equate liberalism with socialism, but socialists identified socialism with the last phase of liberalism. Indeed, before being disrupted by the wars of the twentieth century, the liberal-humanistic tradition was on the point of absorbing socialism.

FERDINAND LASSALLE AND THE GERMAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The founder of the first socialist party in Germany, Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864), was not a Marxist. His Universal German Workingmen's Association proclaimed as a part of its statutes in 1863 that "the adequate representation of the social interests of the working classes, and the real removal of class antagonism in society, can alone be secured by universal, equal and direct suffrage." The association must seek therefore to acquire "such suffrage by peaceable and legal means, and particularly by gaining over public opinion." Lassalle hoped that when in control of the state, the program of Louis Blanc might be carried out, that is to say, that capital and credit might be supplied co-operative associations of workingmen in national factories who would then share the profits of their enterprise. Lassalle's premature death, however, gave an opportunity to the Marxist parties in southern Germany and Saxony, under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, to capture the labor movement. In fact, the two organizations, those of Lassalle and of Liebknecht and Bebel, fused at Gotha in 1875 into the Social Democratic Workingmen's party of Germany, whose platform Marx criticized as being too great a concession to the non-Marxian views of the Lassallians.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY AND THE ERFURT PROGRAM

Although this party was outlawed by Bismarck from 1878 onward, its political representation in the *Reichstag* was not destroyed, but party activities as such had to be conducted underground or abroad. When, with Bismarck's dismissal, these restrictions were removed (1890) the party came together in Erfurt in 1891 and adopted a platform that was quite frankly Marxian and abandoned the Gotha compromise. The program speaks of a growing increase in the insecurity of existence, of

misery, oppression, enslavement, debasement, and exploitation "for the proletarians and the petite bourgeoisie alike." "Only the transformation of capitalistic private ownership of the means of production," the program goes on, "the land, the mines, raw materials, tools, machines, and means of transport—into social ownership, and the transformation of production of commodities for sale into socialist production administered for and by society, can bring [it] about that large-scale industry and the steadily increasing productive capacity of social labour shall be changed from a source of misery and oppression for the hitherto exploited classes into a source of the highest welfare." Socialism is, however, to be achieved by peaceful, constitutional methods. "The Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and proclaims itself one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries." The party wants to end "every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether it be directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race." The party wants "universal suffrage for both men and women, the ballot, proportional representation, biennial Parliaments, direct legislation through initiative and referendum, provincial and local self-government by elected representatives." It wants "full freedom of speech, assembly and organisation, . . . compulsory and secular education for all, a free medical service, the abolition of all laws prejudicial to women, the recognition that religion is entirely a private matter and that churches should be left to manage their own affairs quite apart from the State, the popular election of judges . . . abolition of the death penalty," and "education of all to be capable of bearing arms: an armed nation in place of a standing army: decision on war and peace by the people's representatives, settlement of all international disputes by arbitration." The party wants graduated income and property taxes, "abolition of all indirect taxes," and a tax on inheritance graduated according to the size of the inheritance and the degree of kinship. It demands a full program of factory legislation, "freedom of combination," and "a general system of workingmen's insurance, with workers participating in the administration."³⁵

SOCIALISM AND LIBERALISM

An English liberal, who thought that "true socialism is avowedly based on the political victories which Liberalism won and . . . serves to complete rather than to destroy the leading Liberal ideals," considered the Erfurt program "essentially liberal." He goes further: "Nor, upon examination, have we found any deep or abiding conflict between those two branches of the humanitarian movement which are frequently contrasted under the names of Liberalism and Socialism. On the contrary, we find reason for thinking that in ultimate principle both these ideals are at one."³⁶

³⁵Cole, II, 429 ff.

³⁶L. T. Hobhouse, "Liberalism and Socialism," *Democracy and Reaction*, pp. 241-242.

If democratic liberalism and democratic socialism were shading off into each other at the end of the nineteenth century, certain features of the Marxist dogma were being attacked by a group of German socialists called the Revisionists and headed by Eduard Bernstein (*Evolutionary Socialism*, 1899),⁸⁷ who, like Marx, wrote his book in London, an exile from Bismarck's antisocialist legislation. Bernstein argued that there was no imminent collapse of the capitalist society that socialists could build a future revolutionary program upon. The middle class was not contracting, and the misery of the working classes was not increasing. The growth of liberal democracy, in fact, was taking care of the more glaring abuses of industrialism. What the proletariat needed to do was not to prepare for the revolutionary seizure of power, but to work for the enlargement of their political and economic rights in a basically undemocratic Germany. "I cannot believe in a final aim of socialism," he wrote, "but I strongly believe in the socialist movement, in the march forward of the working classes, who step by step must work out their emancipation by changing society from the domain of a commercial landholding oligarchy to a real democracy which in all its departments is guided by the interests of those who work and create." Indeed, socialism has to attach itself to the democratic program. It has to abandon talk of dictatorship. "Is there any sense," he asks, "of maintaining the phrase the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' at a time when in all possible places representatives of social democracy have placed themselves practically in the area of parliamentary work, have declared for the proportional representation of the people, and for direct legislation,—all of which is inconsistent with a dictatorship." "The dictatorship of the classes belongs to a lower civilization . . . it is only to be looked upon as a reversion, as political atavism."

In fact, Bernstein concludes, socialism is merely going a step further in carrying out the liberal ideal. "The security of civil freedom has always seemed to socialism to stand higher than the fulfillment of some economic progress." "The aim of all socialist measures, even of those which appear outwardly as coercive measures, is the developing and securing of a free personality." The German Social Democratic party must talk with the language of what it actually is, "a democratic socialist party of reform," "a party that strives after the socialist transformation of society by the means of democratic and economic reform." Although Bernstein was officially repudiated by the party and argued with by the official spokesman, Karl Kautsky, this was actually for the sake of dogmatic purity rather than political tactics. The leaders of the party did not refuse to participate in the democratic process, and Bernstein was even sent to the *Reichstag*. A somewhat similar development took place

⁸⁷See H. W. Laidler, *History of Socialist Thought*.

in Austria, where, under the leadership of Viktor Adler, an extremely able party grew up—officially and dogmatically Marxian and revolutionary but working very hard to bring universal manhood suffrage to Austria. When the government also supported this platform Adler announced that the Social Democrats were a “governmental party.”³⁸

THE ENGLISH SOCIALISTS

In all countries of the West Marxian and non-Marxian socialist parties attacked the problems of their nations, joining with liberal and conservative parties and often with the trade unions in the rational and democratic compromise of interests. In England the socialist program was pursued by the Fabian Society, carrying on the tradition of Bentham and J. S. Mill, organized in 1884 and supported by such distinguished people as G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Ramsay MacDonald, and G. D. H. Cole. Unambitious politically, they sought by knowledge to influence the course of events. Shaw reports that as a member of the society he lectured every Sunday “on some subject which I wanted to teach myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, on rent, interest, profits, wages, toryism, liberalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, trade-unionism, cooperation, democracy, the Division of Society into classes, and the Suitability of Human Nature to Systems of Just Distribution, that I was able to handle social democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. . . . It is in . . . lecturing and debating work, and on squalid little committees and ridiculous little conferences . . . that the ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the Town Council, the School Board or perhaps in the Cabinet.”³⁹ By 1887 the Fabian Society had worked out its program, taken up in the future by a Labor party which it helped to build. The society aimed “at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit.” It worked “for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can be conveniently managed socially.” “If these measures be carried out without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.” For some of these Fabians, aiming to promote socialism by the dissemination of knowledge, socialism was merely “individualism

³⁸J. A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, p. 349.

³⁹Laidler, pp. 237-238.

rationalized, organized, clothed and in its right mind," "life seeking its satisfaction through the striving of each individual for the freest and fullest activity."

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Industrialism and socialism precipitated in the ranks of the Christian churches reactions that have been called Christian Socialist or Christian Social. These have resulted partly from the anomaly of a Christianity with a doctrine of brotherly love that did not interest itself in what the Industrial Revolution was doing to mankind. In part they were a reaction to the critical and hostile attitude which socialism took toward otherworldly Christianity. Marx, for example, in criticizing the German Social Democrats for retaining in their program (Gotha) the bourgeois "freedom of conscience," reminded them that the party's aim was not to tolerate "all sorts of religious freedom of conscience," but "to set the conscience free from religious superstition."⁴⁰ In Germany and Austria the Social Democratic party developed such a thoroughgoing intellectual and cultural program of its own that it threatened the churches with the loss of their worker members. The result was a Catholic (Center party) and a Protestant (Christian Social Labor party) political movement. The founder of the former was the archbishop of Mainz, Wilhelm von Ketteler (1811-1877), and of the latter the Lutheran pastor Adolf Stöcker. The movement spread into all countries of the West. Lamennais in France has been mentioned. England had its clergymen Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley, active in a movement founded by John Ludlow and helping to promote the formation of co-operative workers' productive societies and the education of workers. These movements were led by men who felt that reform was secure only when it was a reform of human hearts and not simply of human institutions. It was sin and not private property that mattered. While in some instances critical of otherworldly, ascetic Christianity and in others anti-Semitic, such leaders felt that Christian institutions and morality must still be maintained to permit Christian love to lead to a more sympathetic treatment of workers and, within the church, a support of their organizations. In liberal religious circles there was talk of the "social gospel." An American Protestant can write that "for many centuries the Church felt so deeply that the Christian conception of life and the actual social life were incompatible, that anyone who wanted to lead the genuine Christian life had to leave the world and live in a monastic community. Protestantism has abandoned the monastic life and settled down to live in the world. If that implies that it accepts the present condition as good and final, it means a silencing of its Christian protest and its surrender to 'the world.' There is another alternative. Ascetic Christianity called the world evil and left it. Humanity is waiting

⁴⁰Cole, II, 261.

for a revolutionary Christianity which will call the world evil and change it."⁴¹

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM

The Catholic Church did not speak in terms of a revolutionary Christianity. It had condemned liberalism, along with many other things, including socialism, in the *Syllabus of Errors* of 1864. Pope Leo XIII in 1878 called socialists and others (communists, nihilists) a "deadly plague which is tainting society to its very core and bringing it to a state of extreme peril."⁴² He returned to the subject again in 1891 in an encyclical letter on *The Condition of Labor*. "The main tenet of Socialism, the community of goods, must be utterly rejected: for it would injure those whom it is intended to benefit, it would be contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and it would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonwealth. Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property." Yet the pope uses strong language in condemning the evils of industrialism. "Some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. . . . Working Men have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt, still practiced by avaricious and grasping men. . . . A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself." But somehow the force of the protest is removed when we learn that "the things of this earth cannot be understood or valued rightly without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will last forever. . . . When we have done with this present life then we shall really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting; He has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our true country."⁴³ Misery, suffering, slavery—it is all God's way of preparing for the Beyond.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW

The socialist protest and dream were therefore the answer of the European working classes, under the original leadership of middle-class intellectuals, to the inhumanities of early industrialism and to the prospect that new inventions, new productivity, and unheard-of wealth, the early

⁴¹Walter Rauschenbusch, in *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, quoted by J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, p. 550.

⁴²Quoted in Cole, II, 262.

⁴³*Five Great Encyclicals* (The Paulist Press), p. 7.

promise of scientific humanism, were to benefit primarily the middle class. It is easy for a later generation to smile at the crankiness of the Utopians and to point out the limitations and inaccuracies of Marx's and Engels's views. No serious historian today can accept the notion that the course of history is determined by economic forces alone. It is too easy to question the very idea of a unique economic motive or force.⁴⁴ The whole idea of a particular mode of production as a substructure and of all the rest of man's various activities and institutions as the necessary predetermined outcome is far too simple for the historian who has come to understand that man is not simple, that the workings of societies are infinitely complex, and that the succession of epochs knows no one-and-only explanation. This is not to forget that Marx has taught the historians that they had better not omit the economic considerations, but should inquire into the mode of production and see to what extent it has actually determined the way men act and think and feel. It is necessary, of course, to point out, as Engels's and Marx's critics were quick to point out, that the revolution in England did not come about, and that Marx's predictions as to how the capitalistic industrial economy would go have not come true. There has not been a growing misery of the worker in the usual sense of that word. On the contrary, his standard of living has been raised, and at least in some nations the avenues of opportunity have been opened more widely to him and his children. The middle class has not tended to contract, with its lower groups becoming proletarianized. On the contrary, it has grown, and the worker and farmer are inclined to aspire to the emoluments and status of the bourgeoisie rather than to membership in the classless society. In all these matters there is a notable difference, of course, between the American and European scenes. This is not to deny that Marx saw accurately the trend toward large-scale monopolistic enterprise and the concentration of capital without being able to foresee the development of the modern corporation and the extent of political supervision and control. It can be shown that Marx, in basing his economic theory upon the classical economists, did not bother to keep up with the thought of economists (for instance, J. S. Mill) who had gone beyond the classical school. He was not concerned with the fact that the *Communist Manifesto* was wrong or out of date, and did not bother to change it. But to damn wholly Engels and Marx for these mistakes and failures is to miss the point. Not all scholars, whether historians or economists, have turned out to be free from error, and those who have turned prophetic rarely have their prophecies come true. But men go on predicting the Second Coming of Christ in spite of the fact that Christ never comes. Marx and Engels wanted something done about the economic order, and they wanted the working classes themselves to undertake the task of a radical reform, thinking that no one else would.

⁴⁴See the essay of Frank H. Knight, "Some Notes on the Economic Interpretation of History," in *Freedom and Reform*.

In so doing, they thought to inspire the proletariat with the notion that their cause was inevitable. They were but hastening the victory. They did supply the European workers, and since their day many outside Europe, with a militant creed and organization. Their ideas have promoted intense intellectual excitement and discussion on a universal scale. Not many sick, lonely, and indignant exiles have done as much.

MARXISM AND THE LIBERAL-HUMANISTIC TRADITION

The relationship of Marxism to the liberal-humanistic tradition of the West is a contradictory one. Marx was an environmentalist of a special kind, an economic environmentalist. The character of societies was determined by their modes of production, and these determined the struggle of the classes, the succession of the ages, and the eventual dictatorship of the proletariat, ushering in a new socialistic, stateless (eventually), classless, and religionless society. In this sense Marxism is a special adaptation of the determinism of science—in this case of social science, economic law, and systems of production—and as a deterministic system denies the freedom of man to determine within limits his own fate. The dialectic of economic forces works relentlessly, and all that man can do is to hasten on the glorious day when it shall cease working. Determinism in whatever form has been and is a denial of western humanism.

Marxism is inclined also to reduce man to the level of the economic brute. He is a creature primarily of selfishness and greed, and all his actions, however noble and altruistic, are really to be interpreted in the light of this avaricious self-interest. He is, moreover, incapable of solving his problems by the process of rational discussion and democratic compromise. He must develop his hatred for his class enemies, be ready to fight them at all moments, and, if necessary, organize the conspiracy to seize by violence the power of the state, suppress all opposition, and introduce, by force if necessary, those institutions which will create the new socialistic (communistic) society. This is also a denial of the liberal-humanistic concept of man with his ability to come to a rational, peaceful solution of his problems.

Yet the above is too bald a statement. Marxism did not conceive of itself as a complete denial of individualism, with a dissolution of the individual into class. The individual was described always as something more than a mere automatic economic beast, and the classless society, when with the stopping of the dialectic it may be supposed that the system of economic determinism is no longer working, provides an opportunity for the individual to fulfill his potentialities just so long as he is not keeping other individuals from fulfilling their personalities. Moreover, Marxism as a political movement did not for the most part deny the democratic process of rational discussion and compromise in representative assemblies. But it retained the alternative of revolutionary violence in case of need. In this it may be said to have retained the West's healthy respect for the

revolutionary process when all other measures fail. But it was basically suspicious of liberal-democratic processes and humanistic aspirations, since these always reflected a less than ideal (that is, socialistic) mode of production. When denied, therefore, the opportunity in the West to realize itself except by the slow and mediating processes of democracy, it turned to eastern and southeastern Europe, where, under excessive provocation and in the hopes of achieving speedy results, it quite readily adopted violent means. No matter how the results may be argued to have extenuated such means, these brutalizing methods have been a degradation of the liberal-humanistic ideal and procedure. At the same time it has to be said that Marx and Engels felt that, however selfish, the human being was capable of responding to noble appeals, to risk all in the hope of establishing an altruistic society in which one would contribute according to his capacities and collect according to his needs. Unselfishly, the individual had to subordinate himself to communal interests. It is this contradiction in Marxism that has caused it to be described as a western, even a Christian, heresy.

Imperialism

IMPERIALISM AND DECLINE AND FALL

An English student of the Industrial Revolution and imperialism concluded a book first published in 1902 by defining imperialism as "a depraved choice of national life, imposed by self-seeking interests which appeal to the lusts of quantitative acquisitiveness and of forceful domination surviving in a nation from early centuries of animal struggle. Its adoption as a policy implies a deliberate renunciation of that cultivation of the higher inner qualities which for a nation as for an individual constitute the ascendancy of reason over brute impulse. It is the besetting sin of all successful states, and its penalty is unalterable in the order of nature."⁴⁵ The penalty referred to is what has been called in the case of Rome, an early imperialistic state, "the decline and fall." The tyranny of the Roman Empire, to some historians, was the outcome of the incompatibility of republican-democratic institutions with the ways of provincial governors and generals to whom empire had give unlimited power, and who thus were impatient with the slow workings of republican institutions. This incompatibility was a major cause of Rome's final undoing.⁴⁶

THE TRADITION OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM

The civilization of the West was first built upon the ruins of the western Roman Empire. The Roman imperial mission was taken over by the Christian Church, which, in the course of the Middle Ages, spread

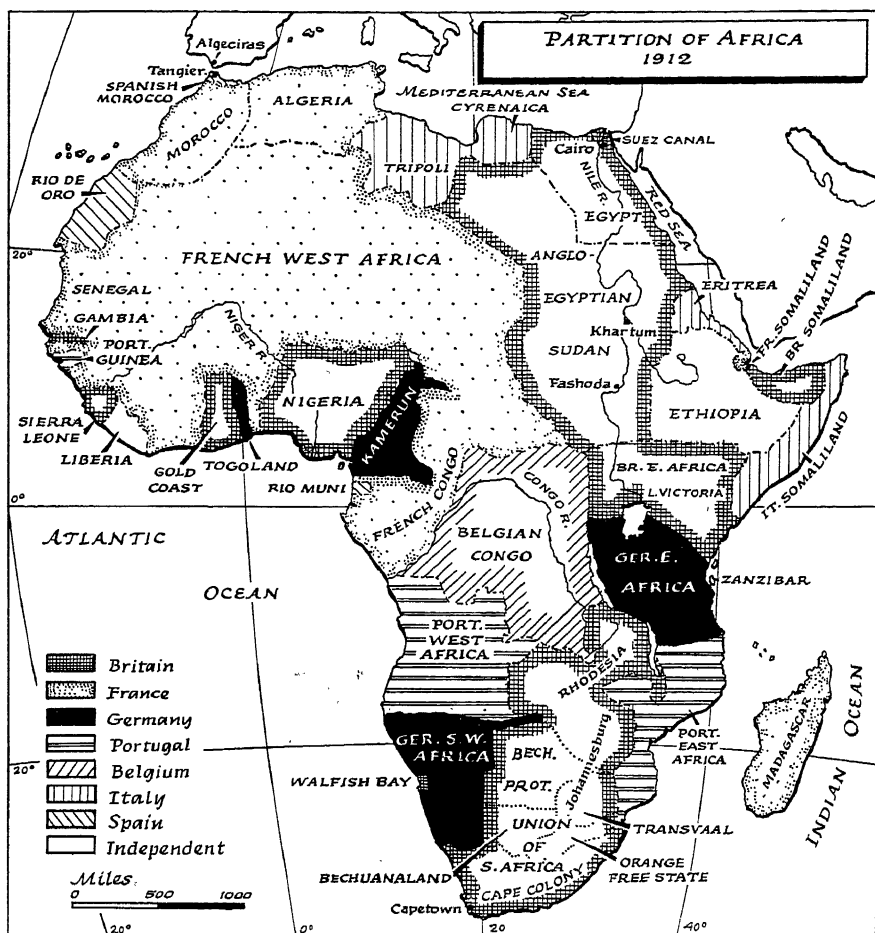
⁴⁵J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (3d ed.), p. 368.

⁴⁶See Vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

Christianity to all Europe, utilizing methods, for example, crusades, that may be described as imperialistic. The authoritarianism of its western branch, developed in the course of this expansion, was partly responsible for the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century. When the states of western Europe, in the same and following centuries, led by their explorers and merchants organized in great mercantile companies, set out to found new colonial empires, they took unavoidably their Catholicism and Protestantism and their whole way of life with them. Thus western Europeans transplanted their civilization to other parts of the globe, with colonies of settlement and exploitation to North and South America and the coasts of Africa, Asia, and the East Indies. Colonial rivalries helped to produce and made more widespread dynastic wars, and the western powers, under the guidance of the mercantilist policy, governed their colonies primarily in the interest of the national economy of the mother countries rather than of the colony. The result was to start a series of colonial revolts, led off by the American Revolution and stimulated by the French Revolution. By 1825 vast changes had taken place in the colonial world. British, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies became independent republics in North and South America. The British supplanted the French in India, and the Dutch were left in the East Indies. According to the theories of liberal economists there needed to be no further pursuit of empires. The adoption of a policy of free trade between the nations of the world and their remaining colonies was all that was necessary to secure prosperity and peace. While nationalism and the early Industrial Revolution were building, transforming, and strengthening the states of the West, their statesmen expressed little interest in taking up again imperial programs.

RECENT WESTERN IMPERIALISM

After a period of relative calm, the imperial situation changed again during the last third of the nineteenth century. England, France, and Holland set out again to expand old and create new empires. They were joined somewhat tardily by the two new nations of Europe, Italy and Germany. As the Ottoman Empire continued to decline in southeastern Europe, Austria-Hungary and Russia rivaled with the new Balkan nations to fill the ensuing power vacuum. The world experienced quick results from this imperial revival. The whole continent of Africa, whose northern shores were still a nominal part of the Ottoman Empire, was partitioned among the great powers, among whom before the century was over—chiefly between England and France, and England and Germany—sharp imperial rivalry had developed. The Dutch extended their empire throughout the East Indies. Asia, like Africa, fell to the great powers of western Europe and to Russia. Russia had already pushed to the Pacific, but now she crowded the northern frontiers of Persia, Afghanistan, India, and China. Persia was divided into spheres of inter-



est. The British took over the administration of India from the East India Company and expanded in Burma and Malaya. The French penetrated Indo-China. Warships reminded the ancient empires of Japan and China that they were no longer free to dissociate themselves from the nations of Europe and America. The Japanese, learning this lesson first from an American admiral, were quick to apply it. With a speed that astounded the world, they adapted their civilization to the political, economic, and military institutions of the West, entered the ranks of the great powers, and joined the European powers in imperialist expansion in China (for the growth of the Japanese empire, see map on pages 744-745). In successive wars and treaties the Chinese lost territory and ports on the coast, became the debtor for many millions of indemnity, lost control of their customs, and indeed of those westerners whose extraterritorial rights gave them control within China over their own affairs. China was in the end divided into spheres of interest ready to be partitioned when the

Manchu dynasty fell, with nations engaged in ruthless rivalry for the profits of her exploitation.

Thus by the end of the nineteenth century the leading powers of Europe and America had established huge empires. Between 1875 and 1900 the total area of the British Empire expanded by something like 5,000,000 square miles with a population of about 90,000,000. The Empire contained lands forty times greater than Great Britain in size and more than double in population. The British Empire in 1900 contained 13,000,000 square miles inhabited by some 370,000,000 persons. Between 1884 and 1900 the French Empire expanded by 3,500,000 square miles, with about 40,000,000 inhabitants. During a smaller period Germany acquired 1,000,000 square miles with 17,000,000 inhabitants; Belgium (the Congo) 1,000,000 square miles and 30,000,000 people; Portugal 800,000 square miles and 9,000,000 inhabitants.⁴⁷ By 1914 Russia had marched to the Pacific and was contending with Japan for a dominant position in the Far East,⁴⁸ and the United States had entered the ranks of the imperialist powers with the Hawaiian Islands, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines. As a result of the renewal and intensification of imperialism Africa and Asia had been partitioned or divided into spheres of interest, while the Chinese and Ottoman empires were in a state of rapid decline. The expansion of European empires and peoples to the rest of the globe was about to help to precipitate a first World War.

At the end of the century, when the intervention of the European powers cheated Japan out of some of her profits from a war with the Chinese (1895), the Japanese took advantage of a dispute with the Russians concerning Manchuria (Russo-Japanese War, 1905) to recoup themselves generously in Korea and Manchuria. An Asiatic power was successfully challenging European domination in the Far East.

THE NEW IMPERIALISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

How is this late nineteenth-century revival of imperialism to be explained? And how is it to be evaluated? The revival or intensification of imperialism is to be explained by the extraordinary development of capitalistic industrialism that made it produce more by way of goods and surplus capital than could be consumed at home or by the normal exchange with other independent nations. The drive to expand the productive capacity of the industrial machine came in part from the spirit of capitalism itself—the spirit of making more money to make more money—and from a new nationalism aware of the importance of industrialism in consolidating and giving added power to the nation. A nation with more goods to sell than could be disposed of at home or among other nations looked for new markets in which to dispose of its goods in exchange for the raw materials to feed its industry. Surplus

⁴⁷The figures are in Cole and Postgate, *The British People*, p. 340.

⁴⁸See pp. 742 ff. for a more detailed account of imperialism in the Far East.

production of consumers' goods had to be disposed of in colonies or elsewhere to solve serious problems of unemployment and for full exploitation of the industrial machine. A nation with more surplus capital than could be absorbed profitably by its own economy looked to other, less developed economies in which investments would give a larger return. A nation with a growing bourgeoisie that accepted wealth as an important standard of value was driven to increase that wealth. A nation in search of new power to win its way in the world and seeking this power in armies, navies, and air forces knew that only the strongest kind of industrialism made this power possible. To seek the means of keeping the national industrial machines of the West running at full capacity the whole world had to be industrialized whether it wanted it or not, and steps had to be taken to ensure that it would be industrialized. When other nations sought the advantages, as well as the disadvantages, of industrialization, the goods and capital of the West found a cordial welcome. When they were hostile, indifferent, or unconcerned, then no means were to be spared to break down the hostility, awaken enthusiasm, or at least stir up interest. If this meant that new empires had to be formed of primitive peoples in tropical and subtropical areas, this would have to be done. If it meant that already independent nations or empires with highly developed civilizations of their own had to acknowledge the economic preponderance of the West and become dependencies or protectorates or spheres of influence, then this would have to be done. To do this, free trade was not enough. If local and imperial markets needed to be protected to promote this expansion, they would need to be protected by tariffs and quotas as well as by colonial armies and naval vessels.

HOBSON ON THE MOTIVATION OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Hobson explains the development as follows: "A prosperous industry needs to have an expanding market and financiers a place to invest their capital, and when the home market is saturated empires are necessary whether political or merely economic. Who are the people who say this and therefore promote this imperialism? Obviously the manufacturers with things to sell abroad, and first of all those who gain a living by supplying the real or artificial wants of the new empires we annex or open up. Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, to name three representative cases, are full of firms which compete in pushing textiles and hardware, engines, tools, machinery, spirits, guns, upon new markets. The public debts which ripen in our colonies and in foreign countries that come under our protectorate or influence, are largely loaned in the shape of rails, engines, guns, and other materials of civilization made and sent out by British firms. The making of railways, canals and other public works, the establishment of factories, the development of mines, the improvement of agriculture in new countries, stimulate a definite interest in im-

portant manufacturing industries which feeds a very firm imperialist faith in their owners." Joined to the manufacturers as supporters of imperialism are the "shipping trade" and the military. "Every increase of the army, navy, and air force enhances the political power they exert." There is an "itch for glory and adventure among military officers upon disturbed or uncertain frontiers of the Empire." Joined to the military is the class who seek employment in the new positions empire sets up. The military and imperial civil service take the place of the church as a career for the sons of the upper classes. And the colonies become, in the words of James Mill, "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes."⁴⁹

Alongside the exporters and their allies are the capitalist financiers. "It is not too much to say that the modern foreign policy of Great Britain has been primarily a struggle for profitable markets of investment." "In handling large masses of stocks and shares, in floating companies, in manipulating fluctuations of values, the magnates of the Bourse find their gain. There great businesses—banking, broking, bill discounting, loan floating, company promoting—form the central ganglion of international capitalism." "No great quick direction of capital is possible save by their consent and through their agency. Does anyone seriously suppose that a great war could be undertaken by any European State, or a great State loan subscribed, if the house of Rothschild and its connections set their face against it?" To secure such investments abroad armies and navies and air forces are necessary, and the industrialists who support them are enthusiasts for empire. The cost of empire in supporting the military flows into the "tills of certain big firms engaged in building warships and transports, equipping and coaling them, manufacturing guns, rifles, ammunition, planes and motor vehicles of every kind, supplying horses, wagons, saddlery, food, clothing for the services, contracting for barracks and for other larger irregular needs."⁵⁰

HOBSON'S CRITICISM OF THE NEW IMPERIALISM

But in Hobson's view the imperialistic adventure stimulated by a capitalistic industry and finance was false because the empire did not do what was claimed for it. It did not, for example, offer a place where "surplus population" as well as surplus manufacturers and capital could settle. For surplus population emigrated to states where they could get ahead most quickly in the world, and these were not usually tropical and subtropical colonies. Moreover, it turned out that the foreign trade of industrialized nations went more to other industrialized nations than to the empire, and that in comparison with the investments in other, nonindustrialized nations the investments in the empire were unimportant. Moreover, Hobson argues, considering what is involved in the prosecution of an imperial policy, empires are not only a colossal waste but an occupation dangerous

⁴⁹Hobson, pp. 49, 50-51.

⁵⁰Hobson, pp. 56, 57, 49.

to democratic nations. Imperialists at home and abroad are not normally devoted to democratic procedures and points of view. If it is necessary to dispose of surplus manufactures, then the best place to dispose of them is at home. And in order to make this possible it would be good economics to distribute to labor in the form of higher wages the means to buy this surplus of manufactured consumer goods. And if the capital surplus of industrialism is not absorbed in an industry expanding to meet the needs of the local population, perhaps the need for it to be invested in empire could be curtailed by the enlargement of the social services that a democratic state supplies those of its citizens who do not have a capital surplus. Imperialism, he argues, lends no protection. Industry in need of expansion cannot rely upon the give-and-take of a free-trade policy. The home market and the imperial market must be rescued from the competition of a rival. This, in Hobson's view, is to make the consumer pay for the expenses of an imperial policy from which only the aristocracy and bourgeoisie really profit. To the extent that the protection makes large armies and navies necessary, it were better that this money be spent on the education of the vast majority of the citizens. An imperialist policy, therefore, which does not do what it claims to do is a luxurious blunder and a threat to democratic institutions. "It is not industrial progress that demands the opening up of new markets and areas of investments, but mal-distribution of consuming power which prevents the absorption of commodities and capital within the country." It is absurd to spend "half our financial resources in fighting to secure foreign markets at times when hungry mouths, ill-clad backs, ill-furnished houses indicate countless unsatisfied material wants among our own population."⁵¹ Imperialism, Hobson suggests, thus obstructs the progress of a liberal-humanistic program within the nation.

LENIN'S BOOK ON IMPERIALISM

In Zurich, in 1916, a Russian named Lenin who, the following year, was to return to Russia to lead the Bolshevik party to victory followed the lead of Hobson's book and wrote a book on imperialism. It was to become the official gospel of communism. In this book imperialism was made synonymous with capitalism in its last, moribund stage, when power had been transferred from industrialists to international brokers and financiers.⁵² The early stage of industrialism, from 1820 to 1871, was flourishing and revolutionary, one in which the worker could cooperate in the destruction of feudalism. The second stage, from 1871 to 1914, marked the beginnings of monopolistic trusts and cartels, their divisions of the markets and resources of the world, and the partition of the globe by capitalistic nations. Capitalism was able to develop only "by exploiting backward peoples. The workers in the western countries

⁵¹Hobson, pp. 85, 86.

⁵²See K. Mehnert, *Stalin versus Marx*.

thrived only because of the creation of an oppressed proletariat in the empires. In fact the proletariat of industrialized countries now included the "toiling masses of the backward countries." The world had become divided into the exploiting and exploited countries, and the proletariats of both must unite to promote the revolution. In any case the rivalry between imperialist nations produced war, and World War I was such a war. Under these circumstances a good Communist must oppose imperialism. He must foment opposition to it on the part of backward peoples because in this way he was helping to ruin an industrial capitalism on its last legs. A capitalism turning from the exploitation of the workers of the industrialized nations to that of the undeveloped and primitive peoples of the empires could not hope to survive. Communism would save the world from imperialism.

THE EVILS OF IMPERIALISM

The harnessing of the world to the industrial and financial capitalism of the West is a recent phase of the expansion of western European civilization. The evils in the history of that expansion often make for unpleasant, if not nauseating, reading, whether they have to do with the early slave trade or the use of slave labor by a western king (Leopold I of Belgium) in destroying rubber forests and native institutions to accumulate huge private wealth. The often cynical and cruel advantage taken of primitive and undeveloped peoples was inexcusable. The new imperialism was at first no more considerate of the natives than the older of its colonists, and a new protectionism or mercantilism (neomercantilism) rose to balance the old. The industrialism which spread to the world was no kinder to Africans than the earlier imperialism had been to Indians (American or Asiatic) or than any civilization superior in technology and power, military or otherwise, is likely to be to the obstacles which stand in its way.

But fortunately this is not the whole story. The western civilization that expanded to the world in the nineteenth century was not limited to the evils and abuses of industrialism among primitive and undeveloped civilizations. Westernization included education, and education had to do with knowledge, the knowledge of the whole western tradition. The missionaries who followed the traders, financiers, and industrialists into the empires set up schools and sent off promising leaders of native peoples to western schools to be educated. Imperialist governments, in order to facilitate accommodation with subject peoples, needed natives trained in the ideals of the West—the Indo-Chinese and Algerians at the Sorbonne and Indians and Egyptians at Oxford. These men and women therefore became acquainted with the fact that there was such a thing as a liberal-humanistic tradition of the West, an American Revolution and a French Revolution, and other subsequent revolutions preaching liberty, equality, and fraternity, a democratic socialism fusing with liberalism, and a won-

derfully rich development of art, science, philosophy, religion, and literature. Moreover, they became acquainted with the development of western nationalism in its liberal and liberating, as well as in its repressive and bullying, phases. They learned, as the West itself was learning, that industrialism could be made to serve the interests of all as well as the interests of a few, and that therefore it needed to be guided by the interests not of foreign industrialists and financiers but of all their peoples. Thus a nationalism arose in the western European empires, protectorates, and spheres of interest, based upon experience with the West's worse and better sides, insisting upon adapting western industrialism to its own needs and its own civilizations. Such nationalisms found themselves supported after 1917 by the doctrine of imperialism that had been worked out by Lenin. Western expansion, in fact, carried with it to the globe the liberal-humanistic hope.

THE CULTURE OF THE 19TH CENTURY

THE MEANING OF CULTURE. There are two prevalent meanings of the word culture, one developed by anthropology, and the other by the history of literature, art, science, and thought. The former defines culture as the whole complex of ideas, relationships, customs, and institutions which the individual inherits from society at birth. The latter restricts its meaning to the world of the arts and thought, and speaks of the individual as cultured when he is acquainted with, and has been touched by—that is, influenced in feeling, thought, and conduct—the works of the thinker and the artist. The word humanism has been taken to mean in this book the spirit and influence of culture in this restricted sense, and its western source has been associated first of all with the thought and art of Greece and Rome. It has identified this humanistic spirit with, among other things, rationalism, this-worldliness, a high concept of man, and the search for the means to enable all individuals to realize their noble potentialities in a good life upon this earth. It has sought to interpret the development of the western tradition as a continuing conflict between this humanism and asceticism, identified with irrationalism, otherworldliness, a low concept of unredeemed man, and the search for the means to enable all individuals to escape their evil natures, and rectify earthly injustice, in a good life in heaven.

INDUSTRIALISM, SCIENCE, AND HUMANISTIC CULTURE

The basic tradition has consisted in the attempt to bring these two views together. Since Christianity came to express the West's ascetic

spirit the bringing together has taken the form of a Christian humanism using chiefly the teachings of brotherly love. By the middle of the nineteenth century it was a serious question in the minds of some men whether the new industrialism and further results of scientific investigation were compatible with culture in its humanistic sense, and whether, as the ancient conflict between humanism and asceticism was perpetuated in new difficulties between science and orthodox religion, there was possible a new synthesis that could become active in a society not only industrialized and scientific but striving to become democratic. What meaning did humanism and culture have for the new industrial middle class and proletariat? Were humanism and culture promoted or thwarted by new developments in science?

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S DEFINITION OF CULTURE

One of the eminent Victorians seriously concerned with these questions was Matthew Arnold (1822-1888). He was the son of a famous headmaster of Rugby, went to school there and at Oxford, and became one of England's distinguished poets and essayists. From 1857 to 1867 he was a professor of poetry at Oxford, while holding at the same time a position of inspector of schools. This position, which took him to France and Germany, he kept until the end of his life. He was thus a schoolmaster and an associate of schoolmasters. In 1869 he published a collection of essays called *Culture and Anarchy*. The "anarchy" of his title he equated with the prospect of liberal, laissez-faire individualism, when every person, a social atom, did whatever he liked. His idea of culture was essentially the humanistic notion, "contact with the best that has been thought and said in the world." He also called it "the disinterested endeavour after man's perfection."¹

In the first essay of *Culture and Anarchy*, called "Sweetness and Light," he cites Montesquieu to the effect that "the first motive which ought to impel us to study is the desire to augment the excellence of our nature, and to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent." This is what Arnold calls "genuine scientific passion" or, simply, "curiosity." But he goes on from here. "There is of culture another view, in which not solely the scientific passion appears as the ground of it. There is a view in which all the love of our neighbour, the impulses towards actions, help and beneficence, the desire for removing human error, clearing human confusion, and diminishing human misery, the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it—motives eminently such as are called social,—come in as part of the grounds of culture, and the main and pre-eminent part. Culture is then properly described not as having its origin in curiosity, but as having its origin

¹I am using the edition of William S. Knickerbocker, *The Modern Readers' Series* (Macmillan), p. 25.

in the love of perfection: it is a study of perfection. It moves by the force, not merely or primarily of the scientific passion for pure knowledge, but also of the moral and social passion for doing good.”²

ARNOLD'S VIEWS ON RELIGION

In this social sense culture was closely related to religion. Religion Arnold calls “the greatest and most important of the efforts by which the human race has manifested its impulse to perfect itself,—religion, that voice of the deepest human experience.” Religion aims also “to ascertain what perfection is and to make it prevail.” Indeed, religion reinforces culture’s definition of what human perfection is, after the latter has sought the “determination of this question through all the voices of human experience which have been heard upon it, of art, science, poetry, philosophy, history, as well as of religion.” “Religion says: *The kingdom of God is within you*; and culture, in like manner, places human perfection in an internal condition, in the growth and predominance of our humanity proper, as distinguished from our animality. It places it in the ever-increasing efficacy and in the general harmonious expansion of these gifts of thought and feeling, which make the peculiar dignity, wealth, and happiness of human nature.” “As I have said on a former occasion: It is in making endless additions to itself, and the endless expansion of its powers, in endless growth in wisdom and beauty, that the spirit of the human race finds its ideal. To reach this ideal, culture is an indispensable aid, and that is the true value of culture! Not a having and a resting, but a growing and a becoming, is the character of perfection as culture conceives it: and here, too, it coincides with religion.”³ The difference would be, and this Arnold does not really say, that culture conceives of an earthly perfectibility—religion, in its more normal expression, of a heavenly.

PERFECTION A UNIVERSAL IDEAL

The idea of perfectibility (and here Arnold seems to be echoing the *philosophes* of the eighteenth century) knows no limitation. “Because men are all members of one great whole, and the sympathy which is in human nature will not allow one member to be indifferent to the rest or to have a perfect welfare independent of the rest, the expansion of our humanity, to suit the idea of perfection which culture forms, must be a *general* expansion. Perfection, as culture conceives it, is not possible while the individual remains isolated. The individual is required, under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march towards perfection, to be continually doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream sweeping thitherward.”⁴

²Ed. Knickerbocker, pp. 40, 41.

³Ibid., p. 43.

⁴Ibid., p. 44.

CHRONOLOGY — The Culture of the Nineteenth Century

	Science	Literature and Philosophy	Music and Painting
1750	Priestley (1733–1804) Galvani (1737–1798) Lavoisier (1743–1794) Volta (1745–1827)	Condorcet (1743–1794) Goethe (1749–1832) de Maistre (1753–1821) de Bonald (1754–1840) Saint Simon (1760–1825) Malthus (1766–1834)	Fragonard (1732–1806) David (1748–1825) Beethoven (1770–1827)
1800	Ampère (1775–1836) John Dalton (1766–1844) H. C. Oersted (1777–1851) Appert (d. 1840) G. S. Ohm (1787–1854) Faraday (1791–1867) Lyell (1797–1875) Chevreul (1786–1889) C. T. Jackson (1805–1880) Darwin (1809–1882) Schwann (1810–1882)	Wordsworth (1770–1850) Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) Byron (1788–1824) Schopenhauer (1788–1860) Comte (1798–1857) Balzac (1799–1850) Poe (1809–1849) Hawthorne (1804–1864) Feuerbach (1804–1872) J. S. Mill (1806–1873) David Strauss (1808–1874) Tennyson (1809–1892) Dickens (1812–1870) George Eliot (1819–1880)	Schubert (1797–1828) Corot (1796–1875) Delacroix (1799?–1863) Mendelssohn (1809–1847) Chopin (1810–1849) Daumier (1808–1879) Jean Millet (1814–1875) Courbet (1819–1877)
1850	Joseph Hooker (1817–1911) Helmholtz (1821–1894) Pasteur (1822–1895) Mendel (1822–1884) <i>The Origin of Species</i> (1859) A. R. Wallace (1823–1913) Hofmeister (1824–1877) Lord Kelvin (1824–1907) T. H. Huxley (1825–1895) Lister (1827–1912) James Maxwell (1831–1879) Weismann (1834–1914) Robert Koch (1843–1910) Roentgen (1845–1923) Edison (1847–1931) deVries (1848–1935) Paul Ehrlich (1854–1915) Eastman (1854–1932)	Burckhardt (1818–1897) Marx (1818–1883) Engels (1820–1895) Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) Renan (1823–1892) Zola (1840–1902) Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) Mallarmé (1842–1898) Verlaine (1844–1896) Nietzsche (1844–1900) Maupassant (1850–1893)	Wagner (1813–1883) Verdi (1813–1901) César Franck (1822–1890) Brahms (1833–1897) Cézanne (1839–1906) Monet (1840–1926) Renoir (1841–1919) Gauguin (1848–1903) van Gogh (1853–1890) Seurat (1859–1891) Debussy (1862–1918)

And because of the breadth of its outlook culture goes beyond religion. "Perfection . . . is a harmonious expansion of *all* the powers which make the beauty and worth of human nature, and is not consistent with the over-development of any one power at the expense of the rest. Here culture goes beyond religion, as religion is generally conceived by us." "Culture," then, "is a study of perfection, and of harmonious perfection, general perfection, and perfection which consists in becoming something rather than in having something, [and] in an inward condition of the mind and spirit, not in an outward set of circumstances."⁵

ARNOLD ON "HEBRAISM AND HELLENISM"

In one of the essays in *Culture and Anarchy* that Arnold calls "Hebraism and Hellenism" he makes much the same distinction that has been made in this book between asceticism and humanism.

"The final aim," he remarks, "of both Hellenism [Hellene-Greek] and Hebraism, as of all great spiritual disciplines, is no doubt the same: man's perfection or salvation." But they pursue this aim by "very different courses." "The uppermost idea with Hellenism [humanism] is to see things as they really are; the uppermost idea with Hebraism [asceticism] is conduct and obedience."⁶ "The governing idea of Hellenism is spontaneity of consciousness; that of Hebraism, strictness of conscience." In passing into Christianity, Hebraism relinquishes its reliance upon the "old law and the network of prescriptions with which it enveloped human life." For these it "substituted . . . boundless devotion to that inspiring and affecting pattern of self-conquest offered by Jesus Christ."

"To get rid of one's ignorance, to see things as they are, and by seeing them as they are to see them in their beauty, is the simple and attractive ideal which Hellenism holds out before human nature; and from the simplicity and charm of this ideal, Hellenism, and human life in the hands of Hellenism, is invested with a kind of ærial ease, clearness, and radiancy: they are full of what we call sweetness and light." Arnold quotes Socrates, "The best man is he who most tries to perfect himself, and the happiest man is he who most feels that he is perfecting himself."⁷

What stands in the way of this perfection, Hebraism says, is sin, "a hideous hunchback seated on our shoulders." "As Hellenism speaks of thinking clearly, seeing things in their essence and beauty, as a grand and precious feat for man to achieve, so Hebraism speaks of becoming conscious of sin, of awakening to a sense of sin, as a feat of this kind." "As one passes and repasses from Hellenism and Hebraism, from Plato to St. Paul, one feels inclined to rub one's eyes and ask oneself whether man is indeed a gentle and simple being, showing the traces of a noble and

⁵Ed. J. D. Wilson (Cambridge University Press), p. 48.

⁶See Vol. I, p. 45, where this contrast is used to introduce Greek culture.

⁷Ed. Wilson, pp. 130, 132-133, 134.

divine nature; or an unhappy chained captive labouring with groanings that cannot be uttered to free himself from the body of this death.”⁸

ARNOLD'S INTERPRETATION OF WESTERN HISTORY

Arnold looked upon western history as “the alternations of Hebraism and Hellenism.” Christianity was “a triumph of Hebraism.” The Renaissance was “an uprising and re-instatement of man’s intellectual impulses and of Hellenism”; and the Reformation, “a Hebraising revival, a return to the ardour and sincerity of primitive Christianity.” It was the Hellenism of the Renaissance which constituted “the way of mankind’s progress”; yet, in spite of this, “the main impulse of a great part, and that the strongest part, of our nation has been towards strictness of conscience.” The result is confusion: “We want a clue to some sound order and authority.” This “disregard of a full and harmonious development of ourselves, tells injuriously on our thinking and acting.”⁹

Essential to Hellenism, Arnold goes on in a subsequent essay, “is the impulse to the development of the whole man, to connecting and harmonising all parts of him, perfecting all, leaving none to take their chance.”

Hebraism (Puritanism) has succeeded in making English life one-sided instead of harmonious. It has put so much emphasis on “one part of our nature,” it has singled “out the moral side, the side of obedience and action for such intent regard,” that while “making strictness of the moral conscience so far the principal thing,” it has put off “for hereafter and for another world the care for being complete at all points, the full and harmonious development of our humanity.” It was time to abandon this overemphasis upon Puritanism, Arnold thought. “A more free play of consciousness, an increased desire for sweetness and light, and all the bent which we call Hellenising, is the master-impulse even now of the life of our nation and of humanity.”

ARNOLD'S CHRISTIAN HUMANISM

Arnold’s cultural or humanistic ideal thus strove to absorb and go beyond the Hebraic or ascetic ideal. The religion with which he sought to energize the cultural ideal was what Christian humanists had long sought for, a religion that scientifically minded individuals could accept, free of miracle, superstition, and the arrogance of dogma. The fruit of the Old Testament was in that “Eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness.” Religion was essentially ethics, heightened, enkindled, lit up by feeling, “morality touched by emotion.” The Bible was the inspirer of conduct because it contained the “poetry of the Christian religion,” and when once a Christian humanism had discarded all that was incompatible with verifiable human experience in the spirit of science, it could still accept dogma and ritual as poetry if nothing else, for “science

⁸Ed. Wilson, pp. 135-136. ⁹Ibid., p. 144.

was incomplete without poetry." Nor was Arnold content with a Christianity which abandoned the world. "He insisted . . . that a Church which is satisfied with things as they are, and is not striving to establish the Kingdom of God on earth—in the form of social justice and amelioration, is false to the spirit of Christianity and its founder."¹⁰

ARNOLD AND THE REALIZATION OF THE HUMANISTIC IDEAL

Arnold was quoted so much by his contemporaries that Disraeli remarked that he was becoming a classic in his own lifetime. In one of his essays, "Barbarians, Philistines, Populace," he sought the class which could bring to some kind of fruition his idea of culture. He would not entrust the aristocracy with the task. They were a class of "barbarians" (Arnold has his own special definition), "lured off from following light by those mighty and eternal seducers of our race . . . worldly splendour, security, power and pleasure." He would not trust members of the new industrial middle class, whom he dubbed Philistines. "For Philistine gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the resistance to light and its children." In place of culture they prefer "that sort of machinery of business, chapels, tea-meetings, and addresses from Mr. Murphy [an anti-Catholic agitator] . . . which makes up [their] dismal and illiberal life." "The people who believe most that our greatness and welfare are proved by our being very rich, and who most give their lives and thoughts to becoming rich, are just the very people whom we call Philistines." This class has no ideals "except those of doing a roaring Trade and being left to itself." He condemns Mr. Bright, the liberal free-trader, for leading his disciples to believe what the Englishman is "always too ready to believe, . . . that the having a vote, like the having a large family, or a large business, or large muscles, has in itself some edifying and perfecting effect upon human nature." This is what Arnold called reliance upon machinery. "Leading a man to value himself not on what he *is* . . . but on the number of the railroads he has constructed, or the bigness of the tabernacle he has built."¹¹

In the working classes, the new democracy that was beginning to get the vote in 1867, he had no trust. Some were being corrupted by Philistine ideals. Some with their emphasis on working-class trade unions were to be classified with the Philistines, "because it is its class and its class instinct which it seeks to affirm—its ordinary self, not its best self." Of the populace Arnold is somewhat afraid—"that vast portion, lastly, of the working class which, raw and half-developed, has long lain half-hidden amidst its poverty and squalor, and is now issuing from its hiding-place to assert an Englishman's heaven-born privilege of doing as he likes, and is beginning to perplex us by marching where it likes,

¹⁰Basil Willey, Chap. x, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, p. 282.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 262.

meeting where it likes, bawling what it likes, [and] breaking what it likes."¹²

ARNOLD AND A DEMOCRATIC CULTURE

All classes, therefore, need to be trained and stirred by the humanistic ideal of culture, and especially the great middle class which was beginning to direct England. Arnold's idea of culture was democratic. The heritage of the best was not to be limited to the upper classes. It was everyone's heritage and every nation's heritage. And in passing on his heritage from class to class and from individual to individual Arnold had no idea of diluting it, of adjusting it to what might be considered the inferior ability of lower classes. "The raw and unkindled masses of humanity [must be] touched with sweetness and light." "He [Arnold] had the democratic insight that a human value exists in the degree that it is shared, that a truth may exist but be unalive until it receives assent, that a good may have meaning but no reality until it is participated in."¹³ He remarks, "how those are the happy moments of humanity, how those are the working epochs of a people's life, how those are the flowering times for literature and art and all the creative power of genius, when there is a *national* glow of life and thought, when the whole of society is in the fullest measure permeated by thought, sensible to beauty, intelligent and alive." "Plenty of people will try to give the masses, as they call them, an intellectual food prepared and adapted in the way they think proper for the actual condition of the masses. . . . Culture works differently. It does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes; it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready-made judgments and watchwords. It seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely-nourished, and not bound by them."¹⁴

ARNOLD ON THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SOCIETY

"This is the social idea: and the men of culture are the true apostles of equality. The great men of culture are those who have had a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of their time; who have laboured to divest knowledge of all that was harsh, uncouth, difficult, abstract, professional; exclusive; to harmonize it, to make it efficient outside the clique of the cultivated and learned, yet still remaining the *best* knowledge and thought of the time, and a true source, therefore, of sweetness and light." Arnold thought that the state would have to take over the task of helping the humanistic ideal to prevail. "We want an

¹²Ed. Wilson, p. 105.

¹⁴Ed. Knickerbocker, pp. 66-67.

¹³L. Trilling, *Matthew Arnold*, pp. 169-170.

authority, and we find nothing but jealous classes, checks, and a deadlock; culture suggests the idea of *the State*. We find no basis for a firm State-power in our ordinary selves; culture suggests one to us in our *best self*." Liberal (*laissez-faire*) notions of the state must be given up, for the state was "the nation in its collective and corporate structure, entrusted with stringent powers for the general advantage, and controlling individual wills in the name of an interest wider than that of individuals."¹⁵ Arnold thought of the state as the "origin of our collective best self, of our natural right reason." "He may be given credit for seeing clearly, at a time when State action of almost any kind was viewed with suspicion . . . that the thing needed was more and more central planning, more enlightenment at the heart of the body politic, and above all, State education for the middle classes and the masses."¹⁶ Arnold did not foresee the cultural activities of fascist and Communist states of the twentieth century, or he would have been less impatient with "jealous classes, checks, and a deadlock." At least he would have warned about the necessity of preserving the democratic checks upon political power.

THE QUESTION OF THE CLASSICS IN EDUCATION

Those convinced of the validity of Arnold's ideal would have wanted the culture of Greece and Rome to be a part of the education of the new industrial middle and working classes. In the seventeenth century the English middle class wanted training in the new sciences to supplant an aged scholastic education.¹⁷ The nonconformist industrial middle class of Arnold's day wanted training in the still-new sciences to substitute for what it considered a broken-down, if not aristocratic, classical education. Mr. Bright of Manchester spoke of culture as meaning "a smattering of the two dead languages of Greek and Latin." The controversy reached a certain climax when T. H. Huxley, the distinguished biologist and apostle of Darwinism, undertook to defend science,¹⁸ and Arnold answered defending the humanities.¹⁹ Actually each man was too broad in interest to exclude the value of the other's studies, and the difference between them was essentially a difference in emphasis. It was not so with lesser antagonists. Indeed, here was another chapter in the Battle of the Books,²⁰ with science now, as modern languages and literatures earlier, demanding admittance to the curriculum.

T. H. HUXLEY AND ARNOLD ON A CLASSICAL EDUCATION

Huxley's idea of a liberal education was not a limited one: "That man, I think, has had a liberal education, who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure

¹⁵Ed. Knickerbocker, p. 72.

¹⁷See p. 165.

¹⁹*Literature and Science*.

¹⁶Willey, p. 260.

¹⁸*A Liberal Education and Science and Culture*.

²⁰See pp. 58-59.

all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature, and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself.”²¹ But Huxley complains of “the classical scholars . . . in charge of the art of culture and monopolists of liberal education.” He believed firmly that “neither the discipline nor the subject-matter of classical education is of such direct value to the student of physical science as to justify the expenditure of valuable time upon either; and . . . that for the purpose of attaining real culture, an exclusively scientific education is at least as effectual as an exclusively literary education.” Huxley objects to the opinion of the “great majority of educated Englishmen” that without Latin or Greek one could only hope to be “a more or less respectable specialist, . . . not admissible into the cultured caste.” He turns the charge of specialists upon the humanists, “not because they are too full of the spirit of the ancient Greek, but because they lack it.” Huxley does not want to be thought “to depreciate the value of classical education, as it might be and as it sometimes is.” “I am the last person to question the importance of genuine literary education, or to suppose that intellectual culture can be complete without it.” Yet he believes “that an army, without weapons of precision and with no particular base of operations, might more hopefully enter upon a campaign on the Rhine, than a man, devoid of a knowledge of what physical science has done in the last century, upon a criticism of life.”²² (He had quoted Arnold defining culture as “the criticism of life contained in literature.”)

In reply, Arnold contended that he wanted no superficial acquaintance with Greece and Rome as a part of his education. “I mean knowing the Greeks and Romans, and their life and genius, and what they were and did in the world, what we get from them, and what is its value.” To know Greece—“I understand knowing her as the giver of Greek art, and the guide to a free and right use of reason and to scientific method, and the founder of our mathematics and physics and astronomy and biology.” Scientists are concerned chiefly with facts, even if with such interesting facts as that “our ancestor was a hairy quadruped furnished with a tail and pointed ears, probably arboreal in his habits”; “with knowledge . . . knowledge not put for us into relation with our sense for conduct [or] our sense for beauty, and touched with emotion by

²¹Ed. Clarissa Rinaker, “A Liberal Education,” *Readings from Huxley*, pp. 139–140.

²²Ed. Rinaker, “Science and Culture,” *op. cit.*, pp. 144–145, 146–147.

being so put." Arnold did not like the president of the section for Mechanical Science in the British Association who remarked that "he who in his training has substituted literature and history for natural science has chosen the less useful alternative." "Let us make answer . . . that the student of humane letters only, will, at least, know also the great general conceptions brought in by modern physical science; for science, as Professor Huxley says, forces them upon us all." And as "the more that men's minds are cleared, the more that the results of science are favourably accepted, the more that poetry and eloquence come to be received and studied as what in truth they really are—the criticism of life by gifted men, alive and active with extraordinary power at an unusual number of points—so much the more will the value of humane letters, and of art also, which is an utterance having a like kind of power with theirs, be felt and acknowledged, and their place in education be secured."²³

THE DECLINE OF THE CLASSICS IN THE CURRICULUM

Yet in spite of Arnold's defense the classics were declining in the curriculum of the schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Science and other new subjects calculated to enhance one's progress in the world of commerce and industry took their place. They have continued to do this ever since. As the knowledge of the ancient period increased it was piled up in libraries and museums rather than disseminated in classrooms and public assemblies or introduced in other ways to a public escaping from illiteracy. There were, of course, many reasons for this decline. One of them was that the actual study of the classics was producing more grammarians and specialists than humanists, and that the classics were taught as an invitation to philology rather than to the humanistic culture of the Greeks and Romans—when they were an invitation to anything but boredom. "At the time when I was learning Greek, the methods of tutors resembled . . . those who, by making their pupils chop up dry faggots of wood, hoped to teach them what was the nature of the trees that once the wind made murmurous on the hillsides of Attica." "Boys, this term you are to have the privilege of reading the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, a veritable treasure-house of grammatical peculiarities." "It is, then, the fundamental fault of modern classical scholarship that it has cultivated research more than interpretation, that it has been more interested in the acquisition than in the dissemination of knowledge, that it has denied or disdained the relevance of its work in the contemporary world, and that it has encouraged the public neglect of which it now complains."²⁴ Classical scholars were unable to solve the problem of passing on the heritage of the classical world

²³Ed. John Bryson, "Literature and Science," *Matthew Arnold*, pp. 649, 650, 653.

²⁴The examples are from G. Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, pp. 492, 494, 499–500.

to the new middle and working classes. The very sources of the humanistic tradition began to dry up.

CHARLES DARWIN

The classics had to defend themselves against science because of the increase in its prestige, wrought in part by the great biologist Charles Darwin (1809-1882). Darwin, in fact, joining with Copernicus and Newton, started the third in the great revolutions of science.²⁵ Copernicus had upset man's imagination by reversing the positions of the earth and sun in the mechanism of the universe. Newton had stimulated it further by tying everything together with laws of gravitation and motion. Now Darwin introduced the idea, applied first to species of plants and animals (including man), that everything had evolved from simpler, less specialized, and less differentiated forms, and that ever since there had been life this process had been and was now actually going on, and would continue to do so. Religion, if not of the Arnoldian, then of the orthodox type, had to defend itself from this and similar views in order to keep its doctrine pure and prevent the further decline of the Bible as a textbook of science. For Christianity taught that the species were the special creation of God.

EVOLUTION AND RELIGION

In June, 1860, a year after the publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, there took place at Oxford University a dramatic incident in this conflict. The British Association of Scientists was holding its annual meeting and inevitably discussing its problems in the light of Darwin's theory of evolution. Mr. Huxley was there and had been obliged to contradict in one meeting the leading anatomist of the day, Sir Richard Owen, who was not ready to accept Darwin. Huxley had not intended to attend a meeting at which it was expected that Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, often called "Soapy Sam," was to speak.²⁶ But he was prevailed upon to come. "The ladies, in bright summer dresses and with fluttering handkerchiefs, lined the windows. The clergy, 'shouting lustily for the Bishop,' occupied the center of the room, and behind them a small group of undergraduates waited to cheer for the little known champions of 'the monkey theory.'" The bishop did not know much about Darwinism, but he did know how to be clever and sarcastic at the expense of so heretical a questioning of God's special creation of all the species. While Huxley was wondering how he was going to reply, the bishop ended his remarks by leaning toward him "with mock politeness" and "begged to know, was it through his grandfather or his grandmother that he claimed his descent from a monkey?" Huxley did not expect to have such a wonderful chance to crush his opponent. He, Darwin's

²⁵W. P. Wightman, *The Growth of Scientific Ideas*, p. 415.

²⁶See William Irvine, "Revolution in a Classroom," *Apes, Angels and Victorians*.

bulldog, as he called himself, stood and answered, "A man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel shame in recalling, it would be a *man*, a man of restless and versatile intellect, who, not content with an equivocal success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions, and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."²⁷ "The sensation was immense. A hostile audience accorded him nearly as much applause as the Bishop had received. One lady, employing an idiom now lost, expressed her sense of intellectual crisis by fainting. The Bishop had suffered a sudden and involuntary martyrdom, perishing in the diverted avalanches of his own blunt ridicule. Huxley had committed forensic murder with a wonderful artistic simplicity, grinding orthodoxy between the facts and the supreme Victorian value of truth-telling."²⁸ Although Christianity, as well as mankind, has had slowly to accommodate itself to the theory of evolution, victories were not always forthcoming. On 25 May, 1925, John Scopes, a high-school teacher, was arrested and subsequently convicted in Rhea County, Tennessee, for teaching, contrary to law, the doctrine of evolution, and the matter is still rehearsed on Broadway.²⁹

DARWIN'S EARLY EDUCATION

Darwin's book on *The Origin of Species* had been published (November, 1859) in an edition of 1250 copies which sold out in one day. By that time its subject had been on his mind for several decades, and indeed on the minds of others from the time of the Greeks. It is difficult now to imagine doing without such a grandly simple idea as that things have grown from simple to complex in accordance with the demands of the environment. That is because it is also difficult to realize the great power of ideas, no matter how false, when sanctioned by religion or tradition and defended by the clergy and ruling groups.

No one expected that the young Charles Darwin was going to be a distinguished naturalist. His classical training at school did not stir his curiosity. At first he was going to be a physician and left at sixteen for Edinburgh. There he could not stand surgical operations upon patients who had no anesthetic. He preferred to hunt. "You care for nothing but shooting, dogs and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and family," his father told him.³⁰

He left Edinburgh for Cambridge with the career of a churchman in mind, a clergyman with scientific interests. Even then, he remarked later,

²⁷Quoted in Paul B. Sears, *Charles Darwin*, p. 1.

²⁸By permission from *Apes, Angels and Victorians*, by William Irvine, p. 7. Copyright 1955. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

²⁹*Inherit the Wind* by J. Lawrence and R. E. Lee. ³⁰Irvine, p. 45.

"I should have thought myself mad to give up the first days of partridge-shooting for geology or any other science." But in 1831, upon the recommendation of the botany professor at Cambridge, Darwin had the opportunity to sail as a naturalist on the *Beagle*, a 242-ton naval vessel about to plot the coasts of South America. He was gone five years, seasick a good deal of the time, and as his letters and collections arrived in England he began to make an impression upon his Cambridge masters. His old geology professor had told his father that Charles had great promise, and when this news came to him, "I clambered over the mountains of Ascension with a bounding step and made the volcanic rocks resound under my geological hammer."³¹ While in the Galapagos Islands he began to question the "stability of species," and in fact from that time on "the subject haunted him."

NATURAL SELECTION, OR THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

Gradually, after his return home, as he worked through his notes and collections and pursued further study, he became convinced that there had been no divine creation of fixed species, but, instead, the constant change from old and simpler into new and more complex species. Under the stimulation of Malthus's *Essay on Population*³² he began to understand, he thought, how this change had come about. Malthus had argued that man was too fertile for his own good. He produced faster than he could feed himself, and if he did not restrain himself there would always be war, famine, and starvation to reduce the population. Darwin had seen the extraordinary fertility of plant and animal life in the tropics and as cruel a struggle as human war, famine, and starvation for survival. He was aware of the immemorial efforts of the farmer to control the numbers and quality of animals and plants, and he began to think in terms of "natural selection," or, as it was first put by another, "the survival of the fittest." Species change through the inheritance of characteristics that have enabled them to survive in the fierce struggle of an overpopulated nature. The process of natural selection depends on adaptation. The best adapted are the best fitted to survive.

DARWIN AND WALLACE

When Darwin was about to publish the results of his thought and work he was confronted with a manuscript of Alfred Russell Wallace, who, under the stimulus of Malthus, had come to similar conclusions while observing in the East Indies. "I never saw a more striking coincidence," he wrote to his friend, the geologist Sir Charles Lyell, "if Wallace had my MS sketch written out in 1842, he could not have made a better short abstract." Wallace had said that "There is no limit of variability to a species, as formerly supposed. . . . The life of wild animals is a struggle

³¹Irvine, pp. 46, 52.

³²See p. 508.

for existence. . . . Useful variations will tend to increase; useless or hurtful variations to diminish . . . superior varieties will ultimately extirpate the original species.”³³ “What Darwin had puzzled and wondered and worried and slaved over with infinite anxiety and pain for two decades, Wallace had investigated and explained—far less elaborately but still to precisely the same result—in some three years.” He was quite willing to withdraw in favor of the publication of Wallace’s report. But Lyell and the botanist Hooker, who had been familiar with Darwin’s thinking for many years, thought that a report containing both Wallace’s manuscript and one of Darwin’s should be presented to the Royal Society. This was done. “The interest excited was intense, but the subject was too novel and too ominous for the old school to enter the lists before armouring. After the meeting, it was talked over with bated breath.” Wallace was satisfied with this procedure and “gratefully resigned himself for a lifetime to being the moon to Darwin’s sun.”³⁴

HUXLEY IN DEFENSE OF DARWIN

Darwin’s book, “the most important book of the century,” came out in November of the following year, and the real struggle for the survival of his ideas, reinforced by his second book, *The Descent of Man* (1871), began. “Geologists pleaded pathetically with [him] to introduce just a little divine direction or ‘prophetic germ’ into his book,” and he was annoyed because astronomers “wanted so much divine direction in biology and so little in astronomy.” But Huxley made ready to fight the Philistines, and when the perpetual secretary of the French Academy of Sciences indicated his disapproval of the new theory of evolution, Huxley wrote, “But the Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy of Sciences dealt with Mr. Darwin as the first Napoleon would have treated an ideologue; and while displaying a painful weakness of logic and shallowness of information, assumes a tone of authority, which always touches upon the ludicrous, and sometimes passes the limits of good breeding. . . . Being devoid of the blessings of an Academy in England, we are unaccustomed to see our ablest men treated in this fashion, even by a ‘Perpetual Secretary.’” Darwin thought this was wonderful. “If I do not pour out my admiration . . . I shall explode.”³⁵

DARWIN’S SIMPLICITY AND CHARM

Darwin was a man of great simplicity and charm. A portrait of him painted in 1875 made him look, he said, like “a very venerable, acute, melancholy old dog.” (Irvine, p. 202) Huxley could say “there is a marvellous dumb sagacity about him—like that of a sort of miraculous dog.” (p. 319) He was a tender and considerate husband and father.

³³H. F. West, *Rebel Thought*, p. 170.

³⁴Irvine, pp. 81, 82.

³⁵Irvine, pp. 107, 108, 150.

"Children," he said, "are one's greatest happiness, but often a still greater misery. A man of science ought to have none—perhaps not a wife; for then there would be nothing in this wide world worth caring for, and a man might (whether he could is another question) work away like a Trojan." (p. 155) Of his promising sons he could exclaim, "Oh Lord, what a set of sons I have, all doing wonders." (p. 212) The flowers and animals he wrote of he loved with simple devotion. "He would often laugh at the dingy, high-art colors, . . . and contrast them with the bright tints of nature. I used to like to hear him [his son is writing] admire the beauty of a flower; it was a kind of gratitude to the flower itself, and a personal love for its delicate form and colour. I seem to remember him gently touching a flower he delighted in." (p. 153) He described "one female baboon [who] had so capacious a heart that she not only adopted young monkeys of other species, but stole young dogs and cats, which she continually carried about. . . . An adopted kitten scratched this affectionate baboon, who certainly had a fine intellect, for she was much astonished at being scratched, and immediately examined the kitten's feet, and without more ado bit off the claws." (p. 194) Like Irish saints, he was a friend of squirrels. During a garden walk "some young squirrels ran up his back and legs, while their mother looked at them in an agony from the tree." (p. 164)

Reading philosophy and metaphysics gave him indigestion, and economics made him ill, but he wished at the end of his life he had paid more attention to poetry. He had a sense of humor and was rich in and generous with his feelings as well as his purse. "[I] have often and often regretted that I have not done more direct good to my fellow-creatures. . . . I can imagine with high satisfaction giving up my whole time to philanthropy but not a portion of it, though this would have been a far better line of conduct." (p. 207) In the throes of an agonizing death he could say to his wife, "I am not the least afraid of death." (p. 227) Huxley thought of him as another Socrates, with "the same 'ready humour,' the same 'desire to find some one wiser than himself,' the same 'belief in the sovereignty of reason.'" (p. 230)

THE INTERPRETATION OF DARWINISM

It is not easy to weigh the effect of a great idea of a great man. What has been the effect of Plato's doctrine of ideas? of Jesus's doctrine of brotherly love? of Luther's justification by faith? of Copernicus's solar system? How may one, indeed, weigh in a careful manner the influence of Darwin's notion of evolution by means of natural selection or the survival of the fittest? It is perhaps easiest to show how this idea was quickly adopted by those who, contrary to Darwin's best intentions, were uncertain about the liberal-humanistic, democratic development of the West. The ruthless struggle for existence among an overpopulated plant and animal universe was to some the natural counterpart of the

economist's competition. The victors in the struggle for wealth and power, those who had made the most, were obviously they who were fittest to survive—those upon whom, in an earlier day, Calvin thought that God had spread his greatest blessing. Free enterprise was thus a law of nature which Darwinism obviously sanctioned.

Those who survived in the natural world were judged to be those who in ruthless, amoral combat managed best to adapt themselves to their environment. Socially interpreted, this might mean that those who survived were best in tune with the drift of the times, the pattern of events, the wave of the future, the powers that be, the status quo. Those who survived, who got along, were best adjusted to the wishes of the best people, to the ruling classes. Those who dropped by the wayside, whom the society rejected, were those who insisted on being themselves, resisting the current, refusing to go along and to adapt. Here the individualism of the little and weak conflicted with the individualism of the big and strong.

Those who survived, moreover, were the supermen, those who adapted best controlled those who adapted not so well. The nations that survived in the mad struggle for international power were the superior nations, and the races, the master races, who survived in the competition for global domination knew nothing but the laws of the jungle. It was force which ruled. The superior men were the men with the largest muscles, the brute men who knocked the softies about; the superior nations were the virile nations with the largest armies, navies, and air forces; and the superior races were those who knew that only animal man counted, reproducing in sufficient numbers to crowd all others, if necessary, out of the way. These were the brutal, the "social Darwinian" influences of the gentle man of Kent.

And they have had their day. But the results of Darwinism have supported as well as opposed man in his struggle to achieve the good life upon earth. Darwinism has emphasized the brotherhood of men, not as sons of God, but as possessors of a common animal ancestry. It has thus made possible a re-emphasis upon the human brute, upon the fallen man, the victim of original sin and the slave of lust. Still the social application of man's common animal ancestry makes for a broad measure of sympathy and a larger sanity. Whereas mankind as the sons of many different kinds of gods is split asunder, a common animal inheritance brings him together. It is the basis for men's resembling more than differing from each other. It has called for a full participation of the whole man in the life of society, the control of, and not the denial of, his animal nature. To avoid Nature's wild ways in visiting man with war, famine, and starvation man must limit his kind as he controls his crops and regulates the offspring of his animals. It is no good to tolerate and encourage in the name of God the production of the extra population that keeps the world struggling at a subsistence level. If man controls his

reproduction in the light of the available nourishment, he then can have a healthy progeny with some prospect of more than a mere struggle for existence. Darwinism made possible the emphasis upon the healthy human animal in the struggle for survival.

THE INFLUENCE OF DARWINISM

The concept of evolution, once applied to the origin of new plant and animal species, was, rightly or wrongly, soon applied to all the intellectual pursuits of man. It of course dominated zoology and botany. Even before Darwin the geologists had concluded that the earth was subjected to changes of the moment that were like the changes of the ages. It was not long before the astronomers began to talk in terms of evolving stars, changing galaxies, and developing nebulae that gave to the whole vast system of the cosmos a history of its own. What was seized upon by the astronomer was taken over by the historian to explain the nature of the human adventure. History was a matter of origins and developments, changes and adaptations. The psychologist pursuing his subject scientifically saw man as the inheritor of earlier prehuman mentalities. The anthropologist saw him as the survivor of primitive societies in various kinds of equilibrium, and the sociologist as the product of an evolving culture which determined the way in which he was to go. It was Darwinism that gave impulse to the study of heredity and eugenics and great vitality to scientific medicine. It was Darwinism that created what is now called ecology, the study of the whole relationship of the organic plant and animal world to the inorganic natural environment, the study which binds together all nature as it has never been bound together before and suggests that it is not progress that we have to look forward to (the gradual approach to some kind of Utopia) but an equilibrium, consisting of the best natural balance the human intelligence can contrive.

DARWINISM AND RELIGION

Darwinism thus weakened the forces of asceticism and conservative, orthodox Christianity, and encouraged the building of a new religious synthesis in which the results of science would be accepted. Indeed, the spirit and methods of science entered the whole field of religion, and men talked even in terms of scientific religion. The new rigorous and objective methods of the historian who was seeking to be factual and objective were applied as the "higher criticism" to the books of the Bible. The Bible was to be considered first of all as an historical document, a part of man's literature. The religions it portrays, Judaism and Christianity, were to be regarded as a product of the actual history of the Jews and the peoples of the Roman Empire. New biographies of Jesus (Strauss, Renan) tried to strip prophecy, miracle, and unverifiable facts away from his life and portray him merely as an extraordinary religious leader and moral teacher. The major conflict between science and re-

ligion was supported within the churches by a conflict between "modernism" and "fundamentalism," between liberal (reform) and conservative groups. This struggle goes on in Protestantism. The modernist movement in the Catholic Church was pronounced a heresy by Pope Pius X in 1907. The publication of *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* was another chapter in the West's struggle to free itself from dogma. It strengthened the idea of man's rational dignity, his ability to arrive at great and fundamental truths.

DARWINISM AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

There can be no doubt that at first Darwin's ideas fortified those who held to the Enlightenment's secular gospel of progress. He himself said in concluding the *Origin* that "As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental environments will tend to progress towards perfection." While this may be an opinion to which those eliminated in the struggle for existence would not agree, it was taken up by a man like Herbert Spencer, who was trying to create an evolutionary social science. "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain—as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." "Always towards perfection is the mighty movement—towards complete development and a more unmixed good; subordinating in its universality all petty irregularities and fallings back, as the curvature of the earth subordinates mountains and valleys. Even in evils the student learns to recognize only a struggling beneficence. But above all he is struck with the inherent sufficingness of things." Huxley himself was not sure. "I know of no study which is so saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history. . . . Man is a brute, only more intelligent than other brutes." "Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability." If there is any hope of great improvement it will come "by deliberately resisting, instead of cooperating with, the processes of nature." "Social progress means the checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another which may be called the ethical process."³⁶

SCIENCE AND MECHANISM

Whether the scientist thought that evolution by natural selection foretold the perfection or doom of mankind, it was certain that work in the

³⁶J. B. Bury, *Idea of Progress*, pp. 336, 338, 340, 344-345.

other fields of science was confirming him in the faith he had inherited from the days of Newton as to the way in which his own world of nature worked, in science as "a continuous disclosure of the established order of the universe." (H. Spencer) The results of the relentless pursuit of scientific method always pointed to the functioning of nature in terms of law. The theory of evolution became a natural law. These laws could often be expressed in mathematical terms. They were what made natural forces act the way they did (causes), and observed phenomena were effects of these natural causes or laws.³⁷ The universe was a gigantic mechanism.

SCIENCE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the beginning of the nineteenth century astronomy, and that branch of physics called mechanics, had been subjected to the order referred to above. Priestley and Lavoisier started to bring order into chemistry. There was, however, at this date really no science of physics and chemistry, and without them no very experimental botany, zoology, or geology. "The geological and biological sciences . . . remained almost wholly descriptive; and under the influence of ancient preconceptions, the complicated phenomena they summarized were universally interpreted either by Biblical legend or by animistic theories of later theological origin."

SCIENCE AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the end of the nineteenth century the scientific picture had been greatly altered. The nineteenth was the century when "man's slowly accumulated knowledge of natural phenomena was first thoroughly organized, by universal generalizations of fact [for example, evolution by natural selection, conservation of energy] and by minutely analytical theories of comparable scope [theory of cells] into a coherent body of doctrine, clean-cut and self-consistent, yet tentative and adaptable to the incorporation of new knowledge: a scheme of thought which has proved itself to be the most effective instrument of cultural progress that human skill has yet devised."³⁸ In fact, nineteenth-century science worked out four new dominant and controlling ideas. Two had to do with change: (1) the evolution of species already discussed; and (2) the conservation of energy stating that material change involves no loss of energy. Another established (3) the notion of fields, "of physical activity pervading all space, such as light waves and essentially similar electro-magnetic waves, moving through a universal ether." The final leading idea was (4) a return to an atomic theory of matter. John Dalton introduced it into chemistry at the beginning of the century. The cell theory was its biological counterpart. "By 1840 both biology

³⁷See H. Dingle, "The Significance of Science," in *A Century of Science (1851-1951)*.

³⁸F. Barry, introd. *Essays by T. H. Huxley*, The Modern Reading Series (Macmillan), pp. viii, vii.

and chemistry were established on an atomic basis." These four ideas, in the words of Whitehead, "transformed the middle period of the century into an orgy of scientific triumph." The orgy was intensified by "the greatest invention of the nineteenth century . . . the invention of the method of invention," which transformed a change that had hitherto been "slow, unconscious and unexpected" into one that "became quick, conscious and expected." "The full self-conscious realisation of the power of professionalism in knowledge in all its departments, and of the way to produce the professional, and of the importance of knowledge to the advance of technology, and of the methods by which abstract knowledge can be connected with technology, and of the boundless possibilities of technological advance, the realization of all these things was first completely attained in the nineteenth century, and among the various countries, chiefly in Germany."³⁹

THE LEADERS IN SCIENCE

Some of the men responsible for the interdependent, international endeavour of this scientific century need to be mentioned. The development of the field of electricity and magnetism was associated with H. C. Oersted, A. M. Ampère, G. S. Ohm, Michael Faraday, and James Clerk Maxwell. The law of the conservation of energy (*Die Erhaltung der Kraft*), namely, that the "quantity of force which can be brought into action in the whole of nature is unchangeable," was finally formulated by Hermann Helmholtz in a paper read to the Physical Society of Berlin in 1847. Lord Kelvin (William Thomson) went on to the dissipation of energy, namely, to the idea that while the total energy is constant the "useful" energy is diminishing by the "continual degeneration of other forms into non-useful heat." This conclusion was described by Helmholtz as threatening "the universe, though indeed only in infinite time, with eternal death."⁴⁰

The cell theory, tying together botany and zoology, was first expressed by Theodor Schwann in 1838. "All the varied forms in the animal tissues are nothing but transformed cells, . . . uniformity of structure is found throughout the animal kingdom, . . . in consequence a cellular

³⁹A. N. Whitehead, "The Nineteenth Century," *Science and the Modern World* (The New American Library), pp. 102, 103, 98. The following simple list of noteworthy technological advances of the nineteenth century may be given: lighting by gas, friction matches, the sewing machine, photography, including those adaptations by Eastman and Edison resulting in the moving-picture camera, anesthesia, ophthalmoscope, rubber, telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, electric battery, motor, dynamo, phonograph, linotype, preservation of food by canning and refrigeration, aniline dyes, Bessemer process in steel, internal-combustion engine, and the various machines (plows, harrows, mowing machines, harvesters, tractors, combines) mechanizing agriculture. These and others are all discussed in Appendix A of *A Short History of Science* (revised) by W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler (New York: Macmillan, 1946).

⁴⁰Sedgwick and Tyler, pp. 408, 409.

origin is common to all living things. All my work has authorized me to apply to animals as to plants the doctrine of the individuality of cells."⁴¹ Botany as pursued by Konrad Spengel and Wilhelm Hofmeister was preoccupied with the study of sexuality in plants. Louis Pasteur's (1822-1895) extraordinary genius made him the founder of modern bacteriology and of the germ theory of disease. His work with fermentations of various kinds led him to insist upon particular fermentations as the result of different organisms introduced into, and not spontaneously generated by, the fermented liquid.⁴² His work with anthrax and rabies led to the discovery of vaccines which could render these diseases harmless.

In the course of the nineteenth century, medicine, the great example of scientific humanism, became again scientific, that is, again after Hippocrates and Galen. Men like Robert Koch and Paul Ehrlich, pursuing the germ theory of disease with the aid of new compound microscopes and new techniques of making cultures of bacteria with the aid of stains of new aniline dyes, made possible the discovery of the particular germs for such diseases as tuberculosis, diphtheria, and syphilis, and therefore of their prevention with vaccine and cure. Surgery became something more than a painful butchery, with the discovery and use of anesthesia (C. T. Jackson) making it possible for the surgeon not to have to rush to accomplish his task. Joseph Lister emphasized the importance of sterile conditions in operating rooms on doctors and on patients. At the end of the century (1895) W. K. Röntgen discovered X rays and thus facilitated the diagnosis of internal disease and the cure of such horrors as cancer.

The wonderful mechanism of heredity was worked out by August Weismann. He gave up the notion of the inheritance of acquired characteristics for the determination of heredity by a continuous germ plasm formed of the male and female cells with their chromosomes and genes. The mathematical relationship between dominant and recessive characteristics in succeeding generations was first worked out by Gregor Mendel in a Moravian monastery (1866) and brought to light when others had discovered these relationships independently (for example, De Vries). Helmholtz was the inventor of the ophthalmoscope which to his first users "unfolded . . . a new world" of the interior of the eye, as the telescope and microscope had earlier revealed their new worlds. It was Galvani and Volta who were responsible for a battery producing an electric current "whose application has transformed our civilisation."⁴³ It was the Frenchman Appert who worked out the process of canning food. John Dalton's introduction of the atomic theory into chemistry started a controversy of some fifty years' duration before a satisfactory atomic-molecular theory was worked out to unite all fields of science.

⁴¹Sedgwick and Tyler, p. 429.

⁴²See J. B. Conant, *Science and Common Sense*, Chaps. viii-ix.

⁴³Wightman, *The Growth of Scientific Ideas*, p. 224.

The history of western thought has been in part the history of its conditioning by western science. Science gave to the Enlightenment the general character of its thought. After Darwin the evolutionary principle characterized many fields of thought. Two further examples of the scientific influence upon thought in the nineteenth century and of the resulting conflict with Christianity can be noticed in the work of Auguste Comte, the French positivist (1798-1857), and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), the German classical scholar and philosopher. In both cases the scientific point of view led to strong reactions against cardinal features of the western tradition. Science in the form of scientific humanism looked forward to the amelioration of man's sad lot upon this earth. The positivism of Comte and the philosophy of Nietzsche joined hands with those who had no faith in man, except as the aristocrat or a member of the *élite*. They were content to see mankind governed by a new authoritarianism.

AUGUSTE COMTE

In his early years Comte was associated with Saint-Simon, the Utopian socialist. The political history of his day, the oscillation between revolution and reaction, required, he thought, some system that would establish order once and for all. Such a system must not, however, thwart progress; it must combine order and progress, the principles of the romantic reactionaries de Maistre and de Bonald, with those of the perfectionists and progressivists such as Condorcet. The basis of such a combination must be science—the positive verifiable principles established by observation and experiment. This is what positivism means—reliance upon the methods and results of science in all fields, including those usually considered nonscientific, for example, literature and history. While Comte recognized that the history of science had destroyed orthodox Christianity, he saw clearly that his positive philosophy when converted into positive politics would have to have a religious basis. It would have to draw upon the Christian teachings of love and brotherhood. He proposed, therefore, as the religious basis for his scientific state a religion of humanity, and he gave it an organization essentially Catholic. This Church has been called “Catholicism without Christianity” or “Catholicism plus science.” Comte wished to sanctify his scientific humanism with a non-Christian asceticism.

This was all very well meant. Comte's ideas were built upon definite convictions as to how the western world had developed and how the sciences had developed within that world. The early nineteenth century marked the West's emergence from a metaphysical into a positive age, such as had taken place when it emerged from a theological into a metaphysical age. The theological age combined the whole ancient and medieval periods down to about 1400. It interprets the natural world in

love of its worshippers." The object, therefore, of positive religion is "a Being whose nature is relative, modifiable and perfectible," hence progressive. Comte was of the opinion that the "gradual development of humanity favours a growing preponderance of the noblest tendencies of our nature." The progress which the religion of humanity promotes is "the development of order under the influence of love." Like other religions it must have its cult ("sociolatry") with its own virgin mother, its saints, the servants of humanity (of which Jesus was not one), its sacraments, and its own calendar. "Humanity definitely occupies the place of God."⁴⁷

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Nietzsche was the son of a German Lutheran pastor and a student of the classics at the universities of Bonn and Leipzig. As a member of the faculty of the University of Basel he was a colleague of the distinguished historian Jacob Burckhardt (*The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy*), one of the few men he admired. A very intelligent and sensitive person, Nietzsche suffered agonies from ill health, and for the last years of his life wandered alone from place to place in search of a satisfactory abode until apoplexy and insanity overtook him in 1889. There was little in the society of his day that this neurotic scholar called good. He did not like its industrialism, its materialism, or its socialism. He detested its democracy, with its cult of mediocrity and its "slave Christian morality." He placed his confidence not in ordinary men, but in the "superman"—whom organic evolution, in its amoral struggle for power and survival, would produce: "blond beasts," the strong men, aristocrats of the future. It was for such "lords of the earth" that he wrote. Goethe he could admire as the last aristocratic western mind.

The superman need not be bothered by the traditional morality of meek and exhausted men protected by Christianity. A creature of power, his morality will be "beyond good and evil." All conventional moralities will have to be overthrown and a new one created by an anti-Christ who might well be Nietzsche himself. Comte refused to list Jesus as one of his humanitarian saints. Nietzsche himself wished to supplant him as a new prophet of mankind, a prophet of "a complete and absolute nihilism never perhaps achieved before or since in human thinking."⁴⁸ To such a man John Stuart Mill was merely a "blockhead."

"I teach you the superman! What to man is the ape? Man shall be the same to the superman. . . : Man is a rope connecting animal and superman. The greatness of man lies in this: that he is a bridge and not a goal." "This world is the Will to Power and nothing more!" "I have declared war against the anaemic Christian ideal (together with what is closely related to it), not because I want to annihilate, but only to put an

⁴⁷Willey, pp. 190-191, 192, 197, 202.

⁴⁸Quoted in H. F. West, *Rebel Thought*, p. 222.

end to its tyranny and clear the way for other ideals, for more robust ideals."⁴⁹ "After thousands of years of error and confusion, it is my good fortune to have rediscovered the road which leads to a Yea and to a Nay. I teach people to say Nay in the face of all that makes for weakness and exhaustion. I teach people to say Yea in the face of all that makes for strength, that preserves strength, and justifies the feeling of strength. Up to the present, neither the one nor the other has been taught; but rather virtue, disinterestedness, pity, and even the negation of life. All these are values proceeding from exhausted people. . . . People had actually given the name 'God' to all that renders weak, teaches weakness, and infects with weakness."⁵⁰

NIETZSCHE AND THE ASCETIC IDEAL

In the third essay of *The Genealogy of Morals* Nietzsche discusses "What is the meaning of Ascetic Ideals?" Here he describes earth "from the vantage of a distant star" as the "ascetic planet, . . . a den of discontented, arrogant and repulsive creatures, who never got rid of a deep disgust of themselves, of the world, of all life, and did themselves as much hurt as possible out of pleasure in hurting—presumably their one and only pleasure." The ascetic tradition is looked upon as the philosophy of the sick. "Preventing the sick making the healthy sick—for that is what such a soddenness comes to—this ought to be our supreme object in the world." "The ascetic priest must be accepted by us as the predestined saviour, herdsman and champion of the sick herd." The methods employed by the ascetic priest include "stifling of all vitality . . . and especially the method of 'love your neighbor,' herd organization, [and] the awaking of the communal consciousness of power, to such a pitch that the individual's disgust with himself becomes eclipsed by his delight in the thriving of the community." "The keynote by which the ascetic priest was enabled to get every kind of agonising and ecstatic music to play on the fibres of the human soul—was, as everyone knows, the exploitation of the feeling of 'guilt' [sin]." "Everywhere the scourge, the hair shirt, the starving body, contrition; everywhere the sinner breaking himself on the ghastly wheel of a restless and morbidly eager conscience; everywhere mute pain, extreme fear, the agony of a tortured heart, the spasms of an unknown happiness, the shriek for 'redemption.'" "Speaking generally, the ascetic ideal and its sublime-moral cult, this most ingenious, reckless, and perilous systematisation of all methods of emotional excess, is writ large in a dreadful and unforgettable fashion on the whole history of man, and unfortunately not only on history. I was scarcely able to put forward any other element which attacked the health and race efficiency of Europeans with more destructive power than did this ideal; it can be dubbed, without exaggeration, the real

⁴⁹West, pp. 235, 230, 232.

⁵⁰H. Mann, *The Living Thoughts of Nietzsche*, pp. 119–120.

fatality in the history of the health of the European man." "The ascetic ideal has an aim—this goal is, putting it generally, that all the other interests of human life should, measured by its standard, appear petty and narrow." "The religion of pity" Nietzsche grouped with "the advent of democracy, or arbitration instead of war," and "equal rights for women," as "symptoms of declining life."⁵¹

Nietzsche did not agree that science was the one force successfully opposing asceticism, for it was but another kind of asceticism. "Has," he asks, "there not been since the time of Copernicus an unbroken progress in the self-belittling of man and his will for belittling himself? Alas, his belief in his dignity, his uniqueness, his irreplaceableness in the scheme of existence is gone—he has become animal, literal, unqualified, and unmitigated animal, he who in his earlier belief was almost God ('child of God,' 'demi-God'). Since Copernicus man seems to have fallen on to a steep plane—he rolls faster and faster away from the center—whither? into nothingness? into the 'thrilling sensation of his own nothingness'? Well! this would be the straight way—to the old ideal? All science . . . nowadays sets out to talk man out of his present opinion of himself, as though that opinion had been nothing but a bizarre piece of conceit; you might go so far as to say that science finds its peculiar pride in preserving man's contempt of himself."⁵²

The ascetic ideal in its origin was just this will for nothingness. Man did not object to suffering but to the "senselessness of suffering . . . and the ascetic ideal gave it [suffering] a meaning!" "The explanation—there is no doubt about it—brought in its train new suffering, deeper, more penetrating, more venomous, growing more brutally into life; it brought all suffering under the perspective of guilt [sin]; but in spite of all that—man was saved thereby, he had a meaning, and from henceforth was no more like a leaf in the wind, a shuttlecock of chance, of nonsense, he could now 'will' something. . . . It is absolutely impossible to disguise what in point of fact is made clear by every complete will that has taken its direction from the ascetic ideal: this hate of the human, and even more of the animal, and more still of the material, this horror of the senses, of reason itself, this fear of happiness and beauty, this desire to get right away from all illusion, change, growth, death, wishing, and even desiring—all this means—let us have the courage to grasp it—a will for Nothingness, a will opposed to life, a repudiation of the most fundamental conditions of life, but it is and remains a will! . . . man will wish Nothingness rather than not wish at all."⁵³ In the neurotic personality of a man like Nietzsche the age-old conflict between humanism and asceticism is resolved. Humanism in its scientific form had reduced man to a

⁵¹*The Philosophy of Nietzsche* (The Modern Library), pp. 742, 751, 765, 770, 773, 776, 784.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 785.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 792–793.

position of puny, animal insignificance, and this insignificance or nothingness was what the ascetic ideal had always sought.

SCIENCE AND LANGUAGE

In Comte and Nietzsche, then, science appeared to be leading the humanistic tradition into its ascetic opposite, into the theocratic state and society with Comte and into mystical oblivion according to Nietzsche's interpretation. Literature as well was seriously concerned with what science was doing to man, and with what science was doing to language, whether, that is, there could be any valid linguistic consideration of man. The Enlightenment considered the problem of whether one could use words derived from sense experience to express nonsensible ideas. The great prestige of Darwinism and other sciences in the nineteenth century led to a further positivistic trust in language to describe the natural and physical worlds and to a corresponding distrust and devaluation of words in those fields of art, religion, and philosophy that science had ignored.

LITERATURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Literature flourished in the nineteenth century. It lost the cosmopolitan character French leadership had given it in the eighteenth century and developed along national lines.⁵⁴ The languages and literatures of those peoples who were anxious to preserve their nationalities in multinational states and even secure political independence were especially cultivated (Greek, Czech, Rumanian), and the literatures of older nationalities seeking unification (Italy, Germany) were stimulated by the nationalistic struggle. Among literary forms it was the novel that developed most highly, reacting to the need of the middle classes for "a rattling good story." A product first of the eighteenth century, it proved a most flexible form in the nineteenth, exploring many new paths after the Romantic movement with Sir Walter Scott had started the historical novel. Within the nations of western Europe the novel tended to follow the pattern of the visual arts, and there developed a succession of schools or fashions determined by the prevailing intellectual atmosphere and the internal character of artistic circles themselves. Under the pressure, in part, of scientific objectivity the romantic novel gave way to the realistic novel (Balzac), and the realistic to the naturalistic (Zola). But these are all oversimplified classifications that fail to do justice to the great variety, fertility, and originality of the literary imagination. Under American (Hawthorne, Poe) and French (Maupassant) auspices the short story pushed ahead. The drama (on the Continent) and poetry, with ancient traditions of their own, were only less prominently active than the younger novel.

⁵⁴See Paul von Tregheim, "The Modern Period," *Outline of the Literary History of Europe since the Renaissance*.

THE THEMES OF LITERATURE

Literature, no less than philosophy and religion, had to concern itself with what science and industry were doing to the world of man, and particularly with what Darwinism was doing to the humanistic tradition. It had to ask also what, according to scholarly gossip, President Eliot of Harvard had to ask when confronted by too much philosophical enthusiasm for man. A great philosophy department wished to have inscribed on its new building an ancient pronouncement of a Greek philosopher, "Man is the measure of all things."⁵⁵ But this was changed, after the matter had passed through the president's hands, to "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"⁵⁶ Poets and novelists, as well as essayists such as Arnold, Huxley, and Nietzsche, had to ask fundamental questions about evolution, science, and their relation to religion and the poetical outlook on life. These questions may be considered by referring to Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), George Eliot (Mary Evans, 1819-1880), and Thomas Hardy (1840-1928).

ALFRED TENNYSON

Tennyson, Queen Victoria's poet laureate, made strenuous efforts to reconcile the developments of science with religion and a high concept of man.⁵⁷ Man, he thought, came when "gentleness" was "wed with manhood."

The result was

This main miracle that thou art thou
With power on thine own act and on the world.

"You know," he said, "there is free will. It is limited, of course. We are like birds in a cage, but we can hop from perch to perch—till the roof is taken off."⁵⁸

As a boy he had been intensely interested in science. His early poems have no difficulty in rendering Laplace's theory of the nebular origin of the universe:

Regions of lucid matter taking forms,
Brushes of fire, hazy gleams,
Clusters and beds of worlds, and bee-like swarms
of suns, and starry streams.

At Cambridge his tutor was William Whewell, who wrote a history of the inductive sciences, and among his friends was one (Hallam) who described his return to Cambridge after a holiday as that of "a melancholy

⁵⁵See Vol. I, p. 90.

⁵⁶The incident is related in D. Bush, *Science and English Poetry*, p. 137.

⁵⁷I am using especially W. C. Gordon, *The Social Ideals of Alfred Tennyson*, and Lionel Stevenson, *Darwin among the Poets*.

⁵⁸Gordon, p. 67.

pterodactyl winging his lonely flight among the linnets, eagles, and flying fishes of our degenerate post-Adamic world."⁵⁹ After college he kept up his acquaintance with science, and for a period spent his mornings studying its respective fields ("Tuesday, chemistry; Wednesday, botany; Thursday, electricity; Friday, animal physiology; Saturday, mechanics").

Such reading put him in touch with scientific ideas of ceaseless change and led him to relate such ideas with progress—change always in an upward direction, an evolutionary movement:

All nature widens upward: evermore
The simpler essence lower lies.
More complex is more perfect, owning more
Discourse, more widely wise.

He believed that

Men may rise on stepping stones
Of their ideal selves to higher things.

.
I see in part
That all, as in some piece of art,
Is toil cooperant to an end.

But it is an end guided not by chance but by the hand of God.

That God which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

When Tennyson met Darwin he asked, "Your theory of evolution does not make against Christianity?" Darwin replied, "No, certainly not." But Tennyson was really afraid, and had long been afraid, that it did. In *The Two Voices* there is conflict between "the doubts inspired by science, tending toward depression and suicide, and the faith based on orthodox religion."⁶⁰ Tennyson, suggesting reincarnation as a valid belief, challenged all argument with a fundamental mysticism. This argument is continued in *In Memoriam*, written to resolve in his mind the injustice of his friend Hallam's death, and published before *The Origin of Species*. It is a vindication of the poetic, the mystical, the intuitive rather than the objective, scientific outlook. It is "believing where we cannot prove." Early in *In Memoriam*, Sorrow "whispers from [her] dying lip"

'The stars,' she whispers, 'blindly run;
A web is woven across the sky;
From out waste places comes a cry,
And murmurs from the dying sun;

⁵⁹Stevenson, p. 59.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 79.

'And all the phantom, Nature, stands—
With all the music in her tone,
A hollow echo of my own,—
A hollow form with empty hands.'

And shall I take a thing so blind,
Embrace her as my natural good;
Or crush her, like a vice of blood,
Upon the threshold of the mind?

It is difficult for him to believe in a dying universe, with no purpose in it all:

O, yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;
That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void
When God hath made the pile complete;
That not a worm is cloven in vain;
That not a moth with vain desire
Is shrivell'd in a fruitless fire,
Or but subserves another's gain.
Behold, we know not anything;
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.
So runs my dream; but what am I?
An infant crying in the night;
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.

.

Are God and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life,
That I, considering everywhere
Her secret meaning in her deeds,
And finding that of fifty seeds
She often brings but one to bear,
I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,
I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

'So careful of the type?' but no.
From scarped cliff and quarried stone
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone;
I care for nothing, all shall go.

'Thou makest thine appeal to me.
I bring to life, I bring to death;
The spirit does but mean the breath:
I know no more.' And he, shall he,

Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
Who roll'd the psalm to wintry skies,
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed
And love Creation's final law—
Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shriek'd against his creed—

Who loved, who suffer'd countless ills,
Who battled for the True, the Just,
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or seal'd within the iron hills?

No more? A monster then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime,
That tare each other in their slime,
Were mellow music match'd with him.

O life as futile, then, as frail!
O for thy voice to soothe and bless!
What hope of answer, or redress?
Behind the veil, behind the veil.

Tennyson must believe in a spiritual evolution burning out the beast:

But trust that those we call the dead
Are breathers of an ampler day
For ever nobler ends. They say,
The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,
And grew to seeming-random forms,
The seeming prey of cyclic storms,
Till at the last arose the man;

Who throve and branch'd from clime to clime,
The herald of a higher race,
And of himself in higher place,
If so he type this work of time.

Within himself, from more to more;
Or, crown'd with attributes of woe
Like glories, move his course, and show
That life is not as idle ore,

But not dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And batter'd with the shocks of doom

To shape and use. Arise and fly
The reeling Faun, the sensual feast;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die.

.

There rolls the deep where grew the tree.
O earth, what changes hast thou seen!
There where the long street roars hath been
The stillness of the central sea.

The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mist, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

But in my spirit will I dwell,
And dream my dream, and hold it true;
For tho' my lips may breathe adieu,
I cannot think the thing farewell.

THE QUESTION OF HERITAGE

Before Arnold, Wordsworth in *The Excursion* had expressed his hope that the English state might assume the obligation of giving all Englishmen the opportunity to absorb the inherited culture of the race.

Binding herself by statute to secure
For all the children whom her soil maintains
The rudiments of letters, and inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practiced—so that none
However destitute be left to droop
By timely culture unrestrained; or run
Into a wild disorder; or be forced
To drudge through a weary life without the help
Of intellectual implements and tools;
A savage horde among the civilized,
A servile bond among the lordly free.

The popularity of the novel was due in part to its appeal to the new middle classes, and novelists now disregarded upon peril of popularity the wishes of their new audience. Even illiterate charwomen, we are told, gathered together monthly to hear read the last installment of the latest Dickens novel. Wordsworth himself was assured that his hope for an expansion of culture to all classes was false. "I [Thomas Moore] broached to him my notions (long entertained by me) respecting the ruinous effects to literature likely to arise from the boasted diffusion of educa-

tion; the lowering of the standard that must necessarily arise from the extending of the circle of judges; from letting the mob in to vote, particularly at a period when the market is such an object to authors. . . . All the great things in literature have been achieved when the readers were few." Mr. Moore at this time was not able to foresee the greatness of the novel in the nineteenth century, or he might have limited his strictures.

GEORGE ELIOT

One of its most distinguished practitioners, George Eliot (*Romola*, *Adam Bede*, *Middlemarch*) certainly did not let her work be determined solely by the market. She "assailed the spinelessness of popular fiction,"⁶¹ insisting indeed that fiction should be made philosophical. "No one was more thoroughly abreast of the newest thought, the latest French or German theory, the last interpretations of dogma, the most up-to-date results in anthropology, medicine, biology or sociology. . . . She was the first English writer to bring an intellect of that calibre to the service of fiction."⁶²

Her intellectual growth was determined by the new science, the positivism of Comte, and the historical attack upon the mythical and theological foundations of Christianity. While walking with a friend in the Fellows' Garden of Trinity College, Cambridge, in May, 1873, she said, with respect to God, Immortality, and Duty, "with terrible earnestness, how inconceivable was the first, how unbelievable the second, and yet how peremptory and absolute was the third." She undertook the translation of Strauss's *Life of Jesus* (1846) into English and while doing this work became acquainted with Comte's positive philosophy then being translated into English. She also translated Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*⁶³ and was, of course, very interested in Renan's *Life of Jesus*.

She had been much influenced to begin with by her friend Charles Hennell's *Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity* (1838). Hennell's point of view may be illustrated from his preface, where he says that he hoped that his research would save "The principal miraculous facts supposed to lie at the foundation of Christianity." But as his work progressed he became convinced "that the true account of the life of Jesus Christ, and of the spread of his religion, would be found to contain no deviation from the known laws of nature, nor to require, for their explanation, more than the operation of human motives and feelings, acting upon the circumstances of the age and country whence the religion originated." The interest in Strauss and Feuerbach followed from the reading of this book. Strauss was worried about the effect of his highly critical work upon the faith of many. "The boundless store of truth and life which for eighteen centuries has been the aliment of

⁶¹Ed. J. E. Baker, *The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature*, pp. 32, 84.

⁶²B. Willey, *Nineteenth Century Studies*, p. 205.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.

humanity, seems irretrievably dissipated: the most sublime levelled with the dust, God divested of his grace, man of his dignity, and the tie between heaven and earth broken."⁶⁴

Before George Eliot undertook the translation of Feuerbach's book (1854) she had come to the conclusion that "it would be wise in our theological teachers, instead of struggling to retain a footing for themselves and their doctrine on the crumbling structure of dogmatic interpretation, to cherish those more liberal views of biblical criticism, which, admitting of a development of the Christian system corresponding to the wants and the culture of the age, would enable it to strike a firm root in man's moral nature, and to entwine itself with the growth of those new forms of social life to which we are tending." (Willey, p. 230) Marx thought that Feuerbach's work "consists in the dissolution of the religious world into its secular basis." (p. 231) Christianity, Feuerbach thought, had become anachronistic so that a new religion (this new religion which everyone cried out for!) was needed—"a de-supernaturalized humanism." (p. 231) "It is a question today," he wrote, "no longer of the existence or non-existence of God, but of the existence or non-existence of man; not whether God is a creature whose nature is the same as ours, but whether we human beings are to be equal among ourselves; not whether and how we can partake of the body of the Lord by eating bread, but whether we have enough bread for our own bodies; not whether we render unto God what is God's and unto Caesar what is Caesar's, but whether we finally render unto man what is man's; not whether we are Christians or heathens, theists or atheists, but whether we are or can become men, healthy in soul and body, free, active and full of vitality." (p. 231) In the *Essence of Christianity* he contended that God "is an ideal substitute for the real world, a wish-fulfilling symbol, which we worship, because we find that easier and more satisfying than improving the real world." (p. 234)

One who has studied George Eliot in detail writes that she absorbed the fundamentals of Strauss, Comte, and Feuerbach into her own point of view. "The supersession of God by Humanity, of Faith by Love and Sympathy, the elimination of the supernatural, the elevation of the natural, the subordination of intellect to heart, thought to feeling—these may all be found in her novels as well as in her letters." (p. 237) When she read Darwin she wrote, "to me the Development Theory, and all other explanations of processes by which things came to be, produce a feeble impression compared with the mystery that lies under the processes." (p. 238) When she read Renan's *Life of Jesus* she said, "It seems to me the soul of Christianity lies not at all in the facts of an individual life but in the ideas of which that life was the meeting-point and the new starting-point. We can never have a satisfactory basis for the history of

⁶⁴Willey, pp. 210, 225. Cf. Albert Schweitzer's *The Search for the Historical Jesus*.

the man Jesus, but that negation does not affect the Idea of the Christ either in its historical influence or its great symbolic meanings." (p. 239)

She wrote to a friend while writing *Romola*: "Pray don't ever ask me again not to rob a man of his religious belief, as if you thought my mind tended to such robbery. I have too profound a conviction of the efficacy that lies in all sincere faith, and the spiritual blight that comes with no faith, to have any negative propagandism in me. In fact, I have very little sympathy with Freethinkers as a class, and have lost all interest in mere antagonism to religious doctrines. I've only to know, if possible, the lasting meaning that lies in all religious doctrine from the beginning till now." (p. 239) "I have faith in the working out of higher possibilities than the Catholic or any other Church has presented, and those who have strength to wait and endure are bound to accept no formula which their whole souls—their intellect as well as their emotions—do not embrace with entire reverence." (p. 238) "My books have for their main hearing a conclusion . . . without which I could not have cared to write any representation of human life—namely, that the fellowship between man and man which has been the principle of development, social and moral, is not dependent on conceptions of what is not man; and that the idea of God, so far as it has been a high spiritual influence, is the ideal of a goodness entirely human [an exaltation of the human]." (p. 240) "If art does not enlarge men's sympathies, it does nothing morally. I have had heart-cutting experience that opinions are a poor cement between human souls: and the only effect I ardently long to produce by my writings is, that those who read them should be better able to *imagine* and to *feel* the pains and the joys of those who differ from themselves in everything but the broad facts of being struggling, erring, human creatures." (p. 244)

THOMAS HARDY

Thomas Hardy, like George Eliot and Tennyson, was well acquainted with the science of his day, read men like Comte, and let his novels and, above all, his poetry express the hopelessness, only slightly tempered by evolution, that he saw in a godless universe. Like Nietzsche, he was also influenced by the pessimistic German philosopher Schopenhauer, who helped him to supplant God by an Immanent Will, which produces change in the universe without producing necessarily any change for the better. It is in his extraordinary novel in verse, *The Dynasts*, that his mature views can best be traced. Hardy has been described as "a poet of fatalism," believing that "progress was an illusion, and that the primal force was merely a ceaseless craving for change in manifestation, unconscious of direction."⁶⁵

In 1876 Hardy expressed his general outlook as follows: "If it be possible to compress into a sentence all that a man learns between twenty

⁶⁵L. Stevenson, *Darwin Among the Poets*, p. 53, whom I am following for Hardy.

and forty, it is that all things merge into one another—good into evil, generosity into justice, religion into politics, the years into the ages, the world into the universe. With this in view, the evolution of species seems but a minute and obvious process in the same movement.” (Stevenson, p. 240) The evolutionary process he thought had produced in man a far too highly wrought and tense creature to be happy in this world. “A woeful fact, that the human race is too extremely developed for its corporeal conditions, the nerves being evolved to an activity abnormal in such an environment. Even the higher animals are in excess in this respect. It may be questioned if Nature, or what we call Nature, so far back as when she crossed the line from invertebrates to vertebrates, did not exceed her mission. This planet does not supply the material for happiness to higher existences—other planets may, though one can hardly see how.” (p. 266) He went out of his way at times to protest against the charge of pessimism in his poetry. “What is today alleged to be pessimism is, in truth, only ‘obstinate questionings’ in the exploration of reality, and is the first step towards the soul’s betterment, and the body’s also.” If there is any “way to the better” it must come from “the exploration of reality and its frank recognition stage by stage along the survey, with an eye to the best consummation possible; briefly, evolutionary meliorism, whether the human and kindred animal races survive till the exhaustion or destruction of the globe, or whether these races perish and are succeeded by others before that conclusion comes, pain to all upon it, tongued or dumb, shall be kept down to a minimum by loving kindness, operating through scientific knowledge, and actuated by the modicum of free will conjecturally possessed by organic life.” (p. 246) “If it be true as Comte argued, that advance is never in a straight line, but in a looped orbit, we may in the aforesaid ominous moving backward, be doing it *pour mieux sauter* [in order better to leap forward], drawing back for a spring. I repeat that I forlornly hope so, notwithstanding the supercilious regard of hope by Schopenhauer . . . and other philosophers down to Einstein who have my respect.” (p. 291) “Altruism or the Golden Rule, or whatever ‘Love your neighbor as yourself’ may be called, will ultimately be brought about I think by the pain we see in others reacting on ourselves, as if we and they were a part of one body. Mankind, in fact, may be and possibly will be viewed as members of one corporeal frame—‘the Prime Cause or Invariable Antecedent.’” (pp. 295–296) Perhaps, he thought, poetry (pure literature) could act as a mediator between religion and science (complete rationality) in helping to give meaning to the workings of this Prime Cause or Immanent Will. “Poetry, pure literature in general, religion—I include religion because poetry and religion touch each other, or rather modulate into each other; are, indeed often but different names for the same thing—These, I say, the visible signs of mental and emotional life, must like all other things keep moving, becoming. . . . It may be a forlorn hope, a mere dream, that of an alliance

between religion, which must be retained unless the world is to perish, and complete rationality, which must come, unless also the world is to perish, by means of the interfusing effect of poetry." (p. 297)

Under such an outlook specific religions become "local" and temporary phenomena, and the conventional God of man's creation has ceased to be:

A local thing called Christianity,
Which the wild dramas of this wheeling sphere
Include, with divers other such, in dim,
Pathetical, and brief parentheses;
Beyond whose reach, uninfluenced, unconcerned,
The systems of the suns go sweeping on. (p. 248)

(*The Dynasts*, I, I, VI)

In the poem *A Plaint to Man*, God says to man,

When you slowly emerged from the den of Time,
And gained percipience as you grew,
And fleshed you fair out of shapeless slime,

Wherefore, O Man, did there come to you
The unhappy need of creating me? (p. 242)

In *God's Funeral* this "unhappy need" has been destroyed by science, teaching that God is but a "figment of the idolatrous instinct." When men go so far as to make the God of their own creation their own creator, then

In Time's stayless stealthy swing,
Uncompromising rude reality
Mangled the Monarch of our fashioning,
Who quavered, sank: and now has ceased to be. (p. 250)

Under the circumstances it is necessary to ask (*Nature's Questioning*)

Has some vast Imbecility
Mighty to build and blend
But impotent to tend
Framed us in jest, and left us now to hazardry?

Or come we of an Automaton
Unconscious of our pains?
Or are we live remains
Of Godhead dying downwards, brain and eye now gone?

Or is it that some high Plan betides
As yet not understood,
Of evil stormed by Good,
We the Forlorn Hope over which Achievement strides? (p. 264)

THE INTERPRETATION OF PAINTING AND MUSIC

In discussing the poetry of color and of sound, that is, the history of painting and music in the nineteenth century, one must ask questions similar to those asked of literature. How were they influenced by industrialism and science, how did they reflect the general patterns of the age? The history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been interpreted in this book as the history of an Enlightenment, succeeded by a French Revolution. Together these succeeded in establishing a liberal tradition, which attached itself to an older humanistic tradition and shifted from a middle-class to a democratic phase in the nineteenth century. This liberal-humanistic tradition took national forms. It was both promoted and challenged by industrialism. To what extent does the history of painting accent this interpretation?

FRENCH PAINTING

Painting may be said to have developed in national schools. There were national expressions of general European trends that are defined chiefly by French painting, the most distinguished painting of the last hundred and fifty years, and the painting from which examples must be taken. But it is difficult to give the same meaning to the Enlightenment in French painting as to the Enlightenment in French thought. A different terminology is more appropriate. Eighteenth-century French painting (and art in general) is called rococo in style, a reaction from and a refinement of the baroque style of seventeenth-century France as it is to be found in the palace of Versailles or the art of Poussin. The historian would prefer to call this painting aristocratic. As it is to be found in the paintings of Fragonard and Watteau, to mention no others, it is obviously a product of the fluffy, flighty, frivolous, and decadent society of the Old Regime, a society of the salon, the boudoir, the Luxembourg gardens, or the little country retreat (Trianon). At its best this was a society of great gaiety and charm, for which Mozart wrote much of his music; at its worst, expressive of the irresponsible "after me the deluge" and "let them eat cake" attitude of a pleasure-seeking court. Fragonard painted a picture *The Swing* for one of his aristocratic patrons who told him, "I should like you to paint Madame [his mistress] in the swing. Place me so that I can see plainly the child's feet, or even more if you wish to give me especial pleasure." There were, to be sure, painters who did not belong to this "gallant school," painters who could be classified with Rousseau as pre-romantic, if not actually revolutionary. They go back to the genre painters of the seventeenth century and, as in the pictures of Chardin, reproduce the humble events in the lives of the simple and the poor.

DAVID

It is likewise difficult to speak of a French Revolution in painting and give it the same meaning as in politics, that is, the Enlightenment in action.

To be sure, there was a revolution in painting, represented in the work of David (1748-1825). What this revolution was like can be easily seen by comparing Fragonard's *The Swing* with David's *The Murder of Marat* (see Pl. 25). The soft fuzziness of the gallant manner has been replaced, and replaced for good, by the hard dramatic clarity of a style called neo-classic. Neoclassicism was taught in the French Academy at Rome, where David was a student. It was stimulated by the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum in the eighteenth century and by the writings of the German Winckelmann. It was a part of what has already been referred to as the West's first vital interest in Greek culture.⁶⁶ David became an ardent revolutionist after 1789, a member of the Convention, the Artistic Director of processions, festivals, and revolutionary propaganda.⁶⁷ Neoclassicism thus became the artistic style of the Revolution. It blended with the return in the minds of many revolutionaries to the virtuous days of the Roman Republic, when heroes gave their lives to make that republic glorious. These events and heroes needed to be recalled to stimulate the patriots of the Revolution, and recalled in the sculptural, colorless style of ancient statuary. David said on one occasion: "Not by pleasing the eye do works of art accomplish their purpose. The demand now is for examples of heroism and civic virtues which will electrify the souls of the people and arouse in them devotion to the fatherland."⁶⁸ He was instrumental in reorganizing the French Academy of Art. The neo-classical style became also the style of the Napoleonic empire, as David adapted his politics to the succession of events making the little Corsican a successor of the Roman emperors. David still remained under Napoleon the director of official French art as represented by the Academy. Neoclassicism was the politically proper academic style. David could tell a young painter to put away his "worthless occasional pieces." "Posterity requires of you good pictures out of ancient history." "Who, she will cry, was better to paint Themistocles? Quick, my friend, turn to your Plutarch."⁶⁹

DELACROIX

In the seventeenth century the classical literary tradition became academic and dogmatic and produced a revolt in the Battle of Books.⁷⁰ When neoclassicism became authoritarian as a style of painting, it too produced a revolt that was in fact a part of the larger Romantic movement.⁷¹ Its chief representative in France was Delacroix, and a comparison of his *Dante and Vergil in Hell* (Pl. 26) with David's *Marat* (Pl. 25) will

⁶⁶See pp. 413, 453 f.

⁶⁷See D. L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*.

⁶⁸Quoted in F. J. Mather, *History of Painting*, II, 685.

⁶⁹L. A. Coffin, *The Story of French Painting*, pp. 109 ff.

⁷⁰See pp. 58-59.

⁷¹See pp. 390 ff.

indicate the general differences between the neoclassical and romantic styles. Delacroix's painting reflects the literary influence of Byron (*Barge of St. Joan*), Scott, Goethe, and Dante. From the cold calm of linear neoclassicism he reacts with canvases of strong color depicting the stormy violence of exotic hunting scenes, the seductions of the harem, and fierce incidents in the Greek struggle for liberty (*Massacre of Scios*).

POSTROMANTIC PAINTING

The history of French painting in the nineteenth century repeats the history of French and, indeed, European politics; it is a series of revolutions. Romanticism is succeeded by realism, realism by impressionism, and at the end of the century impressionism by expressionism. These artistic revolutions may be called liberal in the sense that they are a refusal of artistic originality to be regimented by an official or dominant school or manner. They are a demand for the rights of artistic individualism and a part of the growth of western freedom. They may be said to have a certain humanistic or democratic aspect in the way in which they incorporate sympathetically subject matter taken from the lives of the new middle classes or of the working classes. Millet's *Gleaners* is well known. Daumier, one of the great postromantic painters, has much fun in his cartoons with the foibles of the French bourgeoisie, and in such paintings as *The Laundress* and *Third-Class Coach* (Pl. 27) his social sympathies are revealed. There are social paintings as well as social novels.

COURBET

Yet the revolts in French painting were primarily concerned with methods of painting and with the relation of painting to nature and life in general. Since the days of the Renaissance, that is, for some four centuries, painting had been preoccupied, under the guidance of classical art, with a faithful reproduction of nature and a realistic portrayal of man. Often enough these had been used to represent alien subject matter, a scene from Roman history or an illustration of classical mythology; and more often to illustrate themes of Christian history and legend. With the eighteenth century the great painting of the West ceased to be religious, reflecting the growing secularization of the western outlook. The realism which supplanted the romanticism of Delacroix may be best studied in the canvasses of Gustave Courbet. Courbet was interested only in imitating with every detail the things he saw: his own studio, a wave rolling onto the beach, a patch of snow in the woods, a casual meeting with a friend. When someone demanded that for once he abandon this relentless imitation and paint something from his imagination, he said that he would be glad to paint a goddess if one were shown him.

IMPRESSIONISM

Realism in painting, the stubborn refusal to go beyond the facts, was like the careful observation of nature proposed and being carried out by

science. A part of the tradition of painting had been that this reproduction could be done from memory in the studio, and accordingly most of the pre-nineteenth-century painting was dark. It now became obvious to painters that if nature was to be imitated faithfully they would have to go outside to paint, and outside they went and occasionally still go. Among the first to go was a group called the Barbizon painters (Barbizon was the spot near Paris to which they went). Their chief was Corot, whose landscapes' romantic delicacy has rarely been equalled. But to that group of painters known as impressionists it became clear that no painting had ever actually reproduced the light and color that were to be seen out of doors. They became aware that the world of nature, as seen, was a constantly shifting pattern of light and color, and that to try to do justice to it while painting outside would require a change to a new canvas every time light conditions modified the color relationships. The greatest painter of the impressionist school, Claude Monet, often painted the same subject matter, for example, Rouen Cathedral, at various times of the day in order to catch faithfully the subtle changes in light and color.

Impressionism came to be more than an attempt to render accurately a momentary atmospheric effect. It came to be also a definite technique, a technique well known to ancient stained-glass making, and now rediscovered, perhaps independently by the impressionists themselves, perhaps aided by such physicists who studied color in their laboratories as Rood of Columbia and the Frenchman Chevreul. The painters were experimenting with what is called broken color. They discovered that color can be made more vibrant, and the light in it more intense, if the eye of the beholder rather than the palette of the artist is permitted to mix the colors. The paintings of the impressionists will be found upon close examination to consist of the juxtaposition of small patches of color in such a manner as to reveal the brush work. Monet's paintings are poetic evocations of colored atmosphere. He loved to work with special atmospheric effects, the fog in London (Waterloo Bridge, Pl. 29), the smoke and steam in a railway station (Le Gare St. Lazare, Pl. 30), or a group of poplars at sunrise (Poplars at Giverny, Pl. 31). His disciples worked out his impressionistic technique with meticulous detail, refining the patches to little circles, triangles, and rectangles (*pointillisme*). The result in the paintings of Seurat (Sunday at the Grande Jatte, Pl. 32) is to give the impressionism of Monet a solidity that loses none of its poetry. "They see poetry in what I have done," he remarked. "No, I apply my method, and that is all there is to it."

But the literal imitation of nature in the manner of the impressionists became unsatisfactory to many painters. Monet was only an eye, some said, and he complained that a "new movement" against "the inconstancy of the impressionist image," preached the doctrine of "the solidity of unified volume"—"Pictures aren't made out of doctrines." Auguste Renoir, who painted in the impressionist manner for a period, a painter



David's portrait of his dead friend Marat (see p. 357) was made from sketches taken soon after Marat's murder by the Girondist Charlotte Corday. His murderess gained access by presenting the paper David includes in the picture: "13 July 1793, Charlotte Corday to Citizen Marat." "To be unfortunate is to be sure of your assistance." Considering the popularity of the contemporary gallant, rococo style, David paints his revolutionary propaganda in a revolutionary style.

Plate 25

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
Color transparency by McClean



When compared with David's portrait of the dead Marat, this treatment by Eugène Delacroix (Dante and Vergil in Hell, painted in 1821-1822) of a scene from the "Inferno" of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Canto VIII, The Crossing of the Styx, with the city of Dis, "Hell's metropolis," in the background) reveals many of the characteristics of a romantic painting: strong color, strong emotions and medieval religious subject matter. Delacroix was only twenty-four when he painted it and had the good fortune, after Thiers's praise, to have it purchased by the government for 1000 francs, less than half of what he wanted for it. See p. 638.

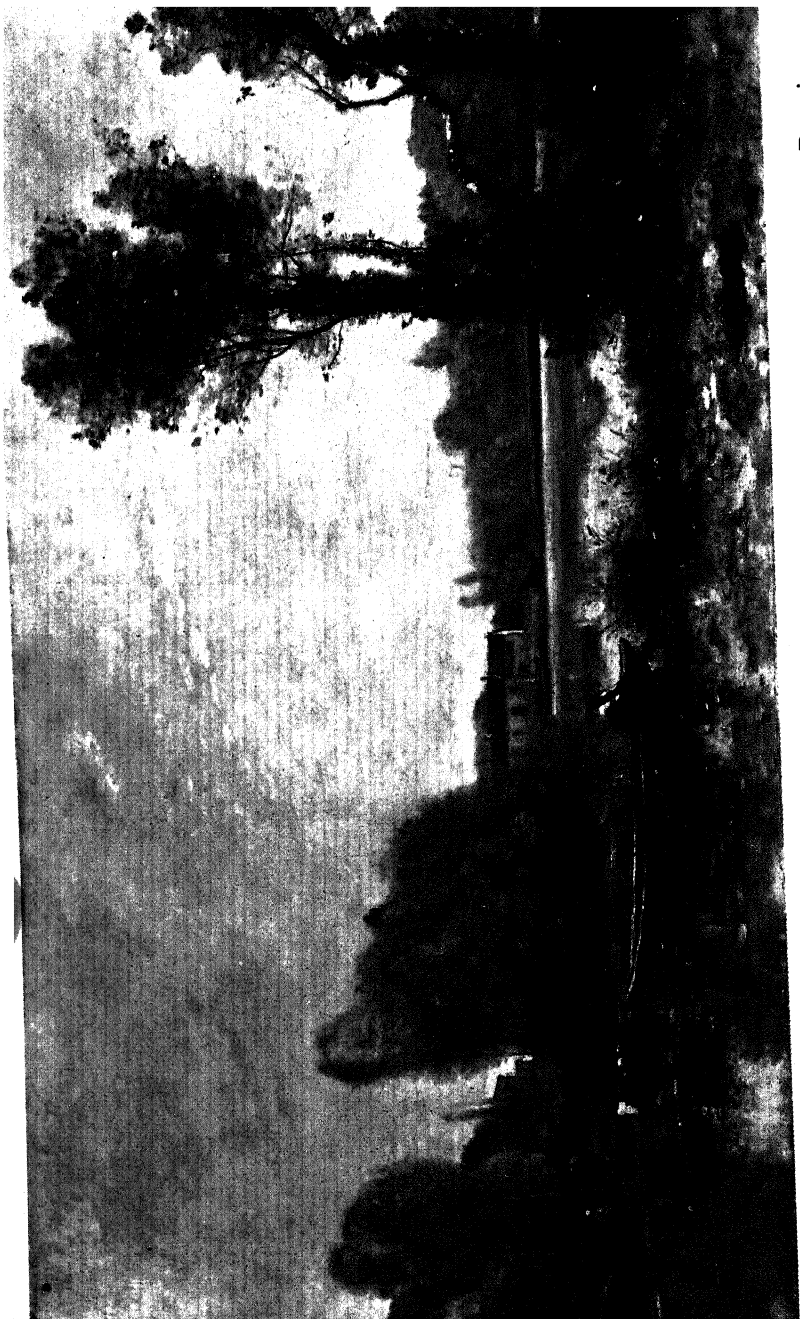
Plate 26

Musée du Louvre, Paris
Color transparency by Georges Viollon

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929; the H. O. Havemeyer Collection

The Third-Class Coach, a painting by Honoré Daumier. Daumier started out as a caricaturist and then worked as sculptor and painter. He had great fun with his art in making sport of pompous bourgeois, corrupt politicians, and, especially, lawyers. He went so far in the early 1830's as to represent King Louis Philippe as Gargantua and paid with six months in jail for this boldness. He did a drawing of this painting and, together with it, drawings of a "First Class" and a "Second Class" coach. The student might wish to compare these (all in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore) as an exercise in the use of art as political and social criticism. Daumier is an important social historian as well as critic. In this painting the human contents of a third-class French railroad carriage in the mid-nineteenth century come vividly and sympathetically to life. "No one ever represented with greater truth the varied types of Parisian character."





Camille Corot's Village of Avray is one of his four very beautiful landscapes in the Frick Collection. Reacting against the cold, literary, and historical classicism of painters like David, he went outdoors to get his inspiration. In this instance, the painter transforms a rather ordinary view into one of poetic and intimate calm.

Plate 28

Copyright The Frick Collection, New York



Between 1900 and 1904 Claude Monet (see p. 640) did thirty-seven views of the Thames River with Charing Cross Bridge, Waterloo Bridge, or the Houses of Parliament. This Waterloo Bridge shows "the struggle of the sun and the town's architectural masses imprisoned in fog." (G. Besson, *Monet*, p. 18)

Platc 29

Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection
Color transparency by Richard J. Brittain

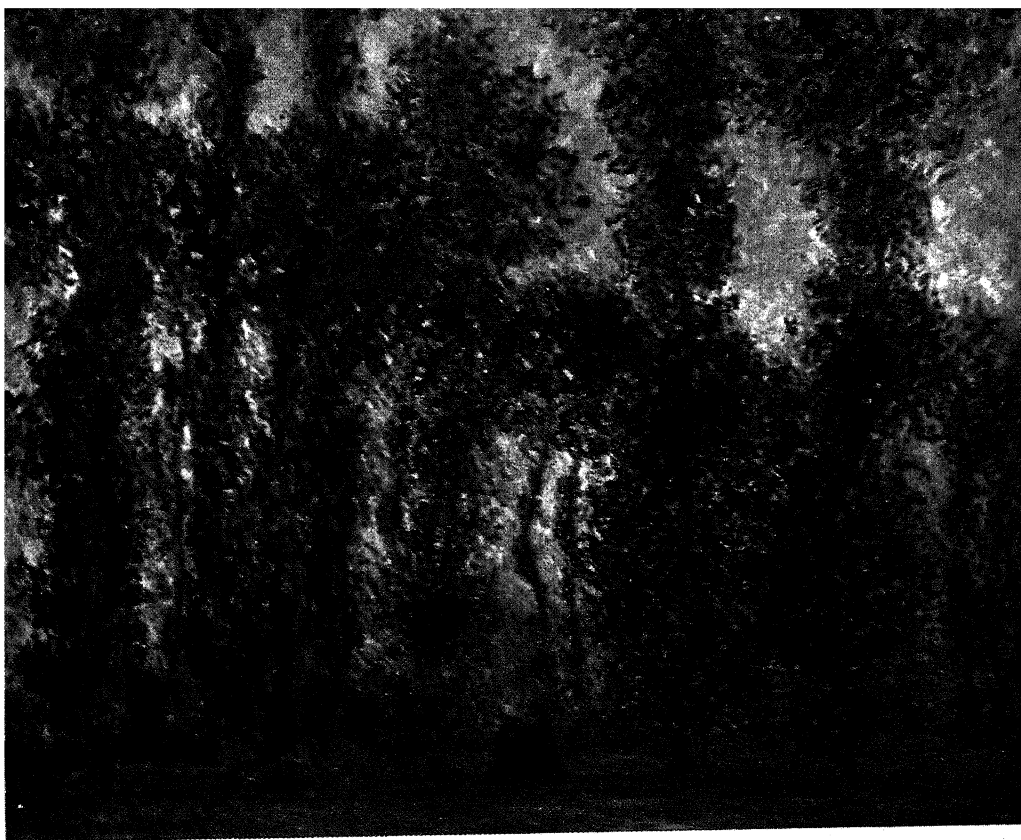
Plate 30

Musée du Louvre, Paris

Color transparency by Georges Viollon

If London fogs made an atmosphere calculated to attract a painter interested in the rendering of momentary color effects under various kinds and intensities of light, a railroad station would do the same. Its special atmosphere, compounded of smoke and steam, Monet tries to reproduce in this painting of the Paris station Saint-Lazare, made in 1877.

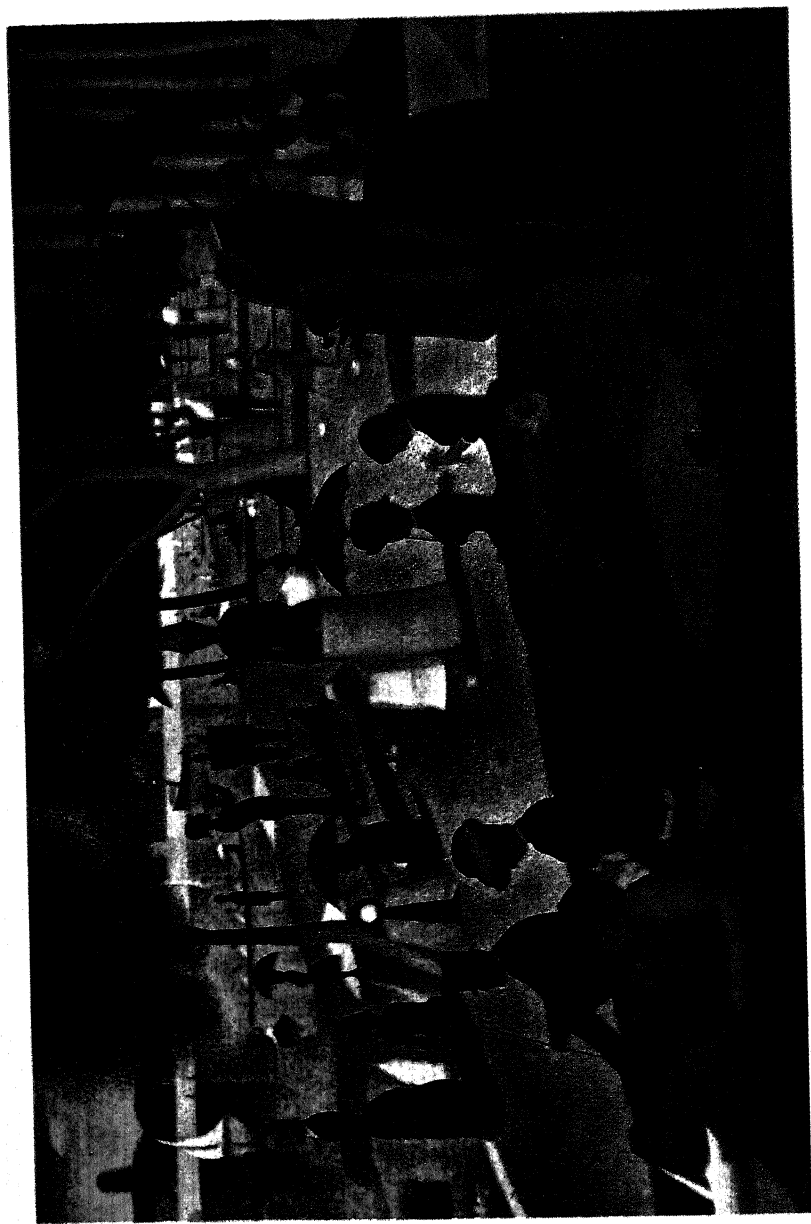




For the impressionist painter the atmospheric effects of the setting sun are likewise a fascinating problem. They can be made more difficult when as in this painting, *Poplars at Giverny*, Monet makes the light of a low sun reflect from the quaking leaves of a row of poplars.

Plate 31

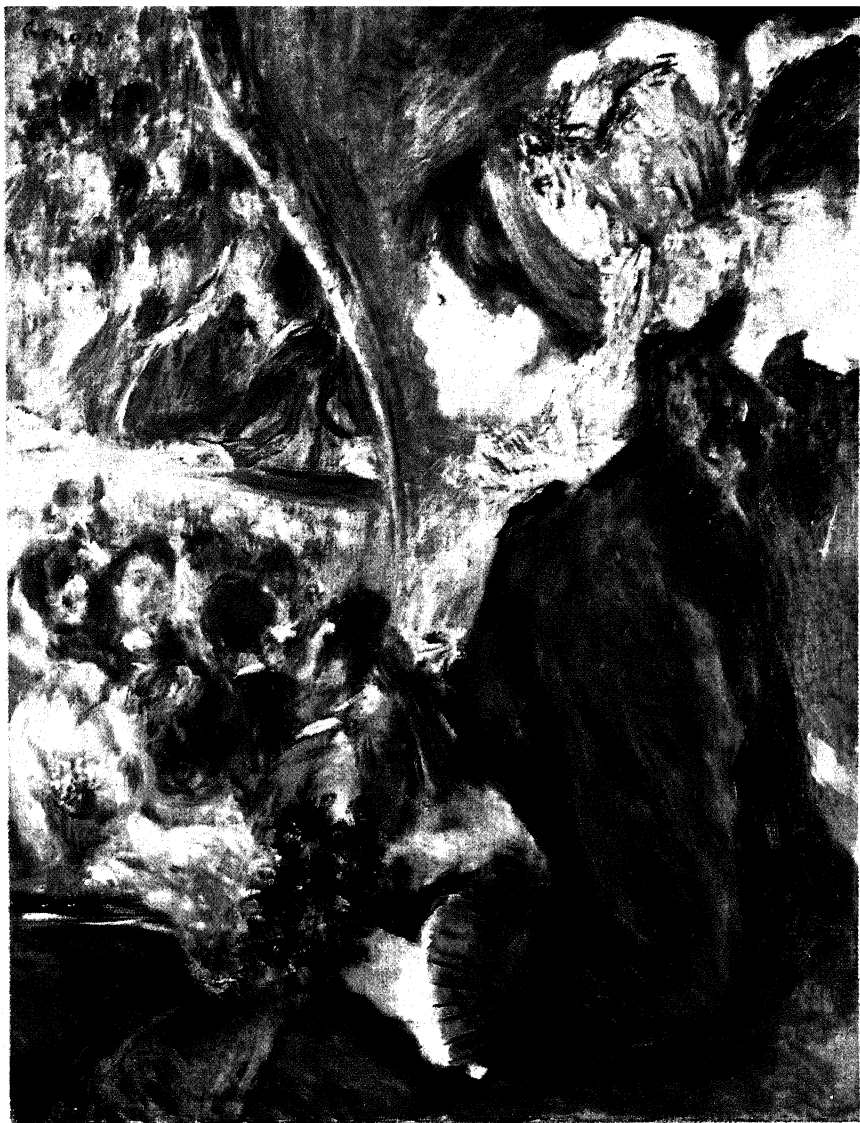
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Color transparency by Frank Lerner



George Seurat's *La Grande Jatte* reveals the pointillist technique. It aimed by juxtaposing small dots of paint "to substitute optical mixture for the mixture of pigments," since the former "stirs up luminosities more intense" than the latter. (J. Rewald, *Seurat*, pp. 19-20)

Plate 32

Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago, Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection
Color transparency by Richard J. Brittain



Renoir's *Her First Evening Out*. The first night at the theater is an event of tense and expectant wonder, and this the artist has caught. He thus enhances the joy of life with sympathy and comprehension as well as beauty.

Plate 33

Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London

Plate 34

Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago
Mr. and Mrs. Lewis L. Coburn Memorial Collection
Color transparency by Richard J. Brittain

On the Terrace, 1881, is another example of Renoir's use of his art to emphasize the delicate grace and beauty of youth. Gay colorful hats also dominate this picture.





Paul Cézanne remarked that he despised "every living painter save Monet and Renoir." He associated with the impressionists awhile. "We had to pass through this phase." But the momentary color and light effects of the impressionists did not satisfy him. "I see planes bestriding each other." "Only volumes matter." He wanted to get back to the "solidity and enduring quality of ancient art,—of the art of the museums." *The Turn in the Road* is an attempt to put this solidity into a landscape.

Plate 35

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Plate 36

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Color transparency by Frank Lerner

In the Still Life with Apples solidity and form are blended with color and decoration in a striking harmony. Cézanne devoted much attention to the still life. "Is not a bunch of carrots, naïvely painted in the personal tone in which it is seen, worth all the everlasting daubs of the schools, their chewed-over art, shamefully cooked up according to recipes? The day will come when a single original carrot will be great with revolution." (B. Dorival, *Cézanne*, pp. 101-102)





Cézanne's personal integrity comes out in this Self-Portrait as well as his concern with solid form. "The knowledge of his strength makes a man modest," he thought. He has been described as one who, "misunderstood, despised, flying from inspection, followed by jests and stones . . . painted for the joy of painting, caring nought for success, or even for personal souvenirs, for he often forgot his paintings, which his relatives would go and look for afterwards in the woods." ("Cézanne," *Harper's Encyclopedia of Art*, p. 68)

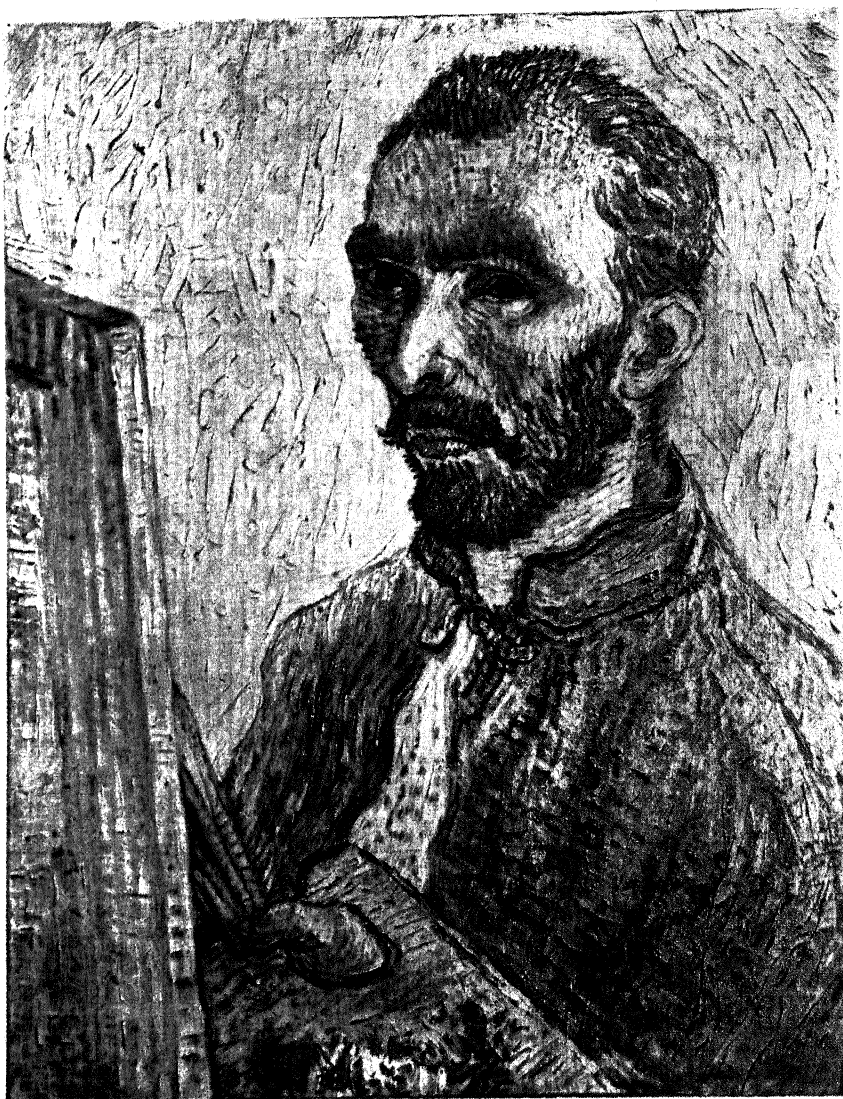
Plate 37

Neue Staatsgalerie, Munich
Color transparency by Articolor

Plate 38

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
(Chester Dale Collection)

This Self-Portrait by Vincent van Gogh, the mentally disturbed and tortured Dutch painter who spent most of his life in France, is brilliant in its nervous but spare technique, revealing the strained, tense anxiety of one who, after increasingly frequent periods of insanity, took his own life in desperation. His paintings have been said to "express emotions with almost therapeutic accuracy." (Katherine Kuh, *Léger*, p. 96)





The Woman from Arles (*L'Arlésienne*) by Van Gogh. The brush work of this highly individualistic and original portrait is to be compared with that of the Self-Portrait. It creates a very different person, secure, distinguished, and aloof, if also reflective.

Plate 39

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bequest of Samuel A. Lewisohn, 1951
Color transparency by Francis G. Mayer



This Self-Portrait by Paul Gauguin may be said to be a brilliant, highly decorative, and sardonic sanctification of the personality of a modern artist marked with original sin.

Plate 40

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.
(Chester Dale Collection)

to be classed with Rembrandt and Rubens, complained that he "had wrung impressionism dry, and I finally came to the conclusion that I knew neither how to paint nor how to draw. In a word impressionism was a blind alley, so far as I was concerned. . . . I finally realized that it was too complicated an affair. . . . Light plays too great a part outdoors; you have no time to work out a composition; you can't see what you are doing. I remember a white wall which reflected on my canvas one day while I was painting; I keyed down the color to no purpose,—everything I put on was too light, but when I took it back to the studio, the picture looked black. . . . If the painter works directly from nature he ultimately looks for nothing but momentary effects, he does not try to compose and soon he gets monotonous."⁷² In turning away from impressionism Renoir left behind many beautiful landscapes, but he made possible also the realization of his own great talents in a suitable style. Whether it is in the portrayal of children (Son Jean as a Clown), or of family life (Madame Charpentier and Her Children), or whether it is in his increasingly magnificent rendering of the female nude, he is a painter in the full tide of the humanistic tradition (Pls. 33, 34).

CÉZANNE

The great revolutionist in nineteenth-century French painting was Paul Cézanne (1839-1906). Dissatisfied with the instability of impressionist painting—though to the remark Monet was only an eye he could add, "But what an eye!"—he wished to restore a measure of intellectuality to painting by doing more than simply copying a momentary impression of nature. "I wish," he said, "to make of impressionism something solid and enduring like the art of the museums." He wanted to restore monumentality to painting by having it reproduce the analysis of what the artist saw, and this analysis he conceived in the terms of geometry. "Treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything in proper perspective so that each side of an object or a plane is directed towards a central point. Lines parallel to the horizon give breadth—that is, a section of nature. . . . Lines perpendicular to this horizon give depth. But nature for us men is more depth than surface, whence the need of introducing into our light vibrations, represented by reds and yellows, a sufficient amount of blue to give the impression of air."⁷³ All this was in the interest of a "concrete study of nature." This attempt to give geometric form to nature was in the end to produce something that Cézanne could not have intended—the painting of geometric form, or abstract (nonobjective) painting. In this sense he led the way. In the course of his own patient and selfless search for the perfect painting he produced many a masterpiece (see Plates 35-37).

⁷²R. Goldwater and M. Treves, *Artists on Art*, p. 322.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 363.

EXPRESSIONISM

Painters after Cézanne used their art as a personal interpretation of nature and of man, and they did not rest this interpretation upon a faithful imitation of nature. In any case the invention of the camera made it seem unoriginal and quite stultifying to try to do what a machine could do much better. Artists could therefore leave the outdoors and return to the studio. Such individual interpretations, the expressions of an artist's personality, are often called expressionism. They are arbitrary renderings of the color and form of whatever it is the artist wishes to paint. Two of the most original of the expressionists were Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890), a Dutchman, and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), a French banker turned painter. Van Gogh said that he did not want "to reproduce exactly what I have before my eyes. I use color more arbitrarily so as to express myself forcibly,"⁷⁴ and in talking about the painting of a portrait he says that he is going to be "the arbitrary colorist. I exaggerate the fairness of the hair. I come even to orange tones, chromes, and pale lemon yellow. Beyond the head, instead of painting the ordinary wall of the mean room, I paint infinity, a plain background of the richest, intensest blue that I can contrive, and by this simple combination of the bright head against the rich blue background, I get a mysterious effect, like a star in the depths of the azure sky." A minister to the poor and unfortunate in the earlier part of his career, Van Gogh became unstable and was a patient in and out of mental institutions. "In the end, desperate with disappointment, he shot himself, having sold one painting in his lifetime for about eighty dollars (it would be worth \$30,000 now)." (See *The Woman from Arles*, Pl. 39, and *Self-Portrait*, Pl. 38.) Gauguin (Pl. 40) escaped to the South Seas to paint highly decorative, brightly colored interpretations of native life. He describes the "musical part" of his *The Spirit of the Dead Watching* as "undulating horizontal lines, harmonies of orange and blue woven together with yellows and violets and lightened by greenish sparkles."⁷⁵ "In painting, one must search rather for suggestion than for description, as is done in music."⁷⁶

EXPERIMENTAL ART AND SOCIETY

Gauguin fled the society and civilization of western Europe for the islands of the Pacific. It was a reaction typical of artistic circles at the time. If expressionism may be taken to be a declaration of independence from science and the camera, it is possible likewise to speak of artistic rebellion against the Industrial Revolution. The machine-made product now began to compete with the hand-made product and in fact to displace it. The early factory and industrial town did not offer much encouragement to the searcher for beauty, nor the new bourgeoisie much

⁷⁴Goldwater and Treves, p. 383.

⁷⁵*What Is Modern Painting?* (Museum of Modern Art), p. 24.

⁷⁶Goldwater and Treves, p. 369.

taste or sympathy for the rebellious artist. The result was that in many instances the artist rejected bourgeois society with scorn and contempt and entered a new world of his own creation, the world of "Bohemia." The intellectuals of this world, men like Marx and Engels, often turned to the proletariat instead of the crass Philistinism of the bourgeoisie as the hope of the future and accordingly supplied it with intellectual leadership. Abandoning the support of society, the artist often preached a doctrine of art for art's sake, and worked, if not for himself alone, then for a coterie or élite of his kind, who alone were able to understand the meaning of his art. Middle-class taste insisted upon propriety⁷⁷ and clung to the tradition of the centuries. Art had to do with an imitation of nature, and if they were to like things, then they had to look real. Since the main current of painting was away from realism in the latter nineteenth century, there was a notable estrangement between the artist and his public. As art therefore became more experimental it failed to receive the support it had had when the aristocracy and the Church were its patrons. The artist found it difficult to make his peace with liberal and industrial society, and experimental art failed to find its proper place in a society becoming more and more democratic. The support of museums was not enough to ensure the artist a livelihood, and while in time the artist, or at least some of them, came to see a certain beauty in the machine and in machine-made products, and the middle classes, for reasons of investment or social prestige if for no others, gave a certain support to experimental art, no warm and vital relationship was established between experimental art and democracy.

MUSIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Western music in the nineteenth century can also be understood in terms of the general movement of western civilization. Music, like literature and art, developed on a national as well as an international basis. The folk songs, folk dances, and folk lore so eagerly cultivated by patriotic literary romanticists were taken up by composers and introduced into their symphonies, operas, and other works. Beethoven's music is full of boisterous German peasant dances. Chopin made use of the Polish mazurka and polonaise. In Richard Wagner's operas national poetry and history are proper subject matter. German poetry was set to music by German composers.⁷⁸ National music became the object of national pride, and it was regarded as unpatriotic to write like composers of other countries. The French composer Debussy felt he had to exclude the German Wagner from his writing, and Italian opera had to remain Italian. Indeed, music

⁷⁷Manet deliberately challenged official painting and shocked bourgeois (and indeed also Napoleon III's) taste by painting such canvases as *Dejeuner sur l'herbe* (Luncheon on the Lawn), in which one of the ladies is eating without any clothes on, and *Olympia*, substituting for the goddess-type of nude in the traditional treatment of this theme a pert model of no uncertain character.

⁷⁸See p. 395 for romantic music.

became a means of whipping up nationalist fervor. As brass bands became larger and horns and trumpets more efficient, equipped now with valves which made possible the playing of the chromatic scale, composers wrote new patriotic hymns and more exhilarating military marches.

There can be no doubt also that nineteenth-century music related itself to a society growing more democratic. The old system of aristocratic patronage gradually disappeared, and composers tried to make a living for themselves as teachers, performers, and conductors, as well as writers. As the middle classes became an audience for writers, they became likewise an audience for musical artists. Music was being written not only for the virtuoso but for the amateur, who could now play it alone at home, become familiar with it, and then go to the concert hall to hear it played beautifully. Small pieces as well as sonatas and concertos were written. Felix Mendelssohn wrote *Songs without Words*, and Franz Schubert *Moments Musical* and *Impromptus*. Chopin wrote *Preludes* and *Waltzes*. Little boys and girls had to have music lessons as part of their education, and music began to occupy a much larger place in the personal life of many individuals. The new musical journalism, in specialized periodicals or as criticisms in the popular press, helped to promote interest in music.

Wagner's music drama did not supplant the other artistic forms—poetry, the dance, the drama—as he once supposed it might. In Italy Giuseppe Verdi went on writing opera uninfluenced by Wagner, until at the end of his life he wrote *Otello* and *Falstaff*, his masterpieces. Johannes Brahms made it clear in his four symphonies that not even Beethoven had exhausted the symphonic form, and with rhythm and a romantic nature at once tender and robust he injected new life into music for the piano.

IMPRESSIONISM IN MUSIC

At the same time, composers in France, like their compatriots in art, were engaged in making way for a new development. In the field of art the revolution was prepared by the impressionists. The revolutionary movement in music may also be called impressionism, and its initiator was Claude Debussy. French music earlier had been stimulated by the writing of the Belgian composer César Franck (1822-1890), whose *Symphony in D Minor*, still a great favorite, makes constant use of a harmony based on chromatic progression. Debussy's impressionism had a literary as well as a musical foundation. He moved in the circles of the impressionist painters and poets, men like Paul Verlaine and Stéphane Mallarmé, who wanted to turn poetry into music by the use of musical words. He wrote music for Verlaine's poetry.

CLAUDE DEBUSSY

Debussy wanted to introduce light and color into music, and to do this he felt it necessary to get away from conventional form and harmony.

He wrote no symphonies or piano sonatas. The impressionistic character of his smaller pieces for piano can be judged from their titles: "Garden in the Rain," "Footsteps in the Snow," "What the West Wind Says," "Gold Fish," "Reflections in the Water," "The Sunken Cathedral," "The Girl with the Flaxen Hair." The well-rounded melody of orthodox composition is abandoned, for the most part, in these pieces. Melody is broken into fragments and used as imaginative and mood-creating decoration. Here it is the light, the color, the sound, and the momentary mood that Debussy is trying to express. Orthodox writing in major and minor keys with careful modulation between them is abandoned. Classical tonality, as such, meant nothing to Debussy. He often used a scale composed of whole rather than half-tone notes. He reverted to the modes of medieval and classical antiquity. The strict rhythms of conventional time signatures he disregarded for the informal rhythms of Gregorian chant, the medieval harmony of successive fourths and fifths, or the strange tonality of complicated parallel (treble and bass) chords. By applying such methods to orchestral composition Debussy achieved brilliant and novel coloring. Nor is this to say that in breaking with conventional form and dissolving classical harmony Debussy was simply anarchic. He claimed that he learned most from Bach, and while it is difficult to follow the tradition of Bach in Debussy, the strong and brilliant structure of what is after all a kind of sonata, the *Suite pour le Piano*, cannot be denied. Nor for that matter can the symphonic character of the orchestral suites (*Iberia*, *La Mer*) be denied. Like a good rebel Debussy linked the past with the future and destroyed only to build.

WARS AND DICTATORSHIPS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The history of the twentieth century does not sustain the high hopes of its predecessor. For at a moment when the productive capacity of the western economy had reached a peak—when it had raised the standard of living of a rapidly increasing population to a phenomenal extent; at a moment, moreover, when western industrialism had expanded to many parts of the globe and promised in time to do for all peoples of the earth what it was doing for western peoples—the nations, western and eastern, felt obliged to go to war, to wars horrible, cruel, and destructive beyond all imagination, to wars utterly negating the liberal-humanistic tradition of the West, and to wars terminated by atomic weapons. The results of these wars have raised the serious question of whether western civilization, like its predecessors and contrary to all its deepest faith in a continuous progress, has now entered upon its decline.

The historian must make an attempt to answer the question of why the European nations were willing to take this step. Why did they enter upon an unparalleled slaughter and maiming of millions upon millions of human beings and a wanton destruction of the beautiful things men had made? It is usually said that none of the men responsible for the decisions that led Europe into war in 1914 really wanted war. This is to answer our question with fate or some kind of determinism that made war inevitable. Without being helpful it abandons the responsibility of the historian. If the leaders of European governments in 1914 did not want war, they had been looking forward to it for a considerable time and

were willing to take measures that risked its outbreak. They were therefore unconscionable and irresponsible gamblers playing with the lives, fortunes, and happiness of mankind. The historian must now say that they did not hate war enough to refuse to take steps that might bring it about. The western tradition in its liberal-humanistic form, the constructive efforts, the positive and beautiful achievements of countless generations, indeed the very existence of human beings, did not mean enough to these men for them to say "There shall be no war." They put other things above the peaceful development of western civilization and the possible improvement in the quality of life for all mankind. Why did they do so? What made it possible for them to do so?

Since those primarily responsible for 1914 were Christians, and the religions of their respective states Christian, it may be said that western leaders were not Christian enough. Christianity had always taught the love of neighbor and it made no distinction among neighbors. This gospel of brotherly love had been a rich source of Christian humanism. So-called statesmen, willing to risk the mass murder of millions upon millions of human brothers and neighbors, could not have taken their Christianity very seriously. Or if they did, it was a private matter, governing the relations among human beings but not necessarily those among states. Private morality and public morality were not the same things. The governments of Christian nations were exempt from Christian obligations. International relations were not moral; if not immoral, then amoral. They dealt with power: with increase of national power, with jealousy of the increase of power in other nations, with the maintenance of the balance of power. Power in the last analysis was a matter of armies, navies, and air forces, guns, cannons, bullets, shells, bombs. It did not have to do with Christian love.

Christian love no more controlled the conduct of European national than international affairs. These were also concentrated upon the possibility of war and therefore had to devote much attention to the building up of military power: to the conscription of all citizens into the military forces; to the growth of an industry capable of supplying these forces with uniforms, food, modes of transport, and weapons; to the support of a science whose discoveries could be quickly applied to making rifles and machine guns shoot faster, cannons shoot farther and more accurately, bigger and better shells, and bombs to kill more and more people and destroy in ever-larger amounts. It was recognized very early that the military establishment in peace, and especially in war, was a marvelous consumer. Economic liberals had once thought that free trade on an international scale made inevitably for peace. Such a peaceful industrial society would automatically succeed an earlier militaristic one. The importance of capitalistic industry to war, and of war and its prospect to capitalistic industry, was, however, soon realized.

OTHER LIMITATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY

The perpetuation in the industrial nations of the earlier distinctions between rich and poor seemed to indicate that Christian love did not necessarily apply to man's economic relations. The Christian churches of Europe found it as easy to sanction a capitalistic industrial as an earlier agrarian society. Their social applications of love, outside the regular fields of charity, were neither bold nor extensive enough to give an especially Christian character to European society. The tenacity with which these churches held to dogmas discredited by science made them anachronistic and deprived them of the vitality coming from an assimilation of new intellectual currents.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE LIBERAL-HUMANISTIC TRADITION

If the forces of Christian humanism alone were not strong enough to influence the execution of international and national policy, the support of the liberal-humanistic tradition still left them insufficient. This tradition was actually less strong than one likes to imagine, and it was further weakened in the nineteenth century by movements already considered. Revolution, nationalism, industrialism, and imperialism did much to strengthen conservative, ascetic, and militaristic forces. In its narrower sense (the ideals of classical or Graeco-Roman society), in its larger scientific program (the application of the results of science to improve man's lot upon earth and of the methods of science to the study of his political, economic, social, and intellectual problems), and in its liberal program (the freedom of man from the political, economic, and social policies of absolute governments), the liberal-humanistic tradition reached its height during the Enlightenment, at a time when European society, predominantly aristocratic, possessed a small commercial middle class. It took three revolutions (the Glorious, American, and French) to transform that tradition into what the French called "liberty, equality, and fraternity" applicable not only to the aristocratic and middle classes but to the peasant and working classes. It took revolution, in other words, to direct the tradition toward democratic theory and action. These democratic implications were reinforced by the liberal tradition of the nineteenth century, which merged into democratic socialism.

As the western world expanded into the American continents and elsewhere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the middle-class implications of the liberal-humanistic tradition went along. In the nineteenth century, when, especially in its English form, industrial capitalism helped further to build world empires, the democratic implications of this tradition went along. Under these circumstances the question was whether English and European industrial middle classes would really accept these democratic implications and so transfer them into national policy and practice that the working classes and the peasantry would be converts to the tradition. It was, further, a question of whether the ruling

CHRONOLOGY — Wars and Dictatorships in the 20th Century

	Treaties and Diplomacy	Wars and Revolutions	Important Persons
1800	Congress of Vienna (1815) Congress of Paris (1856) Congress of Berlin (1878) Dual Alliance (1879) Triple Alliance (1882) Congress of Berlin (1885) Franco-Russian Alliance (1894)	Crimean War (1854–1856) Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878)	Wagner (1813–1883) Bismarck (1815–1898) Nietzsche (1844–1900) Sorel (1847–1922) Aehrenthal (1854–1912) Izvolski (1856–1919)
1900	Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) Algeciras Conference (1906) Triple Entente (1907) Permanent Court of International Justice (1907) Bosnian Crisis (1908) Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) Treaty of Versailles (1919) Treaty of St. Germain (1919) Treaty of Neuilly (1919) Treaty of Trianon (1920) Treaty of Rapallo (1920) League of Nations (1920) Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Concordat of 1929	Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) Russian Revolution of 1905 Italo-Turkish War (1911–1912) Balkan Wars (1912–1913) World War I (1914–1918) Russian Revolutions of 1917	Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914) Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918) Pašić (1845?–1926) von Bülow (1849–1929) Clemenceau (1841–1929) Bethmann-Hollweg (1856–1921) Wilson (1856–1924) Masaryk (1850–1937) Edward Grey (1862–1933) von Hindenburg (1847–1934) Lloyd George (1863–1945) Berchtold (1863–1942) Paderewski (1860–1941) Lenin (1870–1924) Ludendorff (1865–1937) Pétain (1856–1951) Orlando (1860–1952) Pilsudski (1867–1935) Ebert (1871–1925) Stamboliski (1879–1923) Spengler (1880–1936) Kemal Pasha (1881–1938) Mussolini (1883–1945) Dollfuss (1892–1934)
1930	Statute of Westminster (1931) German Withdrawal from the League (1933) Remilitarization of Rhineland (1936) Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis (1936) Munich Conference (1938) Nazi-Soviet Pact (1939) United Nations (1945)	Italo-Ethiopian War (1935–1936) Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) Russo-Finnish War (1939–1940) World War II (1939–1945)	Chamberlain (1869–1940) Hitler (1889–1945) Goebbels (1897–1945) Schuschnigg (1897—) Stalin (1879–1953) F. D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) Churchill (1874—) Daladier (1884—) Truman (1884—) Eisenhower (1890—)

classes were so devoted to the tradition as to make it prevail in the administration of world empires. The humanistic tradition of the West had included the promotion and enjoyment of man's work as a creative artist. It was also a question whether industrial capitalism would assimilate and promote the arts and make possible their understanding and enjoyment by the new middle classes, workers, and peasants. In other words, could liberal or social democracy thrive in a society which had become industrial, nationalistic, and militaristic?

THE CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE LIBERAL-HUMANISTIC TRADITION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is now clear that the liberal-humanistic tradition had only a limited acceptance by the ruling and, especially, the middle classes. For worker and peasant it had not become a vital creed. As liberty—political, religious, intellectual—it was generally received, although powerful contrary currents ran underground. The vote was gradually extended to all men and women, government was made representative of all classes, and executive power was limited by legislative bodies. The dominant middle classes acquiesced in such steps with the expectation that legislative bodies would be controlled by their representatives and pass laws of especial advantage to their interests. That the state should become a great positive force to make possible the passing on to all members of the society who could profit from it, unimpaired and undiluted, the cultural tradition of the past, not many believed or took steps to realize. This required an efficient and dedicated system of public education. That, further, the state should make possible the popular enrichment of this tradition so handed down was not present in many minds. That it was the right of all men to have the opportunity to develop their creative human capacities as they could was talked about only by a few. In supporting religious freedom it was hoped that religion could be respectable and orderly, and in supporting intellectual freedom it was not expected that there would be too much questioning of the conventional foundations of bourgeois society. The acceptance of the liberal-humanistic tradition by the western bourgeoisie was therefore conditional.

THE LIMITATIONS OF BOURGEOIS INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

As a matter of fact, they were especially interested in something far more concrete than the democratic realization of the liberal-humanistic tradition. They were merchants, bankers, industrialists, businessmen, and their retainers, most of whom were primarily interested in profits. They were interested, therefore, in expanding and making more efficient the capitalistic system which accumulated these profits: in reducing costs and expanding sales. They did not interpret the equality of the French Revolution in any economic sense, nor ordinarily share their profits with their workingmen. Indeed, they accumulated so much capital so fast

that it could not be absorbed profitably enough by their own national economies. It was invested abroad in the natural resources of undeveloped countries, and dependencies and colonies were thus sought after. The indifference of the middle classes to the proper distribution of their wealth led to the intervention of the democratic state, which took some of it in the form of taxes and applied it in the twentieth century to the establishment of the welfare state.

These business interests were more interested in a practical and scientific education than in one dominated by the humanities, in schools of commerce, industry, accounting, and business administration. They had little time for philosophy, art, and literature, for music and poetry, and were suspicious of the impractical people who dealt in these things. Thus they antagonized many of the intellectuals of their class. Many of the artists and writers were estranged from the liberal-humanistic tradition supposedly borne by this class and developed coteries cultivating art for art's sake and for each other's enjoyment. The Industrial Revolution thus stunted the growth and expansion of the liberal-humanistic tradition in many ways. It was not necessarily accepted by the new industrial bourgeoisie as their own cultural ideal, and they were not, accordingly, determined to pass it on to the "common man." In some strange way, an industrialism that was doing so much for human beings in material ways stopped far short of its responsibilities in promoting the full potentialities of all human beings in accordance with the traditional best.

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

Middle-class industrial society, while questioning the value of a classical education for itself, was slow in providing any kind of education at all for workers in factories and on farms, or in creating those conditions enabling working-class parents to think of educating their children. Providing education for the masses is expensive, especially when that education reaches from the elementary schools through college and the university. It is a huge responsibility to see that no capacity and no talent shall be denied the opportunity to develop and possibly contribute to the general welfare through inability to pay tuition. It requires still greater effort and expense not to diminish the quality of education when it is expanded to all who can profit from it, and thus to guarantee to all who are willing to grasp it the opportunity of coming into intimate contact with the best of the humanistic tradition. Such an effort requires the talent and devotion of exceptional teachers, and they must be attracted to this task. It is especially difficult to do all this when it is necessary always to get ready for the next war, to build battleships at a cost that would richly endow a great university, and to produce planes at an individual cost that would send hundreds of students to college. Western industrial society seemed to prefer to fight and to slaughter citizens rather than educate them well, and no liberal-humanistic tradition can survive this choice. As the Industrial Rev-

olution expanded to the field of communication and entertainment, to the daily press and the periodical, to the radio and, in our anxious day, television, these became, in the hands of the greedy and irresponsible of the middle class, primarily instruments for profit, not means to introduce the masses recently released from illiterate darkness to the extraordinary character of their human heritage. A venal and indifferent press had much to do with exciting the war spirit in Europe in 1914. The result of all this has been to break down, even in educational circles themselves, a trust in human capacity. Democracy in such hands becomes incompatible with a dedicated transmission of past experience. It prepares men instead to accept and acclaim the demagogue and the tyrant.

THE TRADITION OF THE WORKERS

Without, therefore, responsible and sufficient leadership from the middle classes and a proper inheritance from the past, the working classes sought to create their own tradition and to accept the leadership of those who had rejected major tenets of the western tradition. The result was socialism, democratic and revisionary, and undemocratic and dogmatic. When the former was able, as in England and the Scandinavian countries, to moderate the effects of unrestricted industrial capitalism, it served to enlarge the liberal-humanistic tradition and to remove some of the limitations put upon it. The latter, or communism, however benevolent its intent, rejected this tradition. Before 1914, democratic liberalism combined with democratic socialism had achieved a notable success in making industrial capitalism serve the common good. But in Germany the liberal tradition had been thwarted, and democratic socialism was strong but ineffective, yet strong enough to suggest to some the use of war to stifle it. In Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and Russia, middle-class liberalism was weak because of the smallness of a middle class. Democratic socialism was even weaker. Austria-Hungary and Russia were conservative if not reactionary autocracies, sanctioned by the divine authority of illiberal, ascetic churches. If, then, the decision in 1914 was for war, this was because of the weakness not only of Christian humanism but of the liberal-humanistic tradition, which had been unable to capture, without serious limitations, the leading groups in western society.

GERMAN SOCIETY AND WAR

The new Germany created by Bismarck was one of the reasons forcing Europe to decide for war in 1914. This Germany, except for outward show, had to a large extent rejected the liberal tradition of the West. It was essentially an enlarged, undemocratic, militaristic, bureaucratic Prussia, cultivating the virtues of subservience in its citizenry and denying them experience in self-government. It had been created by "blood and iron" in a series of aggressive wars, the last of which, the war with France, imposed a treaty (Frankfurt) leading to French plans to regain the lost

provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck realized the necessity of keeping France isolated and preoccupied if she were not to become obsessed with this treaty. This was partly the reason for the inauguration of the fatal system of alliances with the Dual, or Austro-German, Alliance (1879) and for the encouragement of French imperialism in North Africa. The new German empire was the most powerful military state in Europe. Its successful use of force in creating unity was a shining example to the nationalist politicians of other states, who quickly undertook to introduce the German (and French) system of conscription. The constant increase in the strength of this army and the bombastic, bullying manner in which a somewhat hysterical Kaiser Wilhelm II tried to secure Germany's place in the sun helped to keep Europe on edge. By entering upon an altogether unnecessary naval race with Great Britain, Germany intensified this international fear and suspicion and helped to force the completion of the European system of alliances. However brilliant the development of German industry, the industrialists of the Ruhr only bolstered the Junkers of trans-Elbia; however efficient the bureaucracy, it promoted German virtues that needed no special promotion. However notable and solid the achievements of German science and scholarship, they did not help to build a self-reliant citizenry or responsible universities. Germany produced decadent philosophers (Nietzsche and Spengler) and supernationalistic musicians (the socialist, anti-Semitic Wagner). Although the Social Democrats in the *Reichstag* grew to be the largest party by 1914 and protested against the course of events and the growth of the military, they were ignored. Germany, quite willing to risk war in supporting Austria in 1914, was unprepared by its past to maintain the Weimar Republic and to resist when Hitler and his Nazi hordes threatened to take over.

THE LACK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND WAR

Aggressive, militaristic, and undemocratic Germany was but a part of a larger anarchistic Europe. By this is meant that at a time when the Industrial Revolution was spreading to Europe, and in its capitalistic and imperialistic form to the world; when the economies of European nations depended upon some kind of rational relationship of raw materials to finished products, and finished products to the markets of the world; when, as in the case of England, the very life of the nation depended upon the importation of food; at a time, moreover, when the capitalistic system often proved unstable (major depressions of the late 1800's and the 1920's and 1930's), there was no attempt to set up an international organization which might help to regulate the flow of raw materials and goods from country to country. These matters were left to nations. The inevitable result was intense competition among national economies protected by tariffs (economic nationalism) and an equally intense rivalry for empire (raw materials, markets, prestige) that helped to keep Europe in a critical turmoil. In the minds of some statesmen directing European

nations, wars frequently offered special opportunities of solving crises arising from this chaotic system. An economy that was becoming international and global needed a supervision and regulation that was international and global. The inability to see this and provide for it helped to hurl Europe into the wars of the twentieth century.

If these things are easier to say after than before the event, it is still necessary for historians to say them, since they may prevent similar future mistakes. There was need for some kind of international organization with authority even more in the political than in the economic realm. By 1900 Europe had been divided into sovereign states for at least four centuries, and nationalism had spread among them. The sovereign states had sought to preserve peace by maintaining a balance of power, meaning always a balance of military power. When a single state became preponderant and imposed its will, other great powers joined in war to reduce it, as for example in the case of Napoleon's France. In the nineteenth century the great powers were able to meet occasionally to settle problems presented by the completion or the threat of wars. The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) met to dispose of the problems left by the wars against Napoleon. A Congress of Paris (1856) met to dispose of problems raised by the Crimean War. A Congress of Berlin (1878) met to consider the national problems in the Balkans after the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, and another Congress of Berlin met in 1885 to consider the partition of Africa. These were congresses called, for the most part, after wars, and not to avoid wars. No nationalistic statesman was capable of contemplating the necessity of a permanent organization capable of deciding in a democratic fashion upon political and economic issues threatening war. In 1907 an International Conference at The Hague set up the Permanent Court of International Justice, but so strong was the sense of national sovereignty that no one thought of appealing to it in 1914. The upset or threat of upset of the balance of power by any one nation had to be dealt with by normal diplomatic means.

THE ALLIANCE SYSTEM AND WAR: THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

Some kind of an international organization capable of resolving issues threatening war became all the more necessary in the decades after 1871, when the great nations of Europe split into two great alliances, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the terms of whose bonds were secret. This system made it necessary to consider critical national or imperialistic problems not as matters of power and prestige between individual nations but between individual nations and their allies. Since by 1914 there were but two groups of alliances, it was necessary to consider such problems between these. The argument was no longer the balance of power between or among nations but the balance of power between the two parts of the alliance system. Failure to solve these problems meant no longer a war for the most part local and between two powers, but a European

war between the members of the two alliance systems, in fact a world war, since the empires of the members of the alliance system were of course involved. The terms of these alliances are not so important as the associations of power they represent, for in every crisis allies had to consult as to the particular meaning of the alliance in terms of the particular crisis. The illiberal German empire was joined with the illiberal Austro-Hungarian empire in the Dual Alliance of 1879. Though aiming to protect these countries against Russia or a combination of Russia and France, Bismarck actually tried in separate agreements with Russia to guarantee her benevolence, but this attempt was dropped by his successors. The Dual Alliance became Triple in 1882 when Italy joined in the hope of support in the formation of a North African empire and a share in the Balkan booty as the Ottoman Empire was obliged to withdraw from this area. Bismarck did not trust Italy too much. "Her promise will have no value," he said, "if it is not in her interest to keep it." The Triple Alliance became virtually Quadruple when Austria-Hungary and Rumania allied in 1883, an alliance which both Germany and Italy joined later.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE

The first step in the formation of what came to be called the Triple Entente was the joining of autocratic Russia and republican France in a military alliance (1894) directed against Germany. The Russians were abandoned by Germany in 1890, did not like the German interest in the Turkish booty (Bagdad Railway), were fearful of an Anglo-German agreement, and worked to offset German support of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans. The Germans now had the opportunity to upset the European balance in their favor by wooing the English, who at this moment abandoned a policy of isolation from Continental affairs by actually offering Germany an alliance (1898-1901). With unbelievable stupidity the German foreign office rejected these offers. England then joined Japan in an alliance (1902) directed against Russian aggression in the Far East, and in 1904 came to an understanding (*entente*) with France. Formally, the understanding concerned many imperial matters of which only one was major. France agreed to give the English a free hand in Egypt in return for a free hand in Morocco. But in the years following 1904 Sir Edward Grey, the English foreign minister, permitted English naval and military staffs to join similar French groups in working out detailed dispositions of their navies and armies in case of military attack. These plans included the concentration of the English navy in the North Sea and the French navy in the Mediterranean and involved, therefore, the virtual promise to the French that in case of attack (from Germany) the English navy would protect the French coast. Thus an "entente" became a secret alliance, and without actually putting it in words the English led the French to believe that they would support them in a war with Germany. In 1907 the English came to an understanding with Russia over Tibet,

Afghanistan, and Persia. The English were relieved of the fear of Russian expansion and aggression in Tibet and Afghanistan against India, and they divided Persia with Russia without consulting the Shah. Northern Persia was to be the Russian sphere of interest, southern Persia the English, while central Persia was to be kept as a buffer between them. Russia, France, and England were thus virtually allied in the Triple Entente by 1907. From the point of view of the liberal-humanistic tradition the alliances of England and France with Russia and of Italy with Austria-Hungary and Germany make no sense at all. And Italy's jittery attempt in repeated negotiations with Russia and France to join both alliances does not supply this lack. Only the nakedest nationalistic and imperialistic interests determined these preparations for international murder.

THE RIVALRY BETWEEN THE ALLIANCES

That it was to come to this no one seriously doubted after the multiplication of crises in the early twentieth century. Germany felt that the formation of the Triple Entente was an encirclement. When Russia, France, and England tried to block the extension of the Berlin to Bagdad Railway beyond Konia in Asia Minor she was sure of it. When England sought some agreement on the naval competition with Germany, the latter always felt that the English were asking for concessions at moments when the British navy was superior. The Germans had never calculated on building a navy that would seriously rival the British. Theirs was a "risk navy," that is, large enough to risk a war with England but meant only to secure colonial concessions. The English reaction to the risk of war with the German navy was to try to maintain without question the superiority of the British navy, and therefore the security of the British Isles and the empire. The Germans, after refusing a British alliance, also repulsed honest English desires to come to some sort of naval agreement, and thus strengthened the attachment of England to France and Russia. This persisted to the very outbreak of war in 1914.

THE MOROCCAN CRISES

When the Anglo-French Entente of 1904 ignored German interests in Morocco without telling the Germans that they were doing so, the German foreign office decided to do something about it. As one of its members said: "If we let our toes be trodden upon in Morocco without saying a word we encourage others to do the same thing elsewhere."¹ The plan hit upon was to have the Kaiser stop off at Tangier as if nothing had happened, assume that Morocco was open to the commerce of all nations, and demand the calling of an international conference to revise the Anglo-French agreement. The Kaiser visited the sultan of Morocco in March,

¹From S. Fay, *Origins of the World War*, I, 177 ff., copyright 1928 by the Macmillan Co. and used with the Macmillan Co.'s permission.

1905, and announced his intention of dealing with him as an equal, free, and independent sovereign. The German chancellor von Bülow proposed a conference for Algeciras in the following year.² Notwithstanding French and English opposition, the conference met in January, 1906. The two allies were able to maintain French preponderance in Morocco in spite of a hostile Germany's defense of the rights of all nations to a share in Moroccan spoils. Germany's successful and dramatic protest of 1905 therefore really failed at the conference and only drove France and England more closely together. When the French, irrespective of decisions taken at the Algeciras Conference, prepared to establish a protectorate in Morocco and announced the occupation of Fez, the Germans again decided in a provocative way to secure at least some compensation for its establishment if not to thwart the protectorate. They sent the warship *Panther* to Agadir on 1 July, 1911. Without informing the English they then negotiated for their *quid pro quo*. The French finally agreed, in return for a free hand in Morocco, to turn over 100,000 square miles of the French Congo, receiving in return some worthless Cameroon territory. England became still more suspicious of Germany, demanded to be consulted about the settlement, and continued the military conversations with France. By their aggressive methods the Germans helped to tighten the bonds between England, France, and Russia after 1912. The French, strengthened by the close attachment to England, were less hesitant in supporting the Russian plans in the Balkans where the French had no direct interests.

THE BALKAN RIVALRY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND RUSSIA

It was here that the incidents arose which gave the alliance system a chance to go into action in 1914. Having been thrown out of Germany in 1866, Austria-Hungary turned to the Balkans to regain her lost prestige, hoping to expand at the expense of the declining Turks, with whom actually they had been fighting for centuries. The Turks, having once fought before the gates of Vienna, could expect to be pushed back to Constantinople. In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, the Austrians were permitted "to occupy and administer" Bosnia and Herzegovina, two Turkish provinces inhabited by the Serbs, which together with Dalmatia cut off independent Serbia from the Adriatic. The Serbs had established their independence from Turkey in the early nineteenth century³ and until 1903, under the Obrenovich dynasty, had pursued a foreign policy friendly to Austria. This policy changed with the accession of Peter I in 1903, after the murder of King Alexander Obrenovich. Peter I was a member of the Karageorge family, which had been feuding with, and murdering, Obrenoviches ever since the murder of the original Karageorge in 1817 by Milosh Obrenovich. The policy of Serbia in 1903 became Russophile. After her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1905), Russia returned to

²See E. N. Anderson, *The First Moroccan Crisis, 1904-1906*.

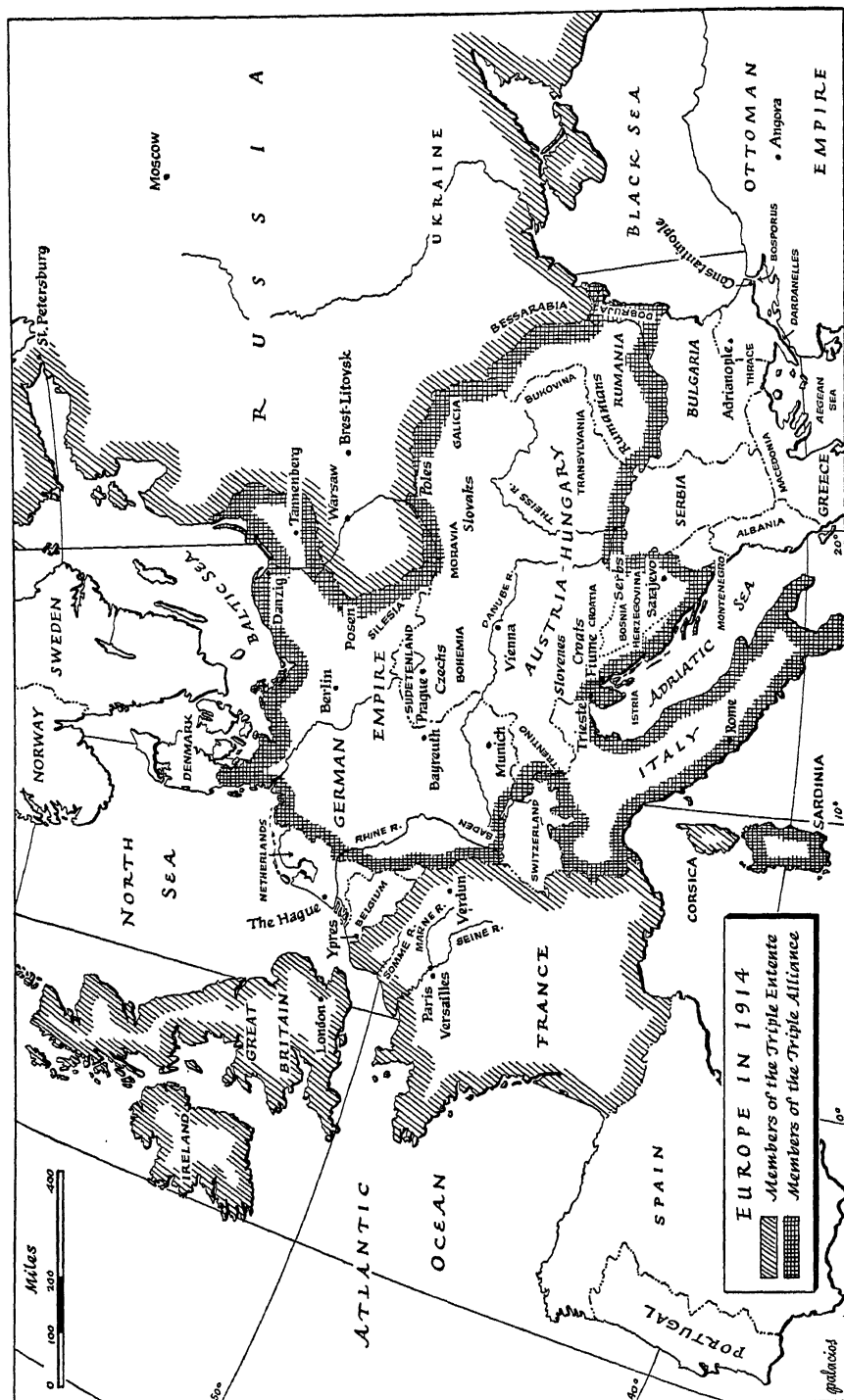
³See p. 498.

the Balkans for consolation. Russians had also been fighting the Turks for centuries and hoped now to follow them to Constantinople and if possible to take over the city and control the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, through which ships entered the Black Sea from the Aegean. The closing of these straits to the warships of other nations Russia considered vital to her security, and an unlimited freedom to enter the Aegean vital to her foreign policy. It will thus be seen that unless they marched together arm in arm through the Balkans, pursuing Turks to Constantinople, the paths of Russians and Austrians would be likely to cross. They crossed in Serbia.

SOUTH SLAV NATIONALISM AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Austria-Hungary was a multi-national state which in 1867 agreed that in the Austrian part of this state the German Austrians would deal with their Slavs.⁴ Neither the Austrians nor Magyars, each moved by unpleasant feelings of racial superiority over Slavs, were able or willing to work out plans to incorporate the Slavs peacefully and democratically into their respective states. The inevitable result was that the Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy established nationalistic movements looking toward independence. Nationalism has an ungovernable appetite. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Serbs were not content to gather into an independent kingdom all the Serbs in the Balkans. Serbia, they thought, ought to extend to the Adriatic, and therefore ought to include Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, occupied, administered, and possessed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, the Serbs came to feel, Serbia ought to include all the southern Slavs, that is (in addition to Serbs), the Croats and Slovenes, who were Austro-Hungarian subjects. Serbian foreign policy, that is, supported after 1903 by the Russians, wanted to establish a southern Slav, or Yugoslav, state. Serbia was for the south Slavs the equivalent of Sardinia-Piedmont for the Italians, a nucleus around which to build. It was disturbing enough for the Austrians to have their Italian allies agitating to have incorporated into Italy such areas as the Trentino (southern Tyrol), Istria (Trieste), and points along the Dalmatian coast, all quite legitimately parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Now a Balkan state, not even an ally, was agitating to deprive the Austro-Hungarian monarchy of its southern Slav subjects, who were conducting propaganda of their own to join the Serbs. Nationalism of the Italian, and especially the Serbian, kind, was threatening to dissolve the Hapsburg empire. For if Italy were to get her Italians and Serbia her south Slavs, would not Rumania want her Rumanians in Transylvania, the Poles in Galicia want to be joined with other Poles in a new independent kingdom of Poland, the Czechs and Moravians want to be joined with the Slovaks into an independent Czecho-Slovakia, and, in the not too distant future, Ger-

⁴See pp. 495-496.



many wish to incorporate Germans in the Sudetenland and perhaps the German Austrians themselves? South Slav nationalism, in other words, aimed to destroy the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to extinguish its western, Austrian half. Serbian nationalism had therefore to be destroyed.

THE BOSNIAN CRISIS

The first step came in 1908. In that year the revolution of the Young Turks aimed to halt the decay of the Ottoman Empire by introducing the liberal-democratic political and economic institutions of the West. If, therefore, the aims of Russian and Austrian foreign policy in the Balkans were to be achieved, they would have to be achieved in a hurry. It was under these circumstances that the foreign minister of Austria, Aehrenthal, and the foreign minister of Russia, Izvolski, arranged what Americans would call a "deal" in Aehrenthal's castle of Buchlau in Moravia. Austria might go ahead with the outright annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was agreed, if Russia might secure the guarantee of an opening of the Straits of the Dardanelles to Russian warships. Since this private agreement between two foreign ministers involved a modification of the terms of the Congress of Berlin (1878), it was thought better by Mr. Izvolski, out of deep respect for the conventions of European diplomacy, that the consent of the signatories to the Berlin agreement be secured. Mr. Izvolski set about on a journey to European capitals to secure these consents. When he got to Paris he received a note from Aehrenthal saying that the Austrians were going to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately without waiting for the consent of the powers.

THE RESULTS OF THE BOSNIAN CRISIS

Austrian determination to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina at once created a European crisis of the first order. The Serbs were thwarted in their access to the Adriatic. The Russians had not secured the opening of the Straits. Would the alliance system fight over this matter? As a matter of fact, France and England would not support Russia in her determination to open the Straits at this moment, and Russia, so soon after the Russo-Japanese war and her own Revolution of 1905, was not ready to fight again. Germany, after some hesitation, stood squarely behind her Austrian ally in the annexation and in the refusal to bring the matter before a European conference. Aehrenthal threatened to make known to the world (including the Serbs) that the Russians had consented to the annexation, and Izvolski urged Bülow, the German chancellor, "For God's sake, don't let Aehrenthal do it."⁵ Under these circumstances Serbia had to recognize the Austrian annexation, to promise to "modify the direction of her present policy toward Austria-Hungary and to live in future on good neighborly terms with the latter." Russia, unable to fight, had to

⁵In all this I am following Fay, *Origins of the World War*, I, 383 ff.

recognize the Austrian annexation. Austria thus won in 1908 a brilliant diplomatic victory and a notable advance over Serbian nationalism. But this was a short-lived victory. Italy now tried to join the Triple Entente as well as the Triple Alliance, since she had been ignored in this crisis. The German support of Austria led Pan-Slavs to prepare for "the inevitable war between Slavdom and Teutondom." Izvolski could never forget this humiliating diplomatic defeat. The next time a crisis arose Russia must be ready to fight, and in the meantime the Triple Entente must be strengthened. The Serbs, while promising to be good, released their nationalistic propaganda to secret Black Hand societies. In 1911 Izvolski tried to open the Straits to Russian warships and was thwarted again by his own allies, France and England. He then came to the conclusion that if Russia were not simply to seize the Straits in time of peace (and the Russians were not yet willing to go this far) a European war was the only situation which would bring them to Russia. To prepare for this war, Izvolski, as the Russian ambassador in Paris, worked very hard. He is said to have claimed it as his war when it broke out ("C'est ma guerre"—"It is my war").⁶

THE BALKAN WARS

The Balkan wars of 1912–1913 deepened the mood in European chancelleries that a European war was inevitable. In 1911 Italy went to war with Turkey for Tripoli and Cyrenaica and got them (October, 1912). Under the auspices of Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia formed a league (March, 1912) providing for a division of booty in case it was necessary for them to go to war with Turkey. When the war came in October, Bulgaria and Serbia were found fighting with Greece and Montenegro. The Turks were pushed back to Constantinople. But the Great Powers, including Austria, intervened and prevented Serbia's access to the Adriatic by creating an independent Albania. This loss Serbia wished to compensate with some of Bulgaria's Macedonia, and when Bulgaria refused, she found herself at war (Second Balkan War) not only with Serbia but with Greece, Turkey, and Rumania. As a result of this war Serbia more than doubled her territory, and her foreign minister, Pašić, exclaimed with great joy, "The first round is won; now we must prepare the second against Austria."⁷

THE MURDER OF ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND

Responsible Austrian officials felt that a war with Serbia might result in turning over Serbia's gains to her Balkan neighbors. The murder of the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife (28 June, 1914) by members of a Serbian Black Hand society gave the Serbians, Austrians, and allies a chance for their war. The twenty-eighth of June, 1914, was the

⁶Fay, I, 411 ff.

⁷Ibid., I, 438 ff.

anniversary of the Battle of Kossovo, when in 1389 the Ottoman Turks defeated the Serbs and brought their medieval empire to an end.⁸ The plot of the Serbian Black Hand society to murder the Archduke Ferdinand and his wife upon their visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was well prepared. Pašić, the Serbian premier and foreign minister, was aware of the plot three weeks before it was executed. It is altogether likely that the plot was approved and "perhaps promoted" by Dragutin Dimitriyevich, chief of the intelligence section of the Serbian general staff. Pašić did not take adequate steps to prevent the murderers from leaving Serbia for Sarajevo, a part of Austrian territory since 1908, and he did nothing to warn the Austrians that the archduke and his wife might be murdered. In fact, the archduke was not too popular in Vienna, since he was anxious to settle in a generous manner the problem of the Slav minorities in Austria-Hungary. The plotters took no chances on having the murder fail. Forty-seven potential assassins were waiting in the streets of the capital for the passing of the archduke's party. At the proper moment one Chabrinovich threw a bomb at the archduke's car, but it bounced off into the street, wounding an officer in the following car and some spectators. When the archduke was told that the culprit had been arrested he said, "Hang him as soon as you can or else Vienna will send him a decoration." After a ceremony at the town hall, the archduke rushed to see his wounded officer. His car in crossing a bridge turned in the wrong direction. While the following car was backing up in order to turn left instead of right, Black Hand member Princip, from his position on the sidewalk, shot the archduke and the archduchess. The Serbian government, without taking steps against the Black Hand, now waited to see what the Austrians would do.

THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM TO SERBIA

The Austrians were determined to have a war with the Serbians to put an end to a nationalism that spawned societies of political assassins and was preparing the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But before making war with Serbia inevitable, Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister, consulted with his German ally, an ally since 1879, and Bethmann-Hollweg, the German chancellor, convinced that the war could be kept a local war between Austria and Serbia, went so far as to give a free hand to Berchtold in his dealings with the Serbs (the "blank check"). With the knowledge of German support, Berchtold thereupon prepared an ultimatum to the Serbs, so stiff that he knew it would be rejected. The Serbs, taking care that it should be rejected by refusing to permit Austrians to participate in an investigation of the Serbs who were responsible for the archduke's murder, took the additional precaution of mobilizing their army before answering the ultimatum. The Austrians, making sure that

⁸See Vol. I, pp. 515-516. I am using B. E. Schmitt's *The Coming of the War*.

they were not going to be deprived of their war by any intervention of the Powers, declared war on Serbia a month after the assassination (28 July, 1914).

THE RUSSIAN GENERAL MOBILIZATION

It was now a question of whether the Russians would permit the Austrians to humiliate the Serbs in a local war. Since 1903 the Russians had been supporting the Serbs in their goals for a Greater Serbia. They had suffered a serious diplomatic defeat in 1908 and recovered prestige by support of Serbia in the Second Balkan War. If Russia were now to permit Austria to defeat Serbia in a local war, she would suffer another diplomatic defeat. Those circumstances of a general European war, by which she could accomplish her "historic mission" at Constantinople and the Straits, would then not eventuate. Russia, therefore, took fatal steps to assure that the Austrians could not have a local war. She ordered a partial mobilization of her troops against Austria on 29 July. In resorting to mobilization the Russians were running the risk of letting the situation get out of hand, inasmuch as mobilization, once ordered, can be stopped only with difficulty. Decisions are then thrown into the hands of the generals, who cannot tolerate any loss of advantage to the enemy in the timing of mobilization and offensive action. Resorting to mobilization was dangerous also because it automatically threw the terms of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894 into play. If Russia went from partial to total mobilization, then French mobilization followed without further discussion. Knowing these things, the Germans had declared on the twenty-seventh that if Russia mobilized in the north as well as against Austria, that is, went to general from partial mobilization, she would be obliged to do the same. The Russians ordered general mobilization on 30 July while the Germans were urging Berchtold to consider the possibility of a compromise which would satisfy Russian feelings. This the Austrians had no intention of doing, and in fact the Russian general mobilization made European war inevitable by throwing the Triple Entente into play. The German "blank check" of 5 July to Austria was the result of the Dual Alliance of 1879. The Russian general mobilization brought on the German general mobilization and, on 1 August, the German declaration of war on Russia.

FRENCH SUPPORT OF RUSSIA

If the Germans gave the Austrians a free hand against Serbia, the French gave the Russians a free hand in their steps against Austria in support of Serbia and, in fact, in their whole mobilization program. The French ambassador in Russia made no efforts to restrain Russia in measures which he knew would precipitate a European war. French mobilization followed the Russian on 1 August, and on 3 August Germany declared war on France.

BRITAIN AND THE GERMAN VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY

Sir Edward Grey did not feel it possible for the English to renounce the Triple Entente after the agreements of 1904 and 1907 and the subsequent military and naval conversations with France. Nor did he announce publicly this impossibility. Whether he could have caused stronger German demands upon Austria to abandon the latter's stiff-necked policy if he had told the world of England's intention to fight against Germany and Austria it is now difficult to say. In the face of a divided cabinet, he had to limit his promises to what he could be sure of. It was German military strategy which finally decided the question for the cabinet, Parliament, and public opinion. The European powers had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium in case of a European war as early as 1839. The German General Staff nevertheless had long worked out a plan (the Schlieffen plan) for avoiding French fortifications by a quick march through Belgium. At 7 P.M. on 2 August the Germans presented Belgium with an ultimatum, and on 4 August marched in, leading to the appeal of Belgium for help from all those powers who had guaranteed her neutrality. It was this German willingness to sacrifice another nation to her own "strategic necessity" that made it possible for Britain, on 5 August, to announce that a state of war existed between Germany and Great Britain. Pašić's second round with Austria turned out to be a European war, and before it was over a world war.

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR I

In trying to explain what made this course of events possible it is necessary to speak (1) of the failure of the Christian-humanistic and the liberal-humanistic tradition to capture effectively and completely the hearts of the English and European ruling and middle classes, and (2) of the limitations and instability of western industrial capitalism. These limitations had to do with a greed which preferred to accumulate profits rather than share them, and to invest them in empires which were a source of international rivalry, suspicion, and hatred. The growth of a rich industrial bourgeoisie created numerous social problems and led to the formation of socialist labor parties rejecting the tradition of the West. Capitalist industry facilitated large-scale war and profited enormously from it. Capitalistic depressions created insecurity and contributed to faith in various types of jingoism. It is interesting to speculate on what might have been the results of an industrial capitalism wholly devoted to the liberal-humanistic ideal. War was brought on also by (3) the kind of aggressive, Prussianized Germany unified by Bismarck, and (4) the failure to provide, for a world becoming economically and politically interdependent, an international organization with authority to decide upon imperialistic and nationalistic disputes threatening peace. This final failure left the decisions of peace and war to such conspiratorial, desperate, and reactionary nationalisms as the Serbian, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian, and with an alliance

system which threatened to transform every local issue into a European or global one.

The ease with which responsible statesmen slipped into fatalistic attitudes proclaiming the inevitability of war may also be related to the insistence of the scientist upon an inevitable law determining the functioning of the world of nature and man. The willingness to resort to violence rather than reason may be related again to the theory of evolution describing a fierce struggle for survival among men who in origin were brutes. Many of the workers of western industrial society exalted violence, the class war, the forcible seizure of power, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The French trade unionist George Sorel, in a work called *Reflections on Violence*, spoke about the noble beauty and courage involved in the general strike. There were those who could speak of the idealistic and noble qualities of war.

WAR AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRADITION

The limited success of the liberal-humanistic ideal in the nineteenth century thus brought about a revival of asceticism, intensified by four years of global war (1914-1918). This is what a learned psychiatrist, using other language, refers to as an "Escape from Freedom."⁹ The resort to war was an abandonment of reason. The experience of western countries had been that it was possible for men to meet in representative assemblies, argue out their differences, and agree to act together peacefully. Resort to war was a denial of this experience, a trust in violence rather than reason. The conduct and the result of war led to further denials of the liberal-humanistic tradition, for it is difficult to conduct wars democratically. They are directed by armies and navies, and these are not normally democratic institutions. The civil administration of wars requires the relaxation, if not the abandonment, of democratic controls. When human lives are at stake there is not time for prolonged discussions of policy. The resort to force calls for irrational, rather than rational, support. To build up morale behind a "war effort," to organize enthusiasm, is a matter of propaganda, and the foundations of propaganda are irrational. It takes emotion to help to win wars, and the myths which feed emotion. There is no room for the independent individual in war. War demands the total effort of the group, and all individuals must be sacrificed to the whole, to the collective struggle of the race. The resort of Europe to war in 1914 brought on those total repudiations of the western tradition called fascism, and fascism emphasizes again features of society corresponding to the ascetic viewpoint.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR IN THE WEST

The nations involved in World War I went beyond the members of the Triple Alliance, or Central Powers, and the Triple Entente, or Allied

⁹Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*.

Powers. Rumania and Italy actually fought on the side of the Allies, and their places in the Triple Alliance were taken by Bulgaria and Turkey. Japan joined the Allies in August, 1914, in accordance with her alliance with England, and took over the German Empire in the Far East. The Schlieffen plan of the German general staff was an attempt to deal with the difficulties of a war on two fronts. It was thought that before Russian mobilization could result in an invasion of East Prussia, the German armies, by the march through Belgium, could win a decisive victory over France early enough to move troops from West to East. These plans went awry. Before the decisive battle in the West, the Germans had to move troops from West to East to try to stop the invading Russians. This somewhat weakened German army was held at the Battle of the Marne and forced to retreat (5-12 September, 1914). It was consequently unable to take the French Channel ports and thus interfere with the movement of English troops and goods to the Continent. The Allied and German armies thus settled down to four desperate years of trench warfare, with lines moving now a few miles this and now a few that way, until the German offensive of 1918 had to deal with Allies strengthened by the intervention of American troops. It was then possible to mount a counteroffensive which brought an end to the war. The Germans tried to take Verdun in 1916, and the Allies to advance from the Somme, but large human sacrifices on each side brought no serious changes in the lines. The Germans introduced poison gas in 1915, and the British the tank on the Somme, but the new weapons did not modify the advantage of the defensive. Nor did the introduction of the airplane after the murderous duels between heavy artillery and machine guns. In 1917, for example, in the third battle of Ypres, the Allies had a "gunner personnel" of "no less than 120,000." "We dumped at Ypres 321 four-hundred-ton loads of ammunition, and fired this off in a preliminary bombardment which lasted for nineteen days. In this bombardment were fired 4,283,000 shells weighing 107,000 tons." "The ground gained was approximately forty-five square miles, and each square mile cost 8,222 casualties."¹⁰

THE WAR IN THE EAST

In the East the Germans and their allies were more successful. The invasion into East Prussia was thrown back at Tannenberg, and the Russian government was unable to arm, equip, move, or inspire its peasant forces to deal with the Germany army. While the Austro-Hungarian army required the aid of the Germans to deal successfully with the Russians on its frontier, together they were able to throw them back and take over Serbia and Rumania. With the accession of Bulgaria and Turkey the Central Powers possessed a united block of territory stretching from Germany through Austria-Hungary and the Balkans to the Persian Gulf,

¹⁰Quoted in J. U. Nef, *War and Human Progress*, p. 366.

the great path of German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism. Austro-Hungarian troops delivered a very serious defeat to the Italians at Caporetto in 1915 and advanced into Italy, but were held by the Italians, with French and English aid, until 1918, when a successful counter-offensive was launched. The incapacity of the Russian autocracy to wage modern warfare finally precipitated revolution in March, 1917, which set up, upon the tsar's abdication (15 March), a Provisional Government composed of men representing the liberal views of the West. The November Revolution overthrew this government and for it substituted the Communist (Bolshevist) forces of V. I. Lenin, whom the Germans had transported to Russia in April.¹¹ The Communists refused to continue an "imperialist" war and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Germans on 3 March, 1918. The treaty recognized the independence of the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland, established with German support and now under German tutelage.

THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR

If, in effect, the Allies lost Russia in March, 1918, in the previous April they had gained the United States of America. The entrance of America, under its idealistic President, Woodrow Wilson, a former college professor and college president, brought necessary accessions of money, matériel, men, and morale. The Americans came into the war talking about right being "more precious than peace" (Wilson's words in asking for a declaration of war on 4 April, 1917). "We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, and for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." It was a question of making the world "safe for democracy." At a moment in the history of the West when the liberal-humanistic tradition had been discredited by the horrors of war and the hearts of men were sick with slaughter that promised not to cease; with their minds a little cynical with the knowledge of secret treaties that, in the spirit of the secret-alliance system, had portioned out the spoils of war before the victory was won, a voice from across the seas—naïve, some of his critics have said, unacquainted with the facts of life—in preparing his country for active military intervention in the war assumed the moral leadership of the western world.

THE REASONS FOR AMERICAN INTERVENTION

The United States had been drawn into the war because of the refusal of Germany to recognize the rights of neutrals to the freedom of the

¹¹These events will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

seas in time of war. She had disputed in the earlier years of the war the British interpretation of the rights of neutrals established by international law and agreement. The British used their naval supremacy to establish a blockade against the Germans, which they did not intend to have broken by neutrals carrying contraband to ports that might deliver it to the Germans. On only one occasion (May, 1916, Battle of Jutland) did the Germans, with their "risk" navy, dare to challenge the British navy concentrated at Scapa Flow. When they discovered they were engaged with the whole fleet, they withdrew, rather than risk all, after inflicting heavy losses upon the British. The blockade, however, was not interfered with. If they could not challenge successfully the British navy with their own, they could try to defeat the Allies by the unrestricted use of the submarine. In February, 1915, the Germans made a war zone of British waters, threatened to torpedo all Allied vessels, and warned neutrals of the risks in entering the area. On 7 May of that year they sank the *Lusitania*, a British ship carrying munitions from America with 1200 persons aboard (including 118 Americans). Strong American protest led to the discontinuance of the practice until 1917, when its revival (January, 1917) led the United States to break off diplomatic relations. This measure was followed shortly by the declaration of war (April). By convoying merchant ships the American navy was able to help considerably in removing the German submarine menace from the seas by the end of 1917.

THE END OF THE WAR

In the spring of 1918 the Germans started an offensive in the West calculated to bring a victory before the movement of American troops to Europe could become decisive. In the middle of July they were halted on the Marne, and in September an Allied offensive began. By this time the flow of American troops to France was so large that the retreating Germans soon realized that there was no further possibility of a German victory. With the armistice of 11 November, 1918, the war came to an end. During it some 65 million men had been mobilized, and of these some 9 to 10 million had been killed. Some 20 to 22,000,000 more had been wounded, and of these about 7,000,000 permanently disabled. More than 5,000,000 more had been reported "missing" after battle. The war left 9,000,000 orphans, 5,000,000 widows, and 10,000,000 refugees. It has been estimated that some 10,000,000 civilians died because of disease and privation caused by war.

THE NATURE OF SOCIETY AT WAR

Societies at war cannot lead normal lives while they send their young men to be killed at the battlefronts. The freedoms and activities that grace peaceful life have to go. Free enterprise cannot be trusted to

manage an economy that has to make war. Men cannot be permitted to think and say what they please if what they think and say endangers morale. All the normal experiences of a liberal-humanistic society have to be abandoned in the fears, terrors, pressures, drives, and coercions that war lets loose. This was true for World War I. In World War II the battlefield was extended to civilians, and war itself thus was universalized. The situation has been well put by a modern historian: "The decisive objection to war seems to lie not in the physical horrors, but in its human degradation. War in itself is opposed to the spirit of western liberalism, not because men are killed and maimed, but because there does not exist any other situation in which the freedom and dignity of man, the autonomous display of his moral judgment, and the equality of men are by necessity suspended as in war. Strict discipline without critical reasoning or questioning, undisputed and practically unlimited and infallible authority, the ready acceptance and application of force and brutality, are the fundaments on which a war is waged, especially a modern war, with its huge masses of men involved. It is for these reasons that all totalitarian societies are organized, even in peacetime, after the model of armies ever ready for struggle."¹²

THE SECRET TREATIES

Could any peace made following the war seem to justify all this? Could the heads of the victorious nations inspire with peace treaties the hope that something serious had not happened to the vitality of human decency, to the humane civilization of the West? This was all the more difficult inasmuch as the Allies had been obliged, in order to bring Rumania and Italy into the war and to reassure each other at various intervals, to make secret bargains that were not especially idealistic. By a treaty of 26 April, 1915, Italy was promised the Trentino, Tyrol, Trieste, most of Istria, and all of Dalmatia, with most of the islands offshore. Nor was this by any means all. By a treaty of 17 August, 1916, Rumania was promised Transylvania and Bukovina, that is, practically all Hungary to the Theiss (Tisza) River. "Thus in the secret treaties with the two states the Allies sacrificed liberal ideals on the altar of Mars and nationalism."¹³ Other agreements promised Russia control of Constantinople after the war, and France subsequently promised the Russians that they could annex East Prussia if in turn they supported a French annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. When the Americans entered the war they did not know of these treaties. President Wilson could think of a peace worthy of the sacrifices involved in four years of war and of the highest aspirations of the western world without being reminded that, of course, it had all been arranged another way.

¹²H. Kohn, *The Twentieth Century*, p. 41. Copyright 1940 by the Macmillan Co. and used with the Macmillan Co.'s permission.

¹³Hajo Holborn, *The Political Collapse of Europe*, p. 86. (Knopf)

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

In January, 1918, the President spoke to the American Senate of a worthy peace based on Fourteen Points, and his constant reiteration of these points in the months to come gave the Allies specific and lofty aims to pursue the war to a successful conclusion while undermining the will of the enemy. These points spoke of a just peace, and they included (1) the abandonment of secret diplomacy, (2) freedom of the seas, (3) free trade throughout the world, (4) general disarmament, (5) the impartial adjustment of colonial claims, (8) return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, (10) autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary, (12) autonomy for the peoples of the Turkish empire, (13) a new independent Poland with access to the Baltic, and (14) most important of all, a League of Nations to maintain the peace henceforth in accordance with the provisions of an international law which should supplant the international anarchy that had helped to precipitate World War I.

THE REVOLUTIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

When the statesmen forgathered in Paris in January, 1919, to consider the problems of peace, much had happened in central and eastern Europe to determine their deliberations, things they could not undo had they wished, unless they were willing to continue the war. As it drew to its close, revolutions appeared in all the lands of the Central Powers, revolutions of a liberal-nationalistic kind that broke up still further the Ottoman Empire and completely dissolved the Austro-Hungarian Empire into its nationalist bits. The death of Sultan Mohammed V of Turkey in July, 1918, led to the dismissal of German advisers, but a liberal nationalist, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, started a revolt against the new sultan in Asia Minor (1919), and by 1923 had established a new Turkish Republic with Ankara as its capital. In October, 1918, Bulgaria was taken over by a government of socialists and agrarians, with Stamboliski as premier. As early as July, 1917, representatives of Austria-Hungary's southern Slavs, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs signed an agreement with Pašić (the Declaration of Corfu) that they would join together with independent Serbia and Montenegro as a united democratic kingdom of the Yugoslavs after the war. In November, 1918, at Zagreb these South Slavs declared their union with Serbia in a Unitary Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which the Montenegrins joined only after persuasion by Serbian troops. Representatives of the Czechs and Slovaks proclaimed the independence of Czechoslovakia in Paris (October, 1918), and in November a national assembly made a democratic constitution and summoned Thomas Masaryk to the presidency. In November, 1918, after losing Transylvania, Bukovina, and Galicia, Hungary became a small independent republic. Revolution seized Austria at the end of October, and, after the summoning of a constitutional assembly, the little new Austria had a republican constitution by March, 1919. The Russians had abandoned their

claims to Poland as well as to the new Baltic states by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Poles of Austria-Hungary (Galicia) and Germany (Posen, Silesia, West Prussia) sought admittance to the new Poland upon the collapse of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Early in 1919 the new Polish Republic had a great pianist as premier (Paderewski) and a general (Pilsudski) as provisional president.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

As the leaders of the German army began to realize that defeat was certain in the West they sought to cast the responsibility for negotiating surrender and accepting humiliating peace terms upon a "democratic" government. When General Ludendorff, who was one day to support Hitler in Munich, insisted upon a new government to Kaiser Wilhelm II, Prince Max of Baden was made chancellor. In October the government lost its Bismarckian character and became a responsible, liberal monarchy. But for President Wilson, about to discuss terms of an armistice, this was insufficient. The German government must be made still more democratic. Under these and other circumstances, including the beginnings of a popular revolutionary movement, Kaiser Wilhelm II was prevailed upon to abdicate (9 November) and go to Holland. Germany was proclaimed a republic (the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933), and Friedrich Ebert, a Socialist, was made chancellor. Together with the Kaiser, the kings, grand dukes, dukes, and other reigning princes disappeared everywhere in Germany in favor of republican forms of government. In January, 1919, elections were held for a constitutional assembly to meet at Weimar, which drew up an excellent constitution. Friedrich Ebert became Germany's first president. Yet these events had not really changed the social and economic basis of power in Germany (Ruhr industrialists, trans-Elbian Junkers, army, bureaucracy), so that in the end the Weimar Republic was not able to prevent the growth of the Nazis. But by the time that President Wilson, Lloyd George, the British premier minister, and Orlando, the Italian representative, joined Clemenceau and the other delegates in Paris, the Russia of the Romanov tsars, the Austria-Hungary of the Hapsburg emperors, and the Second German Reich of the Hohenzollerns were no more.

THE TREATIES OF PEACE

The mere disappearance of these ancient institutions of the old regime and the succession of new democratic, national states went a long way to justify the horrors and sufferings of the war. The treaties formally bringing it to a close had to recognize these events. The original treaty of peace with the Turks (Sèvres, 1920) had to be scrapped when Mustapha Kemal Pasha took over the Turkish government. In the new treaty of Lausanne (24 July, 1923) the Turks gave up the Hejaz, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Mesopotamia, and Syria but kept Asia Minor, Constantinople, and Eastern

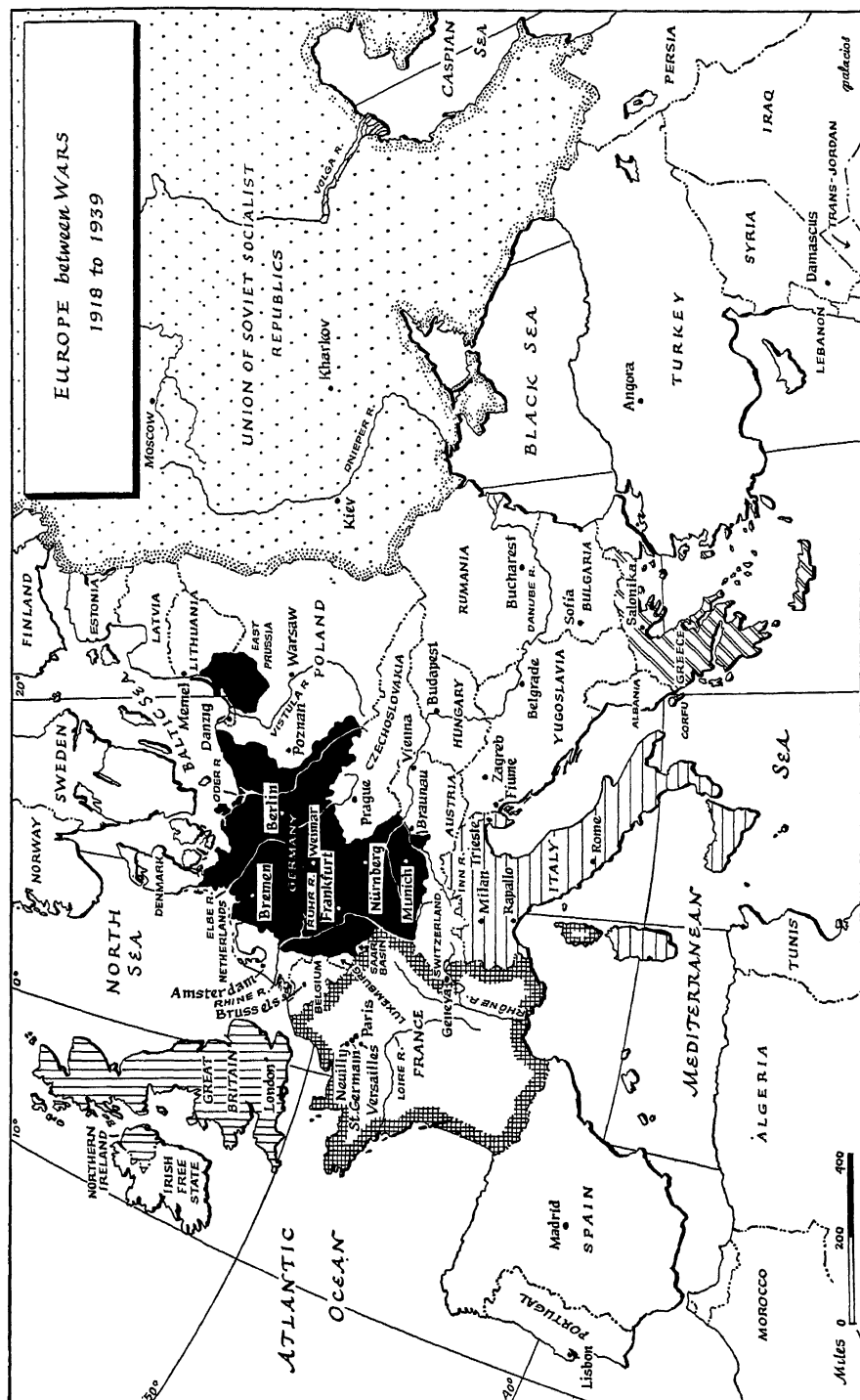
Thrace, including Adrianople. An International Straits Commission, under the supervision of the new League of Nations, was to demilitarize the shores of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and guarantee the freedom of the straits. The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (27 November, 1919), aside from cutting her army and obliging her to pay a war indemnity, cost her the Dobrudja (to Rumania), a large part of Macedonia (to Yugoslavia) and of Thrace (to Greece), cutting Bulgaria off from the Aegean Sea. The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (4 June, 1920) recognized the cession of Transylvania to Rumania, the Slovak and Ruthenian areas to Czechoslovakia, and Croatia to Yugoslavia. Austria was obliged, in the Treaty of St. Germain (10 September, 1919), to recognize the new boundaries of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland and to surrender Trentino, Trieste, and Istria to Italy. In the Treaty of Rapallo (November, 1920) Yugoslavia and Italy divided the Dalmatian coast at Fiume, the northern half going to Italy, the southern to Yugoslavia. Although the new boundaries were an attempt to do justice to the principle of nationalism, it is simply impossible to draw strictly national boundaries. To protect the national minorities, the Allies signed special minority treaties with the new states and put special provisions in the treaties with the old ones.

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

On 28 June, 1919, the fifth anniversary of the murder at Sarajevo, in the hall of the Versailles palace where in 1871 Bismarck had proclaimed the Second German Reich, the Germans were presented with the final draft of the stiff Treaty of Versailles to sign. Neither they nor the Russians had been present at the sessions of the peace conference. They had received the original text of the treaty on 7 May, the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and in return protested with more pages than are contained in the text of the treaty itself. The national assembly at Weimar, debating a new democratic constitution for Germany, yielded to the Allied demand for an unconditional acceptance of the treaty, but said it was yielding "to overwhelming force, but without on that account abandoning her views in regard to the unheard-of injustice of the conditions of peace." What the Germans resented with special bitterness was Article 231 of this treaty, which said that "the Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies." Nobody who has read the earlier pages of this chapter will be able to agree that Germany can be made solely responsible for the war and its consequences, and the Allied diplomats who were responsible for this article knew, if not from the actual documents themselves, then from the very nature of prewar in-

ternational relations that sole responsibility could not be pinned upon any one nation. But that is not to say that the German Reich did not have a serious and main responsibility for the critical nature of international relations between 1871 and 1914, and in supporting Austria in a devil-may-care attitude with respect to Serbia in July, 1914, had not an awful responsibility for helping to bring on the war. After four years of it the victorious Allies, and especially the French, were in no mood to consider the niceties of war guilt, nor the Germans to accept the results of intemperate deliberations. It might have been better if the drafting of the treaty had been postponed until emotions cooled. It might have been wiser if the Allies had not imposed upon the new democratic forces struggling to reorganize Germany terms which would excite the nationalists and those who had really brought Germany to ruin and, subsequently, the Nazis. But without fundamentally altering the political, economic, and social bases of the traditional ruling classes at the same time, such concessions would have been of little if any avail. In any case, the historian, while he must judge, is less than infallible when he indulges in speculation upon what might have been. The Germans, who have a chronic weakness for excusing and forgiving themselves, cannot escape their responsibilities for bringing on war by references to Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. Considering the Treaty of Frankfurt imposed upon France in 1871 and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, it must always be asked what kind of treaty a victorious Germany would have imposed after World War I.

On the basis of Article 231 the Germans were required to pay reparations for all damage done to Allied civilians and property by land, by sea, and from the air, and in addition for all subsequent military pensions. The conference did not venture to fix a sum but left this to a Reparations Commission. Germany was thus asked to sign a "blank check." The Germans were deprived of all their colonies, investments, and concessions abroad. Germany lost something like one eighth of her territory and about six and one-half millions of her population. Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, and the Danish northern part of Schleswig to Denmark. Nationalism was to apply to Germany also. She was to lose her Poles. Posen and West Prussia, together with the "Polish Corridor," were turned over to the new Poland, thus, as the Fourteen Points had insisted, extending her to the sea and at the same time separating Germany proper from its medieval projection—East Prussia. After plebiscites held in Upper Silesia under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland profited from the cession of the minerally richest area (hard coal), Germany retaining the rest. The German city of Danzig, the product of medieval colonization, was established as a free city under control of the League. Memel, another colonial city of medieval Germany, went in 1923 to Lithuania. The Germans were left only a small army and navy (no submarines), no air force, and virtually no merchant marine. They



were forbidden to fortify either the left bank of the Rhine or the right bank "to the west of a line drawn 50 kilometers" from the river. The left bank of the Rhine was to be occupied by Allied troops in order to guarantee the carrying out of the terms of the treaty. The region of the Saar was put under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations until a plebiscite was taken (1935), but the coal mines were to go to France.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Clemenceau is supposed to have remarked about the peace conference that it was a little difficult to get the proper decisions made, what with Jesus Christ (Wilson) sitting on his left and Napoleon (Foch) sitting on his right. The Old Tiger was concerned with little more than the national interests and security of France. President Wilson felt that however many sacrifices of principle he had been obliged to make and however many mistakes the conferees might perpetrate, the existence of the League of Nations, a new instrument for the maintenance of international peace, would make possible, in a spirit of rational calm, compensation for these sacrifices and correction of the mistakes. He therefore insisted that the Covenant of the League of Nations be made a part of the text of the treaties, bringing the tragedy of the first world war to a close. The fierce idealism of a Scotch Presbyterian thus prevailed upon the diplomats, who were more accustomed to the normal, even cynical, play of realistic, nationalistic, and imperialistic power politics. The League of Nations, the first tangible realization of a dream as old almost as mankind, the dream of a universal and perpetual peace cementing the brotherhood of mankind, the first international organization of the globe, came into existence with a group of very nationalistic treaties. The harmony between the two, nationalism and internationalism, it sought in a democratic federalism. In this spirit the Allies sought to terminate the old imperialism and to turn over to the new League the supervision of what was now called the mandate system. The colonies of the Central Powers were not just to be divided *pro rata* and added to the empires of the victors. Ideally, they were to be held in trust by the Allies until they could be given their own self-government or independence. The Allies recognized that this capacity for self-government could be achieved only after long experience. They divided the German Empire and the lost parts of the Ottoman Empire into A, B, and C mandates, as if to recognize the stages of a colony's growth. The A mandates, those which had virtually achieved a status of self-government, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine, were turned over to France and England as the mandate powers. The African colonies of Togoland, the Cameroons, and German East Africa could be administered almost as regular colonies. The British and French took over Togoland and the Cameroons, and the British and Belgians took over German East Africa. The Class C mandates could be administered as integral parts of the territory of the governing party.

German Southwest Africa went to the Union of South Africa. The German islands of the South Seas north of the equator went to Japan. German New Guinea went to Australia, Western Samoa to New Zealand, and Nauru Island to the British.

AMERICAN REJECTION OF THE TREATIES OF PEACE

The American President returned home to a hostile Republican Senate that would have nothing to do with his treaties and his League. "His health seriously impaired by his long fight at the Conference of Versailles, he nevertheless embarked on an arduous speaking tour across the United States, to get the backing of the American people for the Treaty he only half believed in and for the League that would justify the blood that had been spilt. He spoke his way to the Pacific Coast and had started back again. On September 25, 1923, at Pueblo, Colorado, he cried, 'There is one thing the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted the truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before.' The speech suddenly broke off: Wilson had suffered a cerebral thrombosis: the rest of the tour was canceled; and he returned to Washington, where nine days later he suffered a partial paralysis. . . . He never lost faith that the American people would eventually insist on joining the League of Nations. On February 3, 1924, he died, after winning a war and losing a peace."¹⁴

POSTWAR DEMOCRATIC VICTORIES

After the cessation of the war to make the world safe for democracy, or, in the terms of this book, to make it safe for the liberal-humanistic tradition, the forces of progress should have resumed their upward way. And it was possible to see in certain happenings in Europe the continued workings of the democratic process. In England (1918) and elsewhere the suffrage was extended to women. The English Labor party came to power in 1924, 1929, and, after another war, in 1945. The independence of the dominions within the British Empire (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of South Africa) was more carefully defined than ever in the Statute of Westminster (1931). Spain became a republic in 1932. The constitution of the new German Republic contained encouraging features of the welfare state. The new republic of Austria, under the leadership of socialist Vienna, embarked upon an impressive social program that included new developments in municipal housing for workers. In the new republics on the Baltic and in Czechoslovakia, following the

¹⁴Stringfellow Barr, *The Pilgrimage of Western Man*, pp. 306-307.

example of Russia after 1917, the large estates, ancient medieval inheritances, were broken up, and peasants got the land for themselves. Political parties representing the democratic aspirations of small landowning peasants seemed to be joining with socialist parties, representing the workers, in a new attack upon the difficult problem of how little national states, pursuing their own national economic policies, could hope to survive in a world economy. The new League of Nations seemed to function well as an international agency for the carrying out of some provisions of the peace treaties. Perhaps, after all, World War I actually was a victory for democratic freedom and peace.

THE RISE OF FASCISM

Those who thought so were soon disillusioned. In 1922 someone by the name of Benito Mussolini, who called himself *Il Duce* (The Leader), took over the government of Italy and began to assume heroic stances, protrude his large jaw, and shout defiant words at large crowds assembled upon the public squares of Italy. Eleven years later another by the name of Adolf Hitler, who called himself *Der Führer* (The Leader), took over the government of Germany and, being a mincing, middling sort of man with a little rectangular mustache on his upper lip, and unable to use the heroic bulldog methods of his Italian counterpart, screamed his throaty threats at Europe and the world before raving mobs of his followers. Europe soon spawned a considerable litter of smaller leaders and would-be leaders. Soon only in Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Czechoslovakia were democratic institutions permitted to function untampered with. The war had produced fascism, a new European movement which threatened the very life of the liberal-humanistic tradition. War and its aftermath so weakened the fabric of western democratic society that when confronted with the host of complex political, economic, and social problems that were involved in trying to transfer Europe from a war to a peace economy, it seemed simpler to abandon the difficult methods of democracy and turn to the dictator, who with his super-human wisdom could decide everything in the right way for everybody. If freedom had to go with this surrender, let it go. What was freedom worth if there was no job, no hope, no future? Security had to be paid for in some way. Thus the turn to fascism may be explained as a part of the outcome of the war's complete dislocation of the European economy.

Put in the larger framework of the development of the western tradition, however, the fascist victory may be interpreted as the reassertion of asceticism after the West had abandoned the liberal-humanistic tradition for the more primitive way of solving human problems—war or mass killings on a universal scale. To repeat, fascism in whatever form was a rejection, often a haughty and scornful rejection, of the liberal-humanistic

tradition and a substitution of those ascetic methods which, in an earlier day, humanism had seemed to conquer; but only apparently, for they now re-emerged and perfected themselves by the unprincipled use of technology, mass psychology, and the methods of modern publicity and advertising. The fundamental principles of the western tradition were compromised in the nineteenth century by a nationalism which went beyond demands for political independence to irrational assertions and, indeed, cruel executions of notions of national and racial superiority. They were further compromised when the nations of western Europe, in the effort to build up world empires, resorted to practices they would not have dared to use at home and to theories of inherent white supremacy and the "white man's burden." Certain aspects of scientific industrialism, as developed by the new middle classes, seemed also to deny the democratic implication of the liberal-humanistic tradition. The result was revolt and rejection, what we have called the artistic revolt of Bohemia and the revolt of the European working classes. Marx and Engels and other continental socialists rejected democratic methods and institutions in the pursuit of what were democratic ideals. Fascism was a continuation, under the impact of war, of the earlier nationalistic, imperialistic, undemocratic, violent, and socialistic (after 1917, communistic) rejection of the liberal-humanistic tradition. At the same time it tapped older, deeper sources of western experience and indeed of human nature itself. It takes us back to the worst days of the universal tyranny of the Roman emperors. It goes back to those centuries of the Dark Ages when most men lived a life of superstitious ignorance and were told, if they did not know, what they were to believe under all circumstances. It goes back to the various kinds of theocracies, ecclesiastical and secular, religious and political authoritarianisms, that regarded rulers as divine or agents of the divine with absolute power over the rest. It goes back to those ancient, organic notions of society that relegated each man to his proper place, the place where his betters thought he should be, and taught him to be content with his lot. It goes back to those medieval notions of aristocracy which made human quality depend upon noble "blood." In these ways, and in others still to be pointed out, it revived in brutal form the ascetic ideas and ways of distant centuries that the western world thought it had put behind. It collected about its banner so much of a Europe that had been cowed by the authoritarianism and brutality of war that many who had been proud of man's accomplishment and hopeful for his future began to feel anguished doubt. Perhaps they were wrong. Maybe man was just a brute, a victim of sin, unable to save himself. Maybe it was best for him to be put in place by his betters while on earth and postpone the realization of his great hopes until heaven. When doubts like these become widespread a liberal-humanistic tradition is doomed. In this sense fascism may well be one of the most serious evidences of the West's decline.

Mussolini was the son of a blacksmith, grew up a social rebel, was active in left-wing socialist circles, and became the editor of an important socialist daily in Milan. He fought in World War I and was seriously wounded. He had become acquainted as a young man with the nihilist philosophy of Nietzsche and the doctrines of Sorel on the necessity for revolutionary, working-class violence. He returned home after the war to an Italy where rabid nationalists expressed discontent over the peace conference, where young men could not get jobs, and where the economy was unstable. Political radicalism was strong. There were riots and strikes, and in many cases workers were actually attempting to take over the factories. Italian democracy, not very old and resting upon insecure foundations, was faced with problems of unusual difficulty. Mussolini, and many others, thought it needed to be abandoned for strong-arm methods. In 1919 he re-formed a prewar organization that had urged Italy's entrance into the war into what were now called *fasci di combattimento* (fighting units) of veterans, who set out to capture the government. Supported by propertied groups who feared the victory of Italian socialism or communism and felt that Mussolini and his *fasci* could at least establish some kind of bourgeois order, these groups of malcontents and roughnecks, using terroristic methods, were enabled by the connivance of a weak democratic government to elect thirty-five deputies in 1921, and in November of that year they formed the National Fascist Party (Black Shirts). Within another year they had grown powerful enough for Mussolini to plan and execute a march on Rome by an armed militia of some fifty thousand men. The result was that Mussolini was given the premiership and with his new cabinet took office on 30 October, 1922. The machinery of democratic government was quickly discarded, opposition political parties disbanded and their leaders sometimes murdered, and Italy subordinated to the interests of a party acting through a Fascist Grand Council. Having made his peace with the Italian middle classes, Mussolini also came to terms with the papacy, since the loss of temporal power in 1871 "imprisoned" within the Vatican. Temporal power was restored to the popes for the area of Vatican City. The clergy were given a share in the education of Italian children, and \$39,375,000 in cash and \$52,500,000 in government bonds were granted to the papacy in settlement of all its financial claims for loss of its temporal power. Mussolini, as the commander in chief of the army, navy, and air force, had to devote himself to the task of making Italy play a part in world affairs worthy of the descendants of the Romans. The Italians, with no great liking for military glory and a none-too-distinguished record in military history, had to be regenerated with military virtues. "War alone," Mussolini thought, "brings up to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it. . . . War is to the man what

maternity is to the woman. I do not believe in perpetual peace, not only do I not believe in it, but I find it depressing and a negation of all the fundamental virtues of man. . . . The whole nation must be militarized. . . . I consider the Italian nation in a permanent state of war."¹⁵

Fascism was to be not only Italian but European in scope. "By the year 1950 Italy will be the only country of young people in Europe, while the rest of Europe will be wrinkled and decrepit. People from all the frontiers will come to see the phenomenon of the blooming Spring of the Italian people. . . . Today (1930) I affirm that the idea, doctrine, and spirit of Fascism are universal. It is Italian in its particular institutions, but it is universal in spirit. . . . It is therefore possible to see a Fascist Europe which will model its institutions on Fascist doctrine and practice, a Europe which will solve in the Fascist way the problems of the modern State, a State very different from the States which existed before 1789, or which were formed afterward. Today, even as yesterday, the prestige of nations is determined absolutely by their military glories and armed power. Fascism is an army on the march."¹⁶ Italy must have an empire, for "in the Fascist doctrine, empire is not only a territorial, a military, or a mercantile expression, but a spiritual or moral one . . . a manifestation of vitality."¹⁷ A vital fascist nation must avenge the humiliating defeats of Italy in her impotent democratic days. The Ethiopians had once prevented Italy from conquering them (Adowa, 1896). In 1935 Mussolini set out to reconquer Ethiopia, and in 1936 added it to Italian Somaliland and Eritrea. It was the year of the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis.

HITLER

Hitler was an Austrian rather than a German citizen by birth, the son of a customs officer at Braunau on the Inn, across from the lovely medieval German town of Burghausen. He was orphaned at fifteen and wanted to be educated as an architect and builder at Vienna, but he failed to pass his entrance exams. In Vienna, while living a lonely and precarious existence as a worker, he absorbed the anti-Semitic doctrines of Dr. Karl Lueger and Georg von Schönerer and acquired a hostility for Social Democrats, whom he blamed for his unemployment. In 1912 he went to Munich in Bavaria and eked out a living as a none-too-good commercial artist. He found relief as a soldier in World War I, rose to the rank of corporal, was wounded and decorated with the Iron Cross, and returned to Munich after the war. Munich was at the time a center of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary violence. The German revolution of November, 1918, may be said to have started here, and in 1919 it was the center of the German Communist movement. In the same year,

¹⁵H. Kohn, *The Twentieth Century*, pp. 149-150.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁷W. C. Langsam, *The World since 1914*, p. 360.

Hitler became one of the very first members of a small counterrevolutionary group which called itself the German Workers' Party, and subsequently the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi). In 1923, this group felt strong enough to try to imitate Mussolini's coup d'état (1922) with a seizure of its own, supported by General Ludendorff and led by Hitler. But he was arrested and jailed, and before his release managed to write a book—*Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), the bible of German fascism, a blueprint of future Nazi plans and policies.

HITLER'S "MEIN KAMPF"

The Nazi Party (this book said) if it is to prosper must recognize and act upon the doctrine that it is only force that can prevail in the world. "When there is a struggle between forces, the wisdom of life decides rightly, better than man's reason could, for success proves always which of the two is right. . . . We must never forget the law of nature, the law that governs sun, stars, and planets—namely, that only Might is Lord of the Weak, and Might must either compel the weak to obedience or break them." Might in the form of an army directed by the Leader will free Germany from the shackles of an iniquitous peace treaty and secure for her the territory that she needs and build up an empire in which the superior German race can live as an élite upon the labor of the inferior peoples. Germans are Aryans, and the super-Aryans among Aryans. "The Aryan is the Prometheus of humanity, from whose light-bearing forehead the godlike spark of genius has sprung at all times, ever lighting new fires to illuminate the night of hidden secrets and thus showing the way which leads to the rule over all other peoples."¹⁸ The German Aryan must keep his race pure. It must not be bastardized by mixture with other stocks. "There is one holiest right only, and one holiest duty, and that is to see that the nation's blood be kept pure so that humanity may reach its highest development. The state must lift marriage from the abyss of social shame, and sanctify it as an institution for the procreation of likenesses of God instead of monstrosities which are a cross between men and apes." It is above all the contamination of the Jew that must be avoided. To carry out a policy of racial purity and Aryan (German) dominance by force is to follow the Divine Will, since the "task of upholding and forwarding the highest form of humanity which the goodness of the Almighty has bestowed upon the world is a truly lofty mission. The Aryan has always needed an inferior, conquered people to do the hard work; without that, progress would be impossible. Only pacifistic fools can see anything wrong in this absolutely necessary course of development. . . . Our party does not believe in race equality,—rather, that its duty is to preserve the higher races and bring into subjection the lower, in obedience to the Eternal Will that rules the

¹⁸I am using the analysis of Alice Hamilton, "Hitler Speaks," *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1933.

Universe." "We Nazis say that the right to land becomes a sacred duty when for lack of it a great people is threatened with decline. Especially when this is not some dark-skinned race, but the Germanic Mother of all those who have given her cultural form to the world today. Either Germany will be a world power or she will cease to be."

To secure the victory, force or "ruthless brutality" will be necessary, but it can be aided by the big lie or propaganda. In the use of propaganda it is well to remember that there are masses who have to be convinced, and it will be best to assume that the masses have little or no mentality. The mass is a beast with feelings; it can love or hate, but it cannot reason: hold up only one enemy at a time, and attack him with simple stories that are to be repeated over and over again until the simplest nincompoop is absolutely convinced of them. Do not confuse the masses with the suggestion that you may not be altogether in the right and that the enemy may have a little right on his side; that there are two sides to the question; that it may be approached rationally. Talk to them in the evening when they are tired from work and use every possible technique of dramatic, ritualistic hypnotism to serve your effect. But never forget the big lie, for the bigger it is the more easily it will be believed. Little people can see through little lies, but they are too simple to believe that when you tell a whopper, a really "thundering lie," you are not telling the truth.

HITLER'S SEIZURE OF POWER

In 1923 Hitler, confined in a Bavarian prison, was only ten years away from his goal, the control of the government of the Weimar Republic. He could never have reached it had the government of that republic had to contend with normal times. To be sure, it was a weak government. There had really been no German Revolution in the sense that there had been a French one. The power of the old ruling classes, army, Ruhr industrialists, Junkers, bureaucracy, had not been touched, and the Socialist leaders in this government were never able to do anything to touch them. Instead, they had to bear the brunt of the stiff Versailles Treaty. When the Reparations Commission first came to fix the sum that Germany owed, it was no less than 54 billion dollars, impossible under the circumstances for Germany to pay, and requiring constant reduction until forgotten. The government was unable or unwilling to control wild groups of nationalist fanatics who organized private armies, and among these were the Nazis. After the war Germany was seized by an inflation which reached a fantastic climax in 1923 and with the worthlessness of the mark ruined the middle classes. Upon these Hitler could build. Germany, from 1924 to 1929 started to rebuild, and with the help of private American millions now invested in her economy a semblance of prosperity returned. During these years Hitler's fascist movement lost its original force. But the inability of the capitalist

system to keep its house in order set it going again. In October, 1929, the crash on the New York Stock Exchange came. Within a short while the Great Depression had spread to all the industrial nations of the world, and Germany was among the hardest hit. Her middle class was ruined for a second time. The unemployed were soon to be counted in the millions. The Nazis began to grow after 1929. By 1932 they had 230 seats in the *Reichstag*, outnumbering even the Social Democrats as the largest single party. By January, 1933, it was realized by the conservatives who composed the Prussian old regime that Hitler might be a very useful man to contain the radical forces that threatened to overthrow the German economy. Actually the Rhine industrialists had already agreed to finance his movement. In January, 1933, an aged and bewildered German general, President von Hindenburg, was prevailed upon to summon Adolf Hitler to the chancellorship in a cabinet shared with conservative nationalists. They did not last long. Democratic Germany was quickly destroyed. The Nazi Terror was on, and war in the offing. In this way unmanageable capitalism contributed directly to World War II.

THE APPROACH OF WORLD WAR II

Under Hitler's announced program of "ruthless brutality," from 1933 to 1939 the western democratic world was led at a dizzy pace into war. After seven years' membership in the League of Nations, Hitler's Germany withdrew in 1933, contemptuous of any suggestion that there was a larger than nationalist interest to tell Germans what to do. In 1934 his Austrian henchmen murdered the Austrian chancellor Dollfuss, who was blocking the way to a union (*Anschluss*) between Germany and Austria. Thereupon, under Schuschnigg, an Austrian brand of fascism got under way. Mussolini at this moment postponed the *Anschluss* by a threat of war. In 1935 Hitler announced that Germany would ignore the demilitarization clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and proceed to arm. German rearmament made it possible for Hitler to get rid of unemployment. In 1936 he marched into the Rhineland, which according to the Versailles Treaty was to remain demilitarized. In 1937 the Nazis in Danzig made clear to the world that this city was scarcely free or international under the League of Nations. In 1938 German troops marched into Austria and in the name of nationalism annexed it to the Reich. All these violations of international law, all these resorts to holy force were perpetrated with little show of opposition by the western democracies. Maybe the Treaty of Versailles had been a little harsh. Maybe German nationalism ought to be appeased. In any case these westerners, not yet abandoning civilized decency, with millions of their young men dead in World War I and other ravages of that war not yet repaired, were hesitant to resort to force again. Was there no way of filling the maw of the yelling Nazi dictator?

In 1938, Hitler began to scream about the Germans in the Sudetenland

in Czechoslovakia. The English prime minister Chamberlain and the French premier Daladier rushed to Munich to see if something could not be done to stave off war once again. If Hitler could only have this little bit more. Mr. Chamberlain said yes, and Mr. Daladier said yes, the latter abandoning his alliance with Czechoslovakia to preserve the peace. The Soviet Union, not summoned to Munich, said no, and offered to join with the West in stopping the march of the Nazis. The West demurred. Hitler took his little bit more, including the fortifications which protected Czechoslovakia, and could not then resist at once swallowing the whole country, thus terminating for the time being its short-lived independence. The West then realized that it had made a horrible mistake. There was no rational limit to Nazi imperialism but a superior force. What the Nazis said about European domination by a superior German Aryan race was in fact their serious intent. This was the last concession. The Soviets, after the rejection of their offer to defend Czechoslovakia, and feeling that the West was bent on sending the Nazis eastward in order that Communists and fascists might destroy each other in a life-and-death struggle, at this crucial point horrified the West by signing a pact with Hitler, the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 23 August, 1939, partitioning Poland once again. On 1 September the German army marched into Poland; on 3 September France and England declared war on Germany, World War II.

Meanwhile western indecision precipitated other crises. An English proposal of 1924 (the Geneva Protocol) that arbitration should be compulsory and that action should be taken against aggressors who refused arbitration was rejected. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 the League did nothing, and by 1936 Japanese fascists were a part of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. The League took no serious steps against Mussolini in 1935 when he went into Ethiopia—no steps that might run the risk of a general war. In 1936, when civil war broke out in Spain between the liberal and radical forces defending the new Spanish Republic and the conservative, clerical, and reactionary forces under General Francisco Franco, the western nations under French and British leadership decided they could not intervene. Only the Soviet Union, for its own purposes, came to the aid of Spanish Republicans openly, although thousands of sympathizers from western countries went to fight fascism in Spain. But Mussolini and Hitler did not hesitate to send planes and troops. They did not hesitate at Guernica to go in for the first air-bombing of civilians in wartime. The result was that Spain under Franco joined the growing ranks of the fascist powers, where in fact she still remains. The Spanish Civil War was the dreary prelude to World War II.

FASCISM AND ASCETICISM

Under the pressure of war the fascist regimes, both Italian and German, became more ruthless and inhumane, and the issues dividing them from

the western powers clearer and more certain. The fascist powers were monolithic, one-party tyrannies, the reappearance of ancient theocracies, demanding unqualified obedience from subjects. These new absolute theocracies (Hitler is lovely. God is lovely. Hitler is like God), directed by a kind of priestly élite, had no room for the free individual, dividing mankind merely into the Aryan shepherds and the lesser sheep. The sacrifice which these secularized asceticisms demanded was for the higher good of the nation and not for that of the individual. Their hard disciplines were to make possible the 1000-year existence which Hitler claimed for the Third Reich. The nationalisms of these new violent tyrannies were essentially mystical and irrational, involving dogmatic statements of belief calling for unlimited and unqualified, devoted faith, and such extraordinary conduct as "thinking with the blood." But the sacrifice of the individual found its best expression in the life of the soldier and the discipline of the army, making possible the absolutism of the state.

These abstract statements need to be emphasized and illustrated once again by imbecile remarks of the fascist leaders themselves, ridiculous except for the fact that they were accepted by millions of human beings and actually led the world once again into war. Mussolini said in 1930 that "although words are beautiful things, rifles, machine guns, ships, aeroplanes, and cannons are still more beautiful things because, my Black Shirts, right, unless accompanied by force, is a vain word, and your own great Niccolò Machiavelli has warned us that prophets who have disarmed will perish."¹⁹ In the face of the demands of the nation, all internal conflict, such as that between capital and labor, must cease. Fascism, like communism, did not recognize the right of a trade union to strike and negotiate. The rights of the worker disappeared when the nation was involved. Hitler could say that "The National Socialist State leadership is so sovereign, so above all economic bias, that in its eyes the designations 'employee' and 'employer' are immaterial concepts. Before the greater interests of the nation there are neither employer nor employees but only labor delegates of the entire people." Fascism had no desire to eliminate classes, only to keep them in their place. It "seizes individuals by their necks and tells them, 'You must be what you are. If you are a bourgeois you must remain such. You must be proud of your class.'" If this denies you freedom of opportunity you must not be disturbed, for the "Goddess of Liberty is nothing but a decayed corpse which Fascism does not hesitate to trample." In a fascist state, as in any good army, orders come from above. Hitler explained that "The principle which in its time made the Prussian army the most wonderful instrument of the German people, must in the future become the principle of the structure of our whole conception of the state: authority of every leader downwards and re-

¹⁹This and the following quotations are from M. Rader, *No Compromise*, copyright 1939 by the Macmillan Co. and used with the Macmillan Co.'s permission.

sponsibility upwards.”²⁰ There is an “immutable, beneficial and fruitful inequality of mankind” that fascism must maintain. The state which preserves this inequality and asserts this authority must be totalitarian, that is, it must govern the whole life of all its citizens. “The fascist conception of the State,” Mussolini can explain, “is all embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian and the Fascist state, a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values, interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people.”

To a Nazi agricultural expert (Darré) the state is a “superorganic organism which exacts devotion and sacrifice of the individual and the abandonment of egoism for the sake of a higher aim.” “For Fascism society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends. . . . Individual rights are only recognized insofar as they are implied in the rights of the State.” In the end the Nazis and Italian fascists tried to sublimate their doctrines of force, racial superiority, and extreme nationalism into a kind of mystic devotion to the people, the *Volk*, and the spirit of the people, the *Volksgeist* of the Romanticists. Goebbels, the Nazi minister of propaganda, could explain that to be a Christian means: “Love thy neighbor as thyself. My neighbor is my racial comrade. If I love him I must hate his enemies. Who thinks German must despise the Jews.” In the end their mysticism reached to the divine leader—“A new authority has arisen as to what Christ and Christianity really are—Adolph Hitler.” “No one can be a good German and at the same time deny God, but an avowal of faith in the eternal Germany is at the same time an avowal of faith in the eternal God. For us the service of Germany is the service of God. If we act as true Germans, we act according to the laws of God. Whoever serves Adolph Hitler, the Führer, serves Germany, and whoever serves Germany serves God.” “A German religious movement which aspires to become a Church of the people must declare that the ideal of love for one’s neighbor has to be subordinated to the idea of national honor; no action may be approved by the German church which does not in the first place serve to guarantee the national weal.” “Adolph Hitler’s book, *Mein Kampf*, expresses the purest ethics, and the German people must continually find its inspiration in this book. The German National Church removes from its altars the cross, the Bible, and various religious images and places in their stead the book of the Führer and the sword.”²¹

In the course of World War II Italian and German fascism were intensified. As German armies advanced, the Nazi empire took form in accordance with the plans of its theorists. The German Aryan élite became a privileged ruling class, and in Germany itself care was taken to encourage the breeding of selected blond specimens.

²⁰Kohn, p. 170.

²¹Rader, *No Compromise*, passim.

RISE and FALL of HITLER'S EMPIRE

- Farthest Nazi advance
- [1941] Surrender to Nazis
- 44 Date of Allied advance
- Lines of Allied counter-attack
- Boundaries of 1938
- Incorporated into Germany
- Occupied by Hitler and his allies
- Allied to Hitler
- Line where Russians and Western Allies met



THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

From the occupied countries of Europe came millions of workers for Nazi industry in what finally amounted to a forced-labor or slave-labor system. The unfit, the mentally ill, the crippled, the old were simply to be done away with. For the Jew—the scapegoat Jew—Hitler had announced that in case of war he would be exterminated, and in accordance with this inhuman announcement the Jews were largely exterminated, some four to six million being murdered in the concentration camps of the Nazi empire. In fact, it is not going too far to take the concentration camp as the symbol of fascism. It was its means of getting rid of its opponents, of torturing, starving, and gassing them by the hundreds of thousands in hundreds of camps. It was the fascist expression of contempt for all human values, of man's inhumanity to man.

MAUTHAUSEN

A small, so-called extermination concentration camp was located at Mauthausen in Austria. In the closing months of the war an American who had been dropped behind the German lines had been put into it. He had insisted upon being dropped, although he knew little or no German, because he was humiliated by the fact that only Austrian and German prisoners of war had been dropped. Americans must take their chances too. He took his. He was immediately captured and put in Mauthausen. At the end of the war, when American troops freed Mauthausen, and the American Army Medical Corps undertook to save what it could of the starving, shrunk, tortured inmates, the American stayed behind to do what he could to help alleviate the brutality suffered by his fellow inmates, and to make sure that its perpetrators be brought to justice. As one approached Mauthausen in those days after the cessation of hostilities, he passed truckload upon truckload of what were once healthy human beings—now changed into ashen-faced, hollow-eyed suggestions of their former selves. As he entered, a truck went on ahead carrying the bloody, beaten body of a Nazi official of the camp who had been mistakenly released only to be pounced upon by remaining inmates when he was recognized. There were Austrians in the camp, Austrian Communists, Austrian Socialists, Austrian Christian Socials, some of whom were to lead their country in the postwar period. There were distinguished leaders from every country conquered by Germans, and many, many Germans themselves. Some of these had fought in Spain and been moved from concentration camp to concentration camp throughout Germany. There was an American citizen of Italian origin arrested in Milan, now wandering pitifully about with a tin cup in his hand, plucking grass which he boiled to try to satisfy his hunger. At the corners of the passageways dead bodies were unexpectedly come upon, carelessly tossed like scraps of garbage. The worker of the two crematories, now without employment, stood guard as of old, unable to believe it was all over, anxious to go through his old motions when

bodies were turned into fertilizer. The so-called infirmary was a nightmare of human brutality. It was recognized by the inmates that to go here was to go to one's death. Here men were left to starve. Into each single bed of the double-decked bunks were crowded three or four starving remnants of human beings. At the end of the main room scattered on the wooden floor were the shriveled, gasping bodies of the dying; just beyond the exit, huge piles of the naked dead; in the adjoining field, huge trenches, where now hundreds of the dead were buried to the words of American chaplains, not shoved into roaring furnaces.

THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II

Nazi imperialism forced a reluctant Europe into World War II. As the German armies moved into western Poland, the Soviet armies moved into eastern Poland, and in addition occupied those Baltic states abandoned by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and, after a war (1939-1940), a slice of Finland. It was impossible for the British and French to do anything for Poland, and they prepared instead to meet the attack of the Germans in the West. Before moving again into Belgium, in the spring of 1940 the Germans astounded the world by the occupation of Norway, prepared by a native fascist, Vidkun Quisling. Denmark and Holland, Belgium and France fell with extraordinary rapidity before tanks, dive bombers, and motorized German troops. On 13 June the Germans were in Paris, and on 22 June France was out of the war. Northern France was occupied by the Germans, and unoccupied France, with Vichy as its capital, was turned over to the semifascist regime of Marshal Pétain.

ENGLAND AND THE WAR

In 1940 Great Britain stood alone under the magnificent direction of Winston Churchill, whose rich, solemn voice over the air became the comfort of the free world. The Germans thought to bring her to heel with an air attack that taught many what it meant to say that civilization could be wiped out by modern war. Wide areas in London, such as those around St. Paul's, were literally wiped out. But the British did not lose courage and prepared to defend their country in case of an actual invasion and to move their government across the Atlantic in case they should not succeed. By the end of 1940 British fighters were successfully keeping the Nazi bombers away from England.

RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES ENTER THE WAR

Hitler, however, felt uneasy about attempting an invasion of England without first disposing of his ally, Russia. In June, 1941, he took the extraordinary step of a declaration of war and invasion, thus once more bringing Russia, a strong Communist rather than a feeble tsarist Russia, to the aid of the West. To begin with, however, the Russians had to with-

draw, leaving Germans before Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalingrad, spreading almost from the Baltic to the Caspian. It was Japanese expansion in the Far East which finally brought the United States into the war, after it had taken many steps under President Roosevelt's leadership to support the war against fascism. The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor of 7 December, 1941, brought a declaration of war against Japan on the following day, and on the eleventh Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The war had become global. Before the American military and naval forces were able to move against Japan she had conquered the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia, and Burma.

In 1942 the Americans could not do much more than to plan with the British for an eventual invasion of the Continent from Britain, to deal again with the serious problem of the German submarines in the Atlantic, and to prepare for an air offensive against Germany. In November, 1942, the Americans and British landed in North Africa and moved into Tunisia to meet and destroy a German army which Montgomery was driving westward from El Alamein, where it had been threatening to occupy Egypt. The winter of 1942-1943 marked the Russian victory at Stalingrad and the start of the push westward. At the same time the American offensive in the Pacific had gotten under way.

THE INVASION OF SICILY AND ITALY

In July-August, 1943, American, British, and Canadian troops seized Sicily. The Italians abandoned Mussolini and sought to make peace, but had to bow before a German occupation of Italy which used Mussolini as the stooge-ruler of a northern Italian puppet state. The Allies then had to move against the Germans up the Italian peninsula.

Finally, after great impatience and suspicion on the part of the Russians, the second front was opened (6 June, 1944) on the Norman coast across from England under an Allied command headed by General Eisenhower. From east, south, and west the Allied armies now began to converge on the Nazi empire, from which they were demanding unconditional surrender. But the end did not come in Europe until May, 1945. Mussolini was caught by antifascists in north Italy, slaughtered, and hung head downward in a public square in Milan. Hitler committed suicide in his bunker in the garden of the chancellery at Berlin. The Allied armies moved into Austria and Germany and partitioned them each into four zones, occupied respectively by the troops and military governments of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, and France.

THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

The war in the Pacific continued until August, 1945. The offensive against Japan had started from the Solomon Islands three years before. It had reached Okinawa and Iwo Jima in the late spring of 1945, and after the preparation of an air attack was planning the invasion of Japan. It was

then decided by President Truman that rather than sacrifice more American lives the United States should use its new atomic bomb. On 6 August, 1945, one of these hit the city of Hiroshima, wiping out most of the city and killing some 70,000 to 80,000 human beings. On 9 August another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, where some 35,000 to 40,000 more Japanese were destroyed. The Japanese immediately asked for peace, and Japan was occupied by American troops and governed by the American military.

THE UNITED NATIONS

"Across the world the two solitary survivors girded their loins for the final contest while the crash of the first atomic bomb was still reverberating."²² Communist Russia and the western Allies had triumphed over fascism. In the last year of their struggle they had founded at San Francisco another League of Nations called the United Nations. It was now a question as to how vital the war had left the liberal-humanistic tradition of the West, and whether it could come to terms with a Communist East that had been its ally in the war against fascism.

²²Raymond Aron, *The Century of Total War*, p. 95.

WEST AND EAST IN THE 20TH CENTURY

THE MEDIEVAL WEST AND EAST. The fate of the world today rests upon the outcome of a long struggle between West and East. An earlier, medieval phase of this struggle has already been analyzed.¹ The medieval East was composed of Byzantium, Islam, and Slavic eastern and south-eastern Europe; the medieval West by the feudal principalities and monarchies of western Europe. The dividing issue in the medieval conflict was religion, the difference between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Christianity, Christianity and Mohammedanism, and Christianity and the paganism of Slavs and Balts. The struggle took the form of crusades of West against East, against the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuk and Ottoman Turks, and Slavic, Russian, and Finnish tribes. The aim of these crusades was to westernize the East, that is, to impose upon it Latin Christianity, and introduce western colonists and western (feudal) institutions. The crusades against Islam and Byzantium were ultimately a failure, but the Baltic crusade moved the German church, the German states, and the German people eastward along the southern shores of the Baltic until they were stopped by Russia and Poland-Lithuania. The tension produced by these crusades has persisted through the centuries and merged with the contemporary hostilities between East and West.

IMPERIALISM AND THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

The ancient struggle between East and West has been intensified by modern western imperialism and the two world wars of the twentieth

¹Vol. I, "East and West in the Middle Ages."

century. Western imperialism has created world-wide colonial empires, dependencies, and spheres of influence and has subjected these to the demands of modern capitalistic industrialism. It has introduced western science, industry, technology, and peoples into non-European areas. Together with these have gone western Christianity, the liberal-humanistic tradition in its democratic form, and western nationalism. The result has been in our day to precipitate nationalist revolts against the western white man's imperialism in the name of democracy, freedom, and the value of indigenous civilizations other than the western. The world is quite anxious to relieve the western white man of his "burden."

WORLD WARS AND THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

The wars of the twentieth century have given a special focus to this imperialistic intensification of the East-West conflict. The first world war furnished the occasion for the Bolshevik (Communist) Russian Revolution of 1917. Communism, in origin a western protest against the evils of early capitalistic industrialism, came to reject in large part the liberal-humanistic, democratic tradition of the West. In the interests of a special kind of imperialism of its own, it promoted the revolt against western imperialism, to which it gave a special interpretation in harmony with its own ideology.² In World War II, Communist Russia finally joined the West in the defeat of Nazi Germany and her fascist allies. This, in a real sense, was for her a continuation of the Slav-German struggle that began in the Middle Ages. The Germans had then poured into Transylvania (in Rumania), Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland), Poland, and, after destroying or assimilating the Wends from the Elbe to the Vistula, Prussia, Livonia, and Esthonia.³ World War II at first continued the ancient expansion of the Germans eastward to the point where Hitler hoped to swallow the whole of the Soviet Union. But the Red army held before Moscow and Stalingrad, and then the German "Drive to the East" (*Drang nach Osten*) was reversed into a Slavic drive to the West. When it was over, the Russians had annexed Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and East Prussia and turned Poland into a satellite whose western boundary was the Oder-Neisse line. From this whole area many of the Germans, the descendants of medieval colonists, either withdrew as the Red army came on or were forcibly deported to western Germany. When Russia occupied eastern Germany as the result of agreement with her allies, Slavs were once more at the spot (the Elbe-Saale) where, many centuries before, the Germans had begun their march to the East, a tremendous and dramatic reversal of the centuries.

What happened in northern Europe and Germany happened elsewhere. Occupation by the Red army made possible the transformation of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia into satellites, and out of

²See pp. 596-597.

³See Vol. I, pp. 504 ff.

this vast area many Germans withdrew or were ejected. Russian occupation of eastern Austria, as a result of agreement with her allies, brought the Russians westward to the Inn River. Once again, as in the later years of the Roman Empire, Germans were pushed westward by invaders from the East, this time to become "displaced persons."

WORLD WAR II AND THE SOVIET UNION

World War II raised Communist Russia to a dominant position in Europe east of a line roughly stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic and cutting through Germany and Austria. Upon this line was lowered Stalin's so-called Iron Curtain. West of this line were the defeated fascist powers, Germany (occupied by the Allies), Italy, and a group of Atlantic states that the war had left devastated, poor, and prostrate. Of these, fascist Spain had permitted troops (the Blue Division) to be sent to aid the Nazis. France, under pressure of military defeat and a German occupation of her northern half, had turned over the administration of unoccupied France to a semifascist government (Marshal Pétain), leaving the western tradition to be defended by the underground French Resistance. Belgium and Holland, Denmark and Norway had been occupied by the Nazis, who in some cases were assisted by local "Quislings." Switzerland and Sweden had chosen to remain neutral, and thus to grow rich by selling to both sides. Of the western European powers only Great Britain had been able to preserve her independence and at the same time her support of western ideals. Western Germany, Austria, Italy and indeed the whole of western Europe were at the mercy of the Red army in case the Russians should decide to continue their drive to the west.

WORLD WAR II AND THE UNITED STATES

But if the war had rendered western Europe incapable of defending itself and the values of its civilization against the Soviet Union, it had raised the United States of America, a transatlantic power of the New World, to confront the Russians. The United States, spared the immediate and direct horrors of invasion and attack, had grown rich during the war, rich not only in material wealth, but in that experience which withdrew her from isolation from European affairs and made her realize the supreme importance of the liberal-humanistic tradition she had inherited from western Europe and to which she had made her own important contributions. America then assumed the responsibility of helping western Europe defend its boundaries and its civilization.

THE NATURE OF THE EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES

The postwar, contemporary East-West conflict thus reduces itself to the opposition between two great powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. These powers, supported by their respective satellites and

CHRONOLOGY — West and East in the Twentieth Century

	Western Culture	Russian Communism	The Rising East and The United Nations
1850	<hr/> G. F. B. Riemann (1826–1866) Rodin (1840–1917) Freud (1856–1939) Planck (1858–1947) Maillol (1861–1944) Deliuss (1863–1934)	<hr/> Marx (1818–1883) Alexander II (r. 1855–1881) <i>Emancipation of Serfs</i> (1861) Alexander III (r. 1881–1894) Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917)	<hr/> <i>Japan Opened</i> (1854) <i>Sino-Japanese War</i> (1894–1895) <i>Open Door Policy</i> (1899)
1900	<hr/> Richard Strauss (1864–1949) Sibelius (1865–1957) André Gide (1869–1951) Matisse (1869–1954) Proust (1871–1922) Rutherford (1871–1937) Diaghilev (1872–1929) Mondrian (1872–1944) Vaughn Williams (1872—) Holst (1874–1934) Despiau (1874–1946) Schönberg (1874–1951) Ravel (1875–1937) Spengler (1880–1936) Lehmbruck (1881–1919) Bartok (1881–1945) James Joyce (1882–1941) Alban Berg (1885–1935) Gershwin (1898–1937)	<hr/> <i>Revolution of 1905</i> <i>Revolutions of 1917</i> Prince Lvov (1861–1925) Lenin (1870–1924) Trotsky (1877–1940) Kerensky (1881—) <i>Treaty of Brest-Litovsk</i> (1918) <i>N.E.P.</i> (1921–1928)	<hr/> <i>Boxer Rebellion</i> (1900) <i>Anglo-Japanese Alliance</i> (1902) <i>Russo-Japanese War</i> (1904–1905) <i>World War I</i> (1914–1918) Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) <i>League of Nations</i> (1920–1946) <i>Washington Conference</i> (1921–1922) Kemal Pasha (1881–1938) Gandhi (1869–1948)
1930	<hr/> Thomas Mann (1875–1955) Brancusi (1876–1957) Einstein (1879–1955) Léger (1881–1955) Picasso (1881—) Stravinsky (1882—) T. S. Eliot (1888—) Arnold Toynbee (1889—) Milhaud (1892—) Walter Piston (1894—) Aldous Huxley (1894—) Hindemith (1895—) Henry Moore (1898—) Sartre (1905—) W. H. Auden (1907—)	<hr/> <i>First Five-Year Plan</i> (1928–1933) Stalin (1879–1953)	<hr/> <i>Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis</i> (1936) <i>World War II</i> (1939–1945) Chiang Kai-shek (1886—) <i>Benelux</i> (1944) <i>United Nations</i> (1945) Nehru (1889—) <i>Organization of American States</i> (1948) <i>Universal Declaration of Hu- man Rights</i> (1948) NATO (1949) Mao-Tse-tung (1893—) <i>Korean War</i> (1950–1953) Ho Chi-minh (1890—) SEATO (1954) <i>Israeli-Egyptian War</i> (1956)

allies, are now engaged in a struggle to win the world for their respective points of view and power systems. The Soviet Union upholds the Communist outlook, which it borrowed from the West and adapted and developed according to its own needs. Russian communism was thus a loan of what in the name of reform was the West's own self-denial. The United States upholds the liberal-humanistic-democratic outlook with an emphasis that at the moment of writing is bourgeois liberal, devoted to capitalistic free enterprise. Yet the United States has long committed itself to a modification of the naked and crude individualism of early capitalism. Free enterprise, it has said, must be limited by the interests of all individuals in a society. The Soviet Union thus defends an undemocratic version of Marxian socialism; the United States a democratic version of limited capitalistic free enterprise. Put this way, the essential difference between East and West is a difference between means rather than ends. Both are ideally concerned with the welfare of all individuals in society. The Communist, however, in his impatience to achieve the "classless society" without the expense of the centuries of effort it has cost the West to prepare for a similar end, is often willing to resort to ruthless, cruel, and tyrannical methods. In any case, he has no respect for, and is usually cynical and contemptuous of, democratic methods of persuasion and compromise, with which he has ordinarily had no direct experience. The United States' support of the slower western processes of consultation and agreement he often describes as a prolongation of intolerable abuses. Between the undemocratic socialism of the Communist sort and the limited democratic individualism of the western sort, the English Labor Party member or the German Social Democrat would say that democratic socialism was the inevitable synthesis. If the humanistic tradition of the West developed in the nineteenth century into liberal democracy, and if by this time the modern ascetic tradition is best expressed in tyrannical, dogmatic communism, then the twentieth-century synthesis, hastened by world wars and revolutions, the secular counterpart of an earlier Christian humanism, is the common ground between a limited democratic individualism with the emphasis on free enterprise and a democratic socialism with the emphasis upon economic and social planning. The institutional expression of this synthesis is obviously the "mixed economy," compounded of public ownership and private free enterprise under the direction of the democratic state.

THE NEED FOR A SCIENTIFIC HUMANISM

The material welfare of the rapidly growing populations of the world, whether western, eastern, or uncommitted, depends upon their vigorous cultivation of the tradition of scientific humanism, that is, upon their development of science and technology and the application of this science and technology to the expansion of industry and the further conquest of nature and of disease. Whether the global society of the future is to

be capitalistic or socialistic or some cross between the two, it is unthinkable that it can do without the practical application of science to the world of nature and man, and of technology to the creation of large-scale industry. Science, technology, and industrialism are only in their infancy. Without their aid the heroic effort required to lift the standard of living of the primitive, starving, illiterate masses of mankind is unimaginable. It is staggering enough to think of such a task with their aid.

THE STANDARDS OF A LIBERAL-HUMANISTIC WORLD

And if the standard of living of the future industrial and non-industrial masses of the globe were to be raised to the level of the West, their governments would still have much to do to create a society with liberal-humanistic values. They would have to create the instruments of democratic government. They would have to liberate the creative potentialities of their populations by the proper systems of education. Democratic governments, having freed their populations from illiteracy, would still face the task of preventing them from falling into a new kind of audio-visual illiteracy promoted by some masters of the new instruments of mass communication and their academic henchmen. For if the mass man is not to be taught to read and reason, but only to listen, see, and repeat slogans, he is being trained for authoritarian and not democratic government. Nor is this all. The Roman Empire went to pieces partly because its aristocracy and middle classes were not able to pass on to the masses of the people the rich spiritual or cultural values (as well as the material) that had made Graeco-Roman civilization great. If the quality of democratic civilization is not to be diminished, then the mixed economies of democratic states must spend huge amounts of their surplus wealth on a system of education that not only preserves the cultural heritage of the past, the heritage of literature, philosophy, religion, art, and music, but offers it in an undiluted, if modern, form to all who can make use of it. Even with peace instead of war, the difficulties of a full realization of the humanistic tradition are awful to contemplate.

The Culture of the Twentieth Century

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN TRADITION

It is now necessary to ask how western cultural developments in the twentieth century enlarged upon this tradition, strengthening it in its struggle with the East for the allegiance and support of the globe. War and fascist revolutions weakened the tradition and made it appear as if western civilization were declining. To be sure, it is not certain yet that western civilization can survive in full vigor the consequences of two world wars, and it will not be surprising if its cultural life in the twentieth century is preoccupied with its weaknesses and the problem of

survival. This is not, however, the whole story. The positive elements in the tradition still possessed great vitality, and when supported by the United States gave promise of a recovery and growth of great competitive strength. The wars themselves, however much the result of alliance systems, rival imperialisms, and ambitious nationalisms, were sanctioned by the West as a defense of its system of values, and were thus victories in its behalf. At the end of each war the victorious powers, aware of the importance of nationalism in bringing about the wars, set up international organizations (the League of Nations, the United Nations) to further the cause of peace among men. The economic and social dislocations brought about by the wars led to a further transformation of the western state away from earlier theories of laissez-faire and toward the responsibilities of the "welfare state." In England, where this development was furthest advanced before World War I,⁴ Labor governments came to power and began to nationalize industry. Western governments were now expected to do more rather than less and to assume responsibility for interference with the economy to produce prosperity, full employment, security, and various social services. Western individualism thus received a social or collective interpretation, and liberalism a much more than bourgeois emphasis.⁵

THE EMPHASIS UPON SCIENCE

As the humanistic tradition widened into new political, economic, and social channels, it failed to make the cultivation of Graeco-Roman civilization a necessary part of the new democratic tradition. The direct influence of Greek and Roman culture tended to be restricted to an intellectual élite who reinterpreted Greek mythology in learned and literary works. It was the scientific rather than the classical aspect of its tradition that the West of the twentieth century chose to emphasize.

THE REVOLUTION IN PHYSICS

In the field of physics this emphasis proved to be revolutionary and had to do with the destruction of the older system of "classical" physics, worked out originally by Galileo, Descartes, and Newton.⁶ The work of these men was based on the notion that there was an external world apart from men, established by God, capable of being understood in terms of coercive natural laws. It was essentially a mechanical world, actuated by uniform and accelerated motions which could be measured in terms of space and independently as time. There was a gravitational force which held the planets in their orbits around the sun and drew matter to the center of the earth. Light, interpreted as a wave, moved in space through what was called ether.

⁴See pp. 513 ff.

⁵See p. 509.

⁶See pp. 159 f.

This classical system was destroyed by a gentle, modest, mathematical poet, Albert Einstein (1879-1955), in two works usually referred to as the Special (1905) and the General (1916) Theory of Relativity. They are not works to be understood by any layman innocent of advanced mathematics or the mastery of natural science. When Einstein was asked by his secretary to give her a definition of relativity that would satisfy the demand of interviewers, he told her: "When you sit with a nice girl for two hours you think it's only a minute. But when you sit on a hot stove for a minute you think it's two hours. That's relativity."⁷

Einstein took from the concepts of motion, space, and time their absolute and independent character. Motion could not be understood without reference to the observer or observers. The individual was pushed into the world he was interpreting. There was no space independent of time or time independent of space. There was only something called space-time. In such a universe the three-dimensional geometry of Euclid did not fit. This world, it was suggested, was a four-dimensional one. Events in it could be co-ordinated by three geometrical and one temporal dimension. Indeed, in much of his work Einstein had recourse to the geometrical system of G. F. B. Riemann (1826-1866), which opened the way for geometries of space of any number of dimensions.

To Einstein "the introduction of a luminiferous ether will prove to be superfluous," and he finally suggested that Newton's gravity was no longer necessary, since it could be explained in terms of what he called "the curvature of space-time." To have the concepts upholding the system of classical physics for three hundred years, and accordingly regarded as "true," rudely upset in a few years was a shock to western science, unaccustomed to so thoroughgoing and rapid a supplanting of one system of scientific truth by another. It was equally upsetting to have suggested that natural "laws" were not what made the universe work, but only descriptions of some of its regularities.

THE NEW WORLD OF ATOMIC PHYSICS

The supplanting of Newton's by Einstein's physics was not the only disturbing feature of natural science. Another had to do with the Quantum Theory, first suggested by the German physicist Max Planck in 1901. Planck's theory was preceded by such discoveries as X rays (1895, Röntgen), the radioactivity of uranium (1896, Becquerel), and subatomic particles (1897) and radium (1900, the Curies and Bémont). He explained radiation not as a continuous flow, but in terms of individual bundles, or units, or "atoms" of energy (quanta). The theory was applied to light, which was then explained either as a wave or a stream of particles ("wavicles") and became involved in the whole astonishing

⁷The *New York Times* for 19 April, 1955, p. 26.

world of the sub-atom. In 1903 two Englishmen, Rutherford and Loddy, explained radioactivity in terms of the explosions of decomposing atoms. It was not long before the atom, which since the days of Democritus and Lucretius had held the honor of being the smallest unit in the natural world, was forced to give way to a multitude of successors. Atoms were composed of protons and electrons, particles with positive and negative charges of electricity. There were also antiprotons, neutrons, neutrinos and antineutrinos, nucleons, positrons, and mesons, all functioning in precise ways in the complicated structure of the atom. The atom was discovered to have a nucleus of protons and neutrons, around which, in a kind of miniature solar system, revolved just the right number of electrons to cancel positive charges and hold the unit together. Scientists learned how to count, weigh, and measure all these infinitesimal particles in terms of quantum mechanics. At the same time they were quite amazed at their refusal to behave in accordance with traditional scientific manners. They were unpredictable, and the new world of subatomic particles acted in accordance with a principle of uncertainty: you might predict the velocity of an electron under certain conditions, but not at the same time the position; or the position, and not at the same time the velocity; for in actually observing either, the particles were stirred up to act in ways they were not supposed to act. It was bad enough to supplant a system of physics centuries old, and absolute heresy to suggest that you could not be sure scientific laws would work.

THE BREAKUP OF THE ATOM

If radioactivity is due to the decomposition of atoms changing from one element to another (uranium to radium to lead) as nuclei disgorge their particles, then ancient dreams of the transmutation of elements are realized. It was soon discovered that atoms could be artificially broken up and decomposed by bombarding their nuclei with various particles by the use of such engines as cyclotrons. This artificial decomposition, the transmutation of the elements, is accompanied by a great release of energy. For mass is nothing more than energy, in accordance with the famous equation of Einstein ($E = mc^2$, c being the speed of light). The new study of microphysics, the penetration to the interior of the atom, revealed the possibility of a new source of energy, to take the place of steam and electricity perhaps, by the breakup of the atom. At first this knowledge was given a military use in an atomic bomb that killed or maimed thousands of Japanese and brought an end to the war in the Pacific. But the new source of energy has become a hope for all the world.

SIGMUND FREUD

Before the atomic scientists had made possible with their bombs the destruction of the civilization of mankind, a new school of psychology,

founded by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), had suggested that man was far from the noble, rational, purposeful creature that humanism pictured him to be. He was closer to the descendant of the anthropoid ape that Darwin had written about. He was far less motivated by his conscious intellect than by an abysmal, uncontrollable unconscious that drove him hither and yon, whether he would or no, and to disobey these drives was the cause of psychical disease.⁸ These dark passions, complexes, frustrations, often the cause of serious physical disturbances, could only be uncovered and cured by the patient technique of psychoanalysis (often the secular confessional of an irreligious age), a technique making great use of the interpretation of dreams.

The instinctive drives of the unconscious were more often than not the result of sexual experiences that reached back to early childhood and even to the life of the embryo in the mother's womb. Diseases of the mind, in Freud's view, had predominantly sexual causes. "Men," he can say in one of his works, "are not gentle, friendly creatures wishing for love, who simply defend themselves if they are attacked but . . . a powerful measure of desire for aggression has to be reckoned as part of their instinctual endowment. The result is that their neighbour is to them not only a possible helper or sexual object, but also a temptation to them to gratify their aggressiveness on him, to exploit his capacity for work without recompense, to use him sexually without his consent, to seize his possessions, to humiliate him, to cause him pain, to torture and to kill him. *Homo homini lupus* [Man is a wolf to man]; who has the courage to dispute it in the face of all the evidence in his own life and in history? . . . Civilized society is perpetually menaced with disintegration through this primary hostility of men towards one another."⁹ Freud, like Einstein, an exile, had personal experience of this wolfishness at the hands of the Nazis. While much of his original teachings were later discarded or reinterpreted by psychiatrists, there is no doubt that he was a great pioneer in working out a method for the analysis and curing of mental disease in an age when the psychotic almost became the normal. Man could relieve his mental pain only by realizing the primitive animality of his unconscious. At great cost to man's human dignity, psychiatry was a new manifestation of the spirit of scientific humanism.

Industrialism, world war, fascism, amoral science, and Freud—all these had their effects upon the poet and novelist of the twentieth century, as Pope's

⁸This unconscious Freud called the *id*: the *id* was "the source of instinctive energy for the individual; it is unconscious; it forms the great reservoir of libido [sexual energy]; it is the region, the hinterland, of the passions and instincts, also of habit tendencies; the pleasure-principle reigns supreme in it; it is unmoral, illogical; it has no unity of purpose; the repressed merges into the *Id* and is then part of it." Joseph Jastrow, *Freud, His Dream and Sex Theories* (Pocket Books), p. 88.

⁹*Civilization and Its Discontents*, pp. 26-29.

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night!
God said, Let Newton be, and all was light

was continued by

It could not last. The Devil, shouting Ho!
Let Einstein be, restored the *status quo*.

The old nursery rhyme was now modified:

Twinkle, twinkle, little star,
I don't wonder what you are,
For by the spectroscopic ken
I know that you are hydrogen.¹⁰

THE THEMES OF LITERATURE

The literary artist, already revolted by certain aspects of industrialism and feeling himself rejected by it,¹¹ found the twentieth century no more congenial and isolated himself more and more from society and his possible audience to devote himself to a difficult, esoteric, experimental, and often symbolic verse written for fellow poets, or at least a selected few who could be expected to understand it. Liberal democracy, bemused by the new instruments of mass communication, seemed to be incompatible with poetry. At the same time many poets and novelists continued to despair of the lack of religious faith that the old and new science had brought about. Some of them asked, "What, if the religious quest is not a main object in the human adventure, are we to go forward to—a Utopia of gadgets, a heaven of abstract cerebration, a scientific morality; or universal destruction?" These attitudes may be illustrated from the poetry of an American turned English, T. S. Eliot, and an Englishman turned American, W. H. Auden, "whose evolution has been perhaps the fullest epitome of the modern spirit's journeyings."¹² They are ascetic voices, at best voices of a twentieth-century Christian humanism, protesting against the empty faith of a liberal rationalism or the irreligious scepticism of a scientific age.

T. S. ELIOT

Eliot fits well into the pattern of western asceticism. He looks a bit taut, adheres to the Anglo-Catholic wing of the English church, and seems to prefer a hierarchical organization for society reminiscent of the Middle Ages.¹³ To him the modern western world without the traditional doctrines and values of ecclesiastical Christianity is an empty

¹⁰Douglas Bush, *Science and English Poetry*, p. 143.

¹¹See pp. 403, 560-561.

¹²Bush, p. 143.

¹³See his *Idea of a Good Society*.

wasteland, and the modern city formed by soulless industrialism a dirty, dreary dungeon for a hopeless humanity. In "The Hollow Men" he says

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!
Our dried voices, when
We whisper together
Are quiet and meaningless
As wind in dry grass
Or rats' feet over broken glass
In our dry cellar. . . .¹⁴

These are the hollow men who wander, again in the poet's words,

—through certain half-deserted streets,
The muttering retreats
Of restless nights in one-night cheap hotels
And sawdust restaurants with oyster-shells: . . .

And these are the streets where

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window-panes,
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window-panes,
Licked its tongue into the corners of the evening,
Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains,
Let fall upon its back the soot that falls from chimneys,
Slipped by the terrace, made a sudden leap,
And seeing that it was a soft October night,
Curled once about the house, and fell asleep.

In these narrow streets

the smoke . . . rises from the pipes
Of lonely men in shirt-sleeves, leaning out of the windows. . . .

Eliot published *The Waste Land* in 1922 with notes, to relieve the extreme difficulty of its allusion. It is a commentary on the faithlessness of a postwar generation bent on empty sensual pleasures, a suggestion of the necessity for a religious revival as vital as primitive fertility cults. "What," he asks,

are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water.

¹⁴*Collected Poems, 1905-1935* (Harcourt, Brace). The three excerpts which follow are from "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," in the same collection. Used by permission.

In this cold world "the lady of situations" sits upon her throne, like Cleopatra, with nothing to do or say and only enough energy to plan for the next chess game, a cover for an affair. She says to her companion:

"Are you alive, or not? Is there nothing in your head?"

But

O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag—

It's so elegant

So intelligent

"What shall I do now? What shall I do?"

"I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street

"With my hair down, so. What shall we do tomorrow?

"What shall we ever do?"

The hot water at ten.

And if it rains, a closed car at four.

And we shall play a game of chess,

Pressing lidless eyes and waiting for a knock upon the door.

In *The Waste Land*, a typist fornicates on the divan with the next caller as if it were little more than playing a phonograph record:

The typist home at teatime, clears her breakfast, lights
Her stove, and lays out food in tins.
Out of the window perilously spread
Her drying combinations touched by the sun's last rays,
On the divan are piled (at night her bed)
Stockings, slippers, camisoles, and stays.

.

He, the young man carbuncular, arrives,
A small house agent's clerk, with one bold stare,
One of the low on whom assurance sits
As a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire.
The time is now propitious, as he guesses,
The meal is ended, she is bored and tired,
Endeavours to engage her in caresses
Which still are unreproved, if undesired.
Flushed and decided, he assaults at once;
Exploring hands encounter no defence;
His vanity requires no response,
And makes a welcome of indifference.

.

Bestows one final patronising kiss,
And gropes his way, finding the stairs unlit . . .
She turns and looks a moment in the glass,
Hardly aware of her departed lover;
Her brain allows one half-formed thought to pass:
"Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over."
When lovely woman stoops to folly and
Paces about her room again, alone,
She smooths her hair with automatic hand,
And puts a record on the gramophone.¹⁵

¹⁵*Collected Poems*, pp. 69–91. Cf. *A Readers' Guide to T. S. Eliot* by George Williamson, pp. 115–163.

W. H. Auden as a younger man was seriously concerned with the fate of the common man in a capitalistic industrial civilization and leaned toward Marxism. He supported the revolution in Spain¹⁶ against Franco and went to China during the war with Japan. He was outraged by fascism and World War II. After coming to America he became more and more concerned with the religious problem and, like Eliot, considered a bleak, unchristian, and scientific industrialism, with its counterpart of liberal rationalism, an empty, hopeless sham. When World War II was about to break he was sitting

. . . in one of the dives
On Fifty-second Street
Uncertain and afraid
As the clever hopes expire
Of a low dishonest decade:
Waves of anger and fear
Circulate over the bright
And darkened lands of the earth,
Obsessing our private lives;
The unmentionable odour of death
Offends the September night.

.
Defenceless under the night
Our world in stupor lies;
Yet, dotted everywhere,
Ironical points of light
Flash out wherever the Just
Exchange their messages:
May I, composed like them
Of Eros and of dust,
Beleaguered by the same
Negation and despair,
Show an affirming flame.¹⁷

His comment on the standardized, automatic member of modern society can be found in his "The Unknown Citizen," an inscription for a Marble Monument Erected by the State to JS/07/M/378.

He was found by the Bureau of Statistics to be
One against whom there was no official complaint,
And all the reports on his conduct agree
That, in the modern sense of an old-fashioned word, he was a saint,
For in everything he did he served the Greater Community.
Except for the War till the day he retired
He worked in a factory and never got fired,
But satisfied his employers, Fudge Motors Inc.

¹⁶See p. 685.

¹⁷*The Collected Poetry of W. H. Auden* (Random House).

Yet he wasn't a scab or odd in his views,
 For his Union reports that he paid his dues,
 (Our report on his Union shows it was sound)
 And our Social Psychology workers found
 That he was popular with his mates and liked a drink.
 The Press are convinced that he bought a paper every day
 And that his reactions to advertisements were normal in every way.
 Policies taken out in his name prove that he was fully insured,
 And his Health-card shows he was once in hospital but left it cured.
 Both Producers Research and High-Grade Living declare
 He was fully sensible to the advantages of the Instalment Plan
 And had everything necessary to the Modern Man,
 A phonograph, a radio, a car and a frigidaire.
 Our researchers into Public Opinion are content
 That he held the proper opinions for the time of year;
 When there was peace, he was for peace; when there was war, he went.
 He was married and added five children to the population,
 Which our Eugenist says was the right number for a parent of his generation,
 And our teachers report that he never interfered with their education.
 Was he free? Was he happy? The question is absurd:
 Had anything been wrong, we should certainly have heard.¹⁸

Auden's reaction to the welcome which the world gave to the German Jews, driven out, when not murdered, with cruel brutality from Nazi Germany, is to be found in his "Say This City Has Ten Million Souls":

Say this city has ten million souls,
 Some are living in mansions, some are living in holes:
 Yet there's no place for us, my dear, yet there's no place for us.

Once we had a country and we thought it fair,
 Look in the atlas and you'll find it there:
 We cannot go there now, my dear, we cannot go there now.

In the village churchyard there grows an old yew,
 Every spring it blossoms anew:
 Old passports can't do that, my dear, old passports can't do that.

The consul banged the table and said;
 "If you've got no passport you're officially dead":
 But we are still alive, my dear, but we are still alive.¹⁹

Went to a committee; they offered me a chair;
 Asked me politely to return next year:
 But where shall we go today, my dear, but where shall we go today?

Came to a public meeting; the speaker got up and said:
 "If we let them in, they will steal our daily bread";
 He was talking of you and me, my dear, he was talking of you and me.

¹⁸*Collected Poetry*, pp. 142-143.

¹⁹Cf. Menotti's opera *The Consul*.

Thought I heard the thunder rumbling in the sky;
It was Hitler over Europe, saying: "They must die";
O we were in his mind, my dear, O we were in his mind.

Saw a poodle in a jacket fastened with a pin,
Saw a door opened and a cat let in:
But they weren't German Jews, my dear, but they weren't German Jews.

Went down the harbour and stood upon the quay,
Saw the fish swimming as if they were free:
Only ten feet away, my dear, only ten feet away.

Walked through a wood, saw the birds in the trees;
They had no politicians and sang at their ease:
They weren't the human race, my dear, they weren't the human race.

Dreamed I saw a building with a thousand floors,
A thousand windows and a thousand doors;
Not one of them was ours, my dear, not one of them was ours.

Stood on a great plain in the falling snow;
Ten thousand soldiers marched to and fro:
Looking for you and me, my dear, looking for you and me.²⁰

In memory of his mother, Constance Rosalie Auden (d. 1941), Auden wrote a Christmas oratorio celebrating the nativity, which he called *For the Time Being*. It is a serious attempt to state the case for Christianity, but one mixed with so much cleverness that the reader wonders whether Auden actually believes what he is saying or is reiterating the pattern of an ancient myth. In the midst of it, after the Roman Caesar has summoned all Roman male citizens to register themselves and their dependents with the police at their birthplaces, a "fugal-chorus," with European dictators in mind, sings the praises of the Great Caesar—Caesar is great for having conquered seven kingdoms, the first of which was the "Kingdom of Abstract Ideas."

The Second was the Kingdom of Natural Cause:
Last night it was Sixes and Sevens; tonight it is One and Two;
Instead of saying, "Strange are the whims of the Strong,"
We say, "Harsh is the Law but it is certain";
Instead of building temples, we build laboratories;
Instead of offering sacrifices, we perform experiments;
Instead of reciting prayers, we note pointer-readings;
Our lives are no longer erratic but efficient.
Great Caesar: God must be with Him.

The fourth kingdom conquered by the Great Caesar was the "Kingdom of Credit Exchange."

²⁰*Collected Poetry*, pp. 227–228.

Last night it was Tit-for-Tat, tonight it is C.O.D.;
 When we have a surplus, we need not meet someone with a deficit;
 When we have a deficit, we need not meet someone with a surplus;
 Instead of heavy treasures, there are paper symbols of value;
 Instead of Pay at Once, there is Pay When You Can;
 Instead of My Neighbour, there is Our Customers;
 Instead of Country Fair, there is World Market.
 Great Caesar: God must be with Him.

The last kingdom conquered by Great Caesar was the "Kingdom of Popular Soul":

Last night it was Order-Order, tonight it is Hear-Hear;
 When he says, You are happy, we laugh;
 When he says, You are wretched, we cry;
 When he says, It is true, everyone believes it;
 When he says, It is false, no one believes it.
 When he says, This is good, this is loved;
 When he says, That is bad, that is hated.
 Great Caesar: God must be with Him.²¹

When the Wise Men tell Herod of the birth of Jesus, he, a good liberal, is quite disturbed that this should have happened to him. He does not like to go ahead with the violent Massacre of the Innocents. He has done his best to eradicate the need for newly born prophets. "Legislation is helpless against the wild prayers of longing that rise, day in, day out, from all these households under my protection: 'O God, put away justice and truth for we cannot understand them and do not want them. Eternity would bore us dreadfully. Leave Thy heavens and come down to our earth of waterclocks and hedges. Become our uncle. Look after Baby, amuse Grandfather, escort Madam to the Opera, help Willy with his homework, introduce Muriel to a handsome naval officer. Be interesting and weak like us, and we will love you as we love ourselves.'" The Public asks "for a God who should be as like [it] as possible. What use to me [the Public] is a God whose divinity consists in doing difficult things that I cannot do or saying clever things that I cannot understand? The God I want and intend to get must be someone I can recognize immediately without having to wait and see what he says or does. There must be nothing in the least extraordinary about him."

If the rumor of the birth of the new God Jesus is not stamped out immediately the modern Herod fears for the outcome. "Reason will be replaced by Revelation. Instead of Rational Law, objective truths perceptible to any who will undergo the necessary intellectual discipline, and the same for all. Knowledge will degenerate into a riot of subjective visions—feelings in the solar plexus induced by undernourishment, angelic images generated by fevers or drugs, dream warnings inspired by the sound of falling water. Whole cosmogonies will be created out of some forgotten

²¹*Collected Poetry*, pp. 407 ff.

personal resentment, complete epics written in private languages, the daubs of school children ranked above the greatest masterpieces." "Idealism will be replaced by Materialism. . . . Justice will be replaced by Pity. . . ."

"Naturally this cannot be allowed to happen. Civilisation must be saved even if this means sending for the military as I suppose it does. How dreary. Why is it that in the end civilisation always has to call in these professional tidiers to whom it is all one whether it be Pythagoras or a homicidal lunatic they are instructed to exterminate. O dear, why couldn't this wretched infant be born somewhere else?" Were it true that God had permitted his Son to take on the body of a sinless man, then this would make life far worse. "For it could only mean this: that once having shown them how, God would expect every man, whatever his fortune, to lead a sinless life in the flesh and on earth. Then indeed would the human race be plunged into madness and despair. And for me personally at this moment it would mean that God had given me the power to destroy Himself. I refuse to be taken in. He could not play such a horrible practical joke. Why should he dislike me so? I've worked like a slave. Ask anyone you like. I read all official dispatches without skipping. I've taken elocution lessons. I've hardly ever taken bribes. How dare He allow me to decide? I've tried to be good. I brush my teeth every night. I haven't had sex for a month. I object. I'm a liberal. I want everyone to be happy. I wish I had never been born."²²

THE NOVEL

The novel continued its extraordinary growth into the twentieth century, subject to the new world of psychology, searching out new avenues of experience, growing experimental, and reacting to the horrors of war, revolution, and fascism. Less subject to the urge of a religious revival, it kept closer to the secular values of the liberal-humanistic tradition. A great gift for psychological analysis, among other things, can be found in Marcel Proust's (1871-1922) ruminative *Remembrance of Things Past* (1913-1920). In such novels as *The Counterfeiters* (1925) and *The Immoralist* (1902) André Gide is not only concerned with a new technique for the novel but introduces frankly the problems of the homosexual, a new subject for the novelist. James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) is not only a good example of the modern use of a classical framework for contemporary material but is certainly, together with the later *Finnegan's Wake*, the most experimental of the important novels of the twentieth century. With a witty passion for the exploitation of the English language, Joyce as an author is quite indifferent to his potential readers. Keeping himself quite out of his novels, he lets his characters talk and reflect on and on, in the uncontrolled manner of the stream of consciousness. The writing is packed with allusions of every kind which Joyce does not bother to identify or explain, as Eliot did in "The Waste Land," with notes. He has

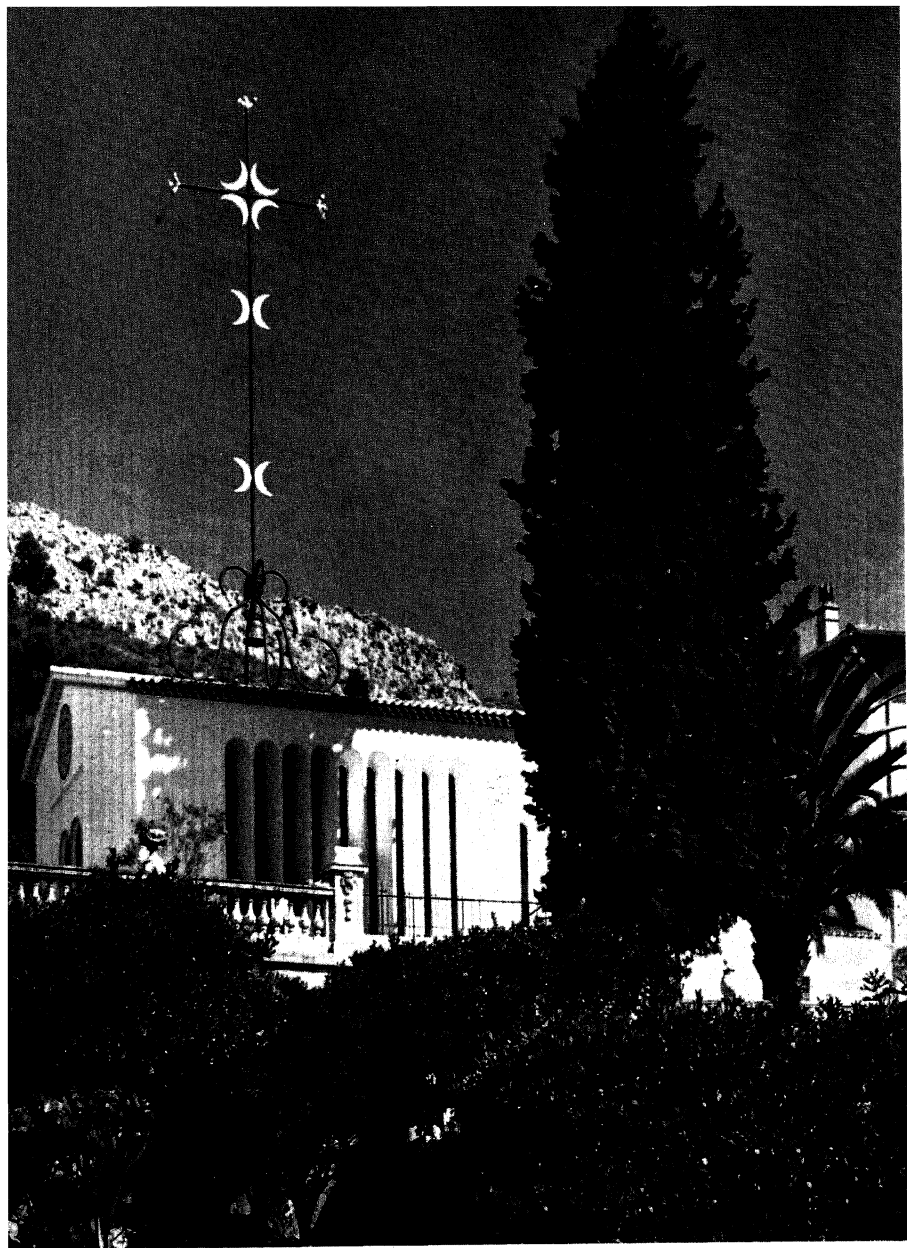
²²Cf. Richard Hoggart, *Auden*, pp. 181-193, for an analysis of *For the Time Being*.



Fernand Léger's portrait of Mrs. Chester Dale. In much of Léger's work the human face and figure are treated with what might be popularly regarded as the dead-pan of a comic, or, in any traditional sense, with the antihumanism of the machine. In painting Mrs. Chester Dale the artist could not put aside the character and personality of the face before him no matter how he might formalize the remaining elements of the picture.

Plate 41

From the Chester Dale Collection
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Color transparency by Francis G. Mayer



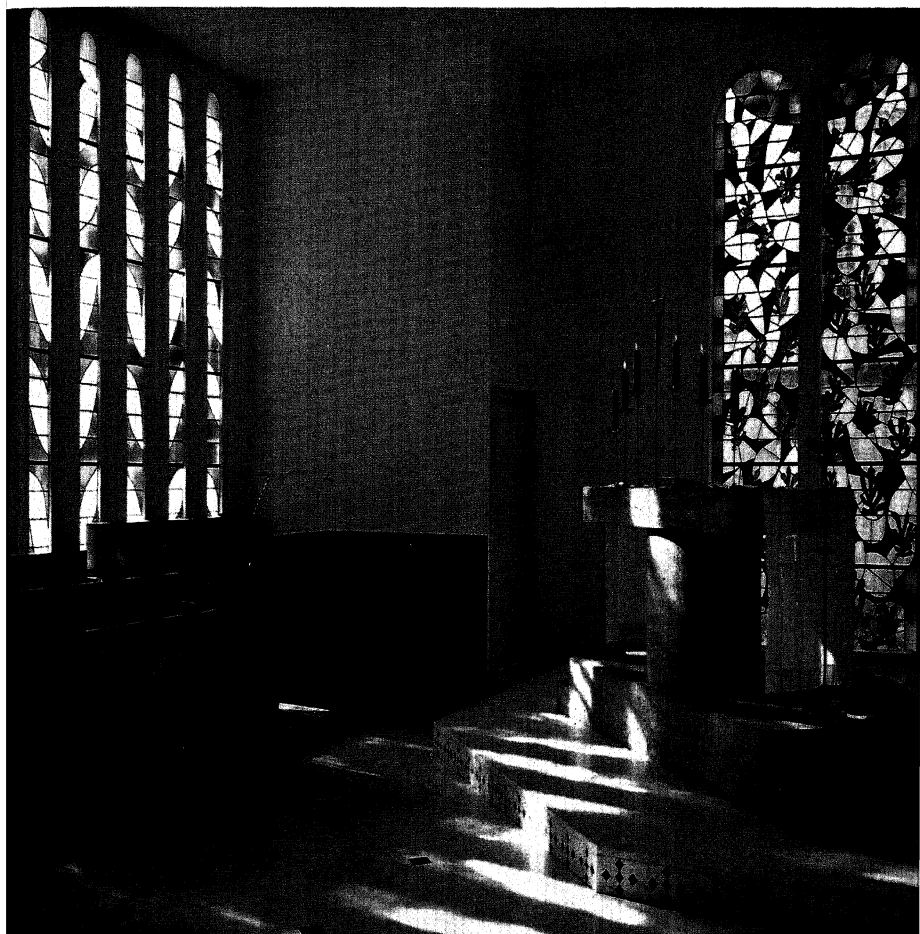
Plates 42, 43, 44, and 45 are illustrations of Matisse's Chapel at Vence (1951). Plate 42 is the exterior view with the cheerful belfry and the nine long, narrow windows looking into the transept. The interior is small (about 50 by 33 feet).

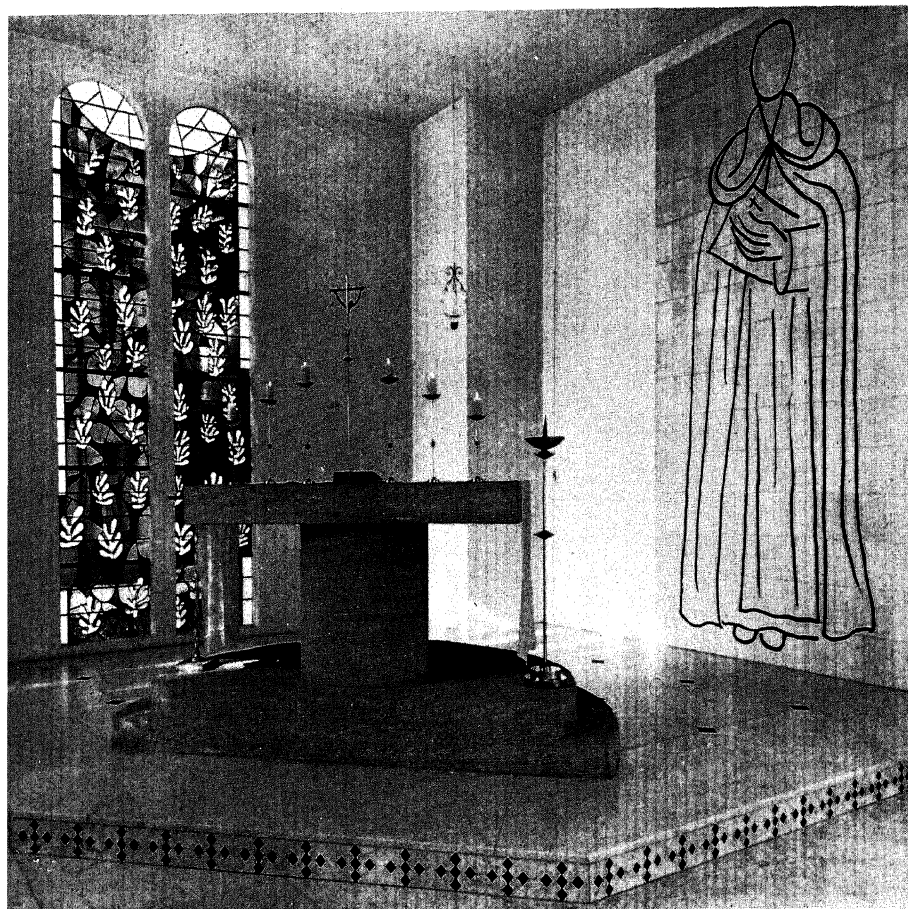
Plate 42

Hélène Adant, from *Rapho-Guillumette*

A view of the interior, looking into the small transept with stalls for about twenty nuns. For the windows of this transept Matisse "invented a series of 'tree-of-life' designs with big ovate leaves placed in pairs on either side of the narrow mullion-like embrasures, as if growing out of a stalk or trunk. . . . The leaves are alternately bright golden yellow and deep sapphire blue against a grass green background which changes to gold at the top." The two apse windows behind the altar have "bright yellow philodendron-like leaves . . . laid against freely disposed deep blue oval cactus shapes. Between these one sees a field of green below, then, higher up, sky blue until the climbing pattern reaches the lower edge of a brilliant sun disc which cuts across the tops of both windows."

(A. H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse, His Art and His Public*, p. 283)





The large figure of Saint Dominic (over fifteen feet high) to the left of the altar and facing the nuns' transept. It is a "mural drawing on glazed tile." "The drawing is modest, quiet, free of all bravura. The figure is flat and linear, without bulk, color, texture, substance or detailed features, its transparency enhanced by the faint square of the tiles. It seems the very image of a spiritual presence as it towers, serene and powerful, over the busy clergy." (Barr, p. 285)

Plate 44

Hélène Adant, from Rapho-Guillumette

Looking into the nave with the mural of the Virgin and Child at the left, six windows at the right, and the Stations of the Cross on the rear wall. "Matisse has reduced his scenes to the veriest shorthand. The drawing is almost savagely abrupt, scratched, and rough, the whole effect painful and anti-decorative as befits a picture of the brutal and heroic story of Calvary." (Barr, p. 284)





When he was almost eighty Matisse painted this picture called Interior with Egyptian Curtain. "What a curtain! A barbaric modern Egyptian cotton with the most aggressive and indigestible pattern. And, one might also exclaim, What a window!" (Barr, p. 238)

Plate 46

Phillips Collection, Washington

Color transparency by Henry B. Beville



Picasso's *The Old Guitarist* (1903). The ragged, blind, and starving beggar listlessly draws his long fingers over the strings of his guitar. The artist uses a distorted figure and a striking posture as well as variations in a single color to create his mournful musical protest.

Plate 47

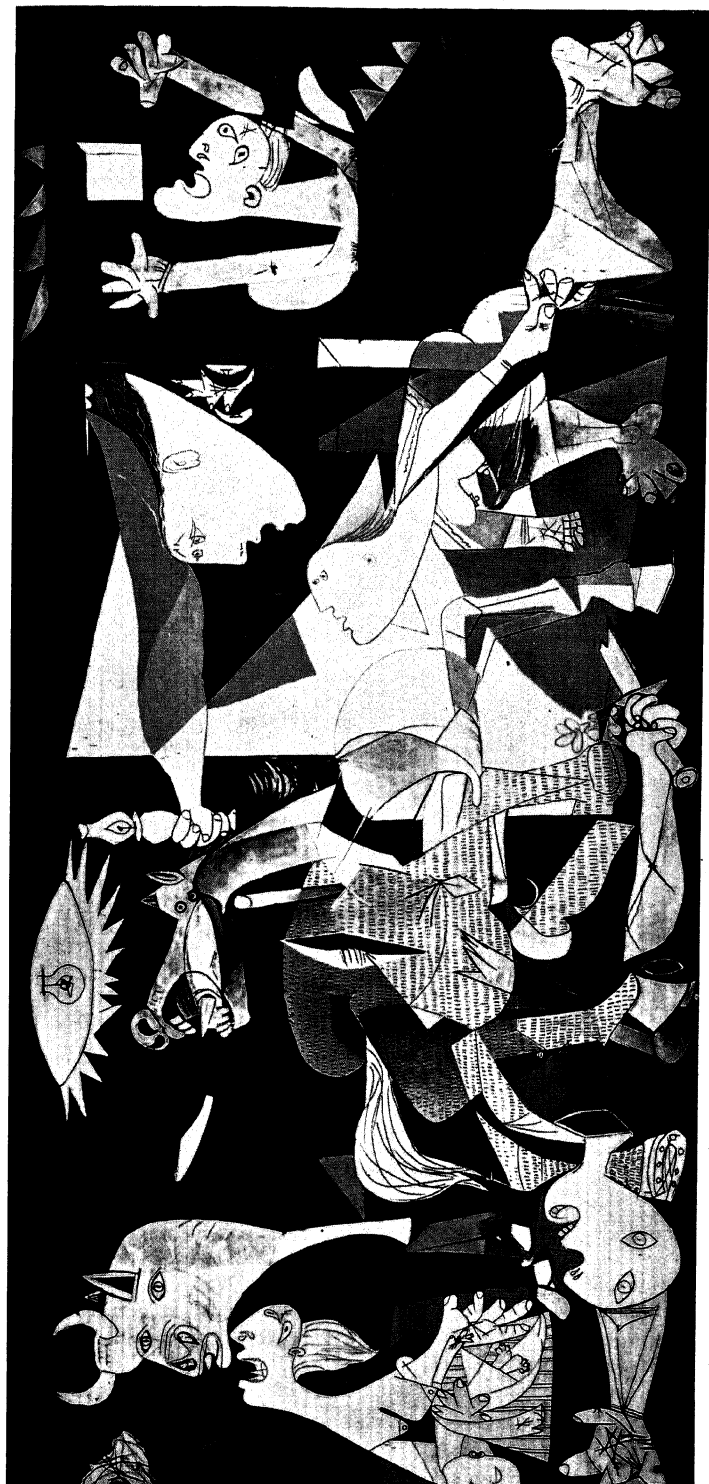
Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago
Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection
Color transparency by Richard J. Brittain



Picasso was a pioneer in experimenting with cubism and painted this *Three Musicians* in 1921, called, together with the version in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, "perhaps the high point of synthetic cubism, at least in its rectilinear phase." (A. H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso, Fifty Years of His Art*, p. 122) A pierrot, a harlequin, and a monk are fused together in miraculous fashion. There is a dog underneath the table. "The color is rich and decorative, yet the effect is sombre; the subject is gay but the strange masks and the hieratic array of the trio give the composition a solemn, even a sinister, majesty."

Plate 48

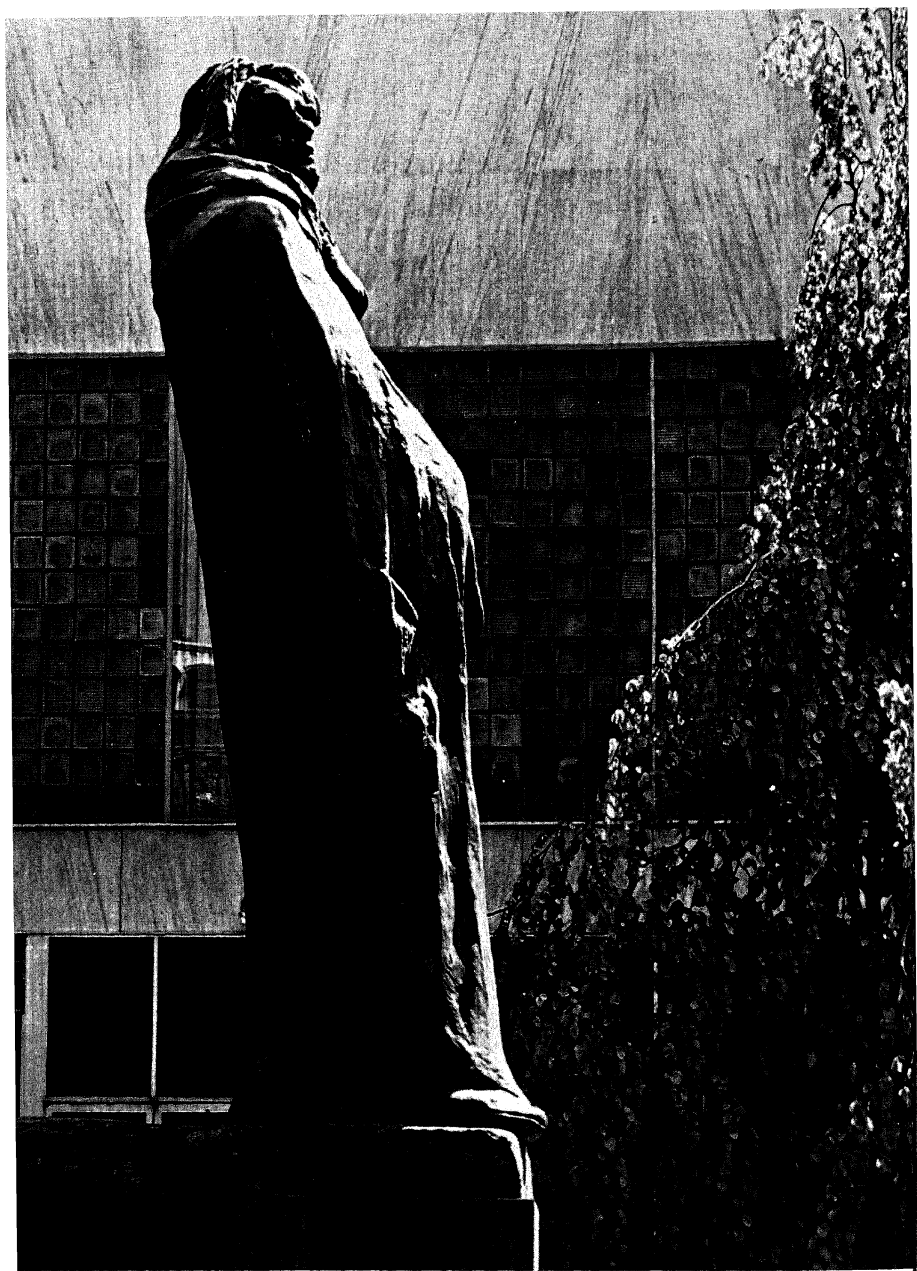
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund
Color transparency by Frank Lerner



Picasso's angry mural *Guernica* (1937) is a protest against the bombers of Hitler's Germany that, in the service of General Franco, destroyed with callous barbarity the Basque town of Guernica. It is a cry of despair against the beginning of a war which may prove to have been the undoing of western European civilization.

Plate 49

Collection, the artist; courtesy, The Museum of Modern Art, New York



Rodin has had great influence upon such sculptors as Despiau, Brancusi, Matisse, and Picasso. This Balzac monument (1892-1896) is in his expressionist style, getting at the verve and exuding personality of the novelist with a striking, rather disdainful, but self-confident pose, and an enveloping cape.

Plate 50

Collection, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Rodin has also been described as an impressionist sculptor. "Much of the vitality of the surface which his sculptures possess is the result of the breaking up of planes to achieve flickering effects of light and shadow, comparable to the broken facets of color of the impressionists." (A. C. Ritchie, *Sculpture of the Twentieth Century*, p. 15) While essentially realistic this bust of Victor Hugo does show a modest employment of impressionist technique. He himself thought he was returning to "the laws of the great statuary of antiquity." "I try to put myself in the state of mind of the men who have left us the statues of antiquity." (Ritchie, p. 38)





Many of the fine modern painters have also been sculptors with the universal talent of Renaissance artists like Michelangelo. Renoir was one of these, and although so crippled with arthritis in his later years that he could not model with his own hands, he directed his assistant with results like this Washerwoman, in the Sculpture Garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Renoir's treatment of the female form, carried out also in his later paintings, goes back to Rubens for confirmation.

Plate 52

Collection, The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Picasso's *Head of a Woman* (about 1909) is "one of the first examples of cubist sculpture." "Between 1908 and 1914, in a short six years, the cubist revolution in seeing took place, a revolution comparable to the discovery of perspective in the Renaissance. Cubism was in fact a new multi-focus perspective for the examination . . . of an object or figure . . . at rest." Picasso's *Head* "represents a very early tentative stage of cubist analysis . . . it is a severe geometrical breakdown or faceting of important planes, an experimental formal dissection of the head's structure." (Ritchie, pp. 25-26)





Matisse's four huge sculptural reliefs of the human back (Plates 54-57) show how the artist working over the same subject matter at widely different times constantly simplifies it. Back I (*ca.* 1910) has been described as "a study in the dynamic forms on either side of the spine." (Barr, *Matisse*, p. 142) While there is no attempt to treat the body realistically, yet, together with exaggeration, there is enough adherence to the human form to suggest rugged strength and power.

Plate 54

The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund



Back II was finished perhaps around 1914. It is a greatly simplified treatment. "The curving counterpoise of the early figure is almost abandoned for a vertical stance with only a slight bend of the right leg to balance the turned head and raised left arm. . . . The forms seem hewn out of the medium . . . as if with an adze." (Barr, p. 218)

Plate 55

The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund



Back III, also finished around 1914, carries the simplification much further. "The rough-hewn planes of the second version now give way to rounded surfaces. The right arm is fused with the trunk, and except for the most abstract indications of the hands and turn of the head, all detail has been suppressed." The figure is now "columnar architecture in human form." (Barr, p. 218)

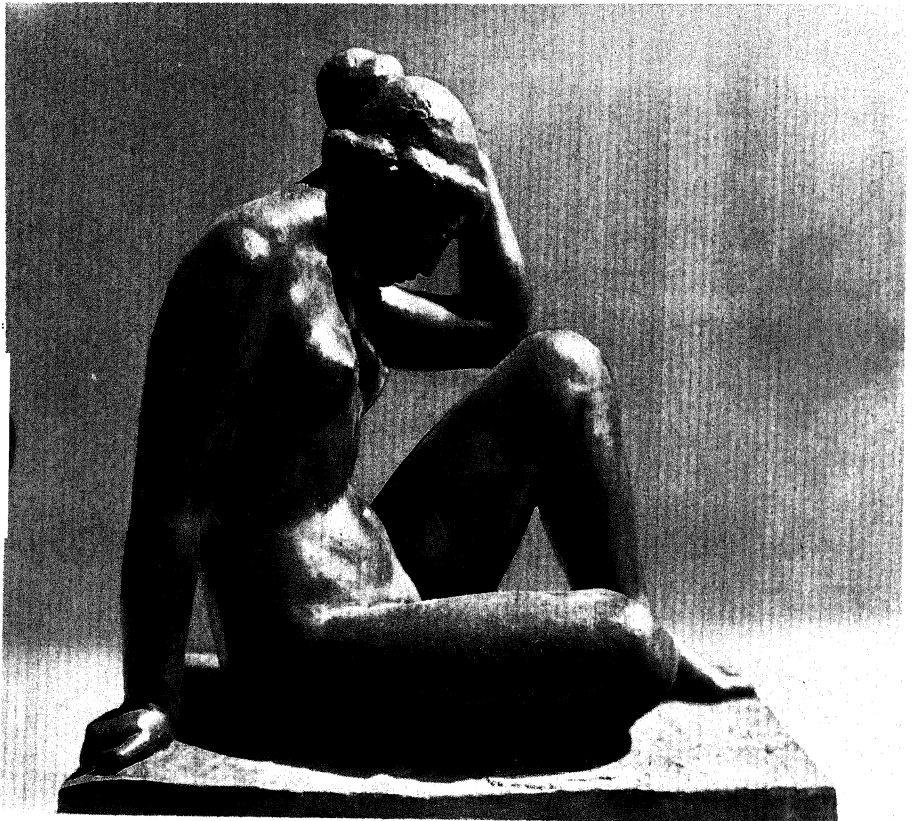


Back IV (*ca.* 1928-1929) almost loses contact with the human form. Ritchie calls the treatment shown here and in Back III "the abstract redaction of the planes of the figure cleft by the great accent of the plait of hair." (p. 24)

Plate 57

The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund

This figure of Maillol's is called *The Mediterranean* (1905). It marks a reaction from Rodin's nervous impressionism similar to that of Cézanne in painting, though not so extreme. " 'Art is complex,' I said to Rodin, who smiled because he felt I was struggling with nature. I was trying to simplify, whereas he noted all the profiles, all the details." (Ritchie, p. 39) This is a return to classical idealism and beauty. Maillol had more in mind than mere representation. "It is ideas that I seek. I pursue form in order to attain that which is without form. I try to say what is impalpable, intangible." (Ritchie, p. 19)



Charles Despiau was from 1907 to 1914 an assistant of Rodin, an "ex-ecutant in stone." This figure (Assia, 1938) carries Maillol's idealization of the female nude a step further.

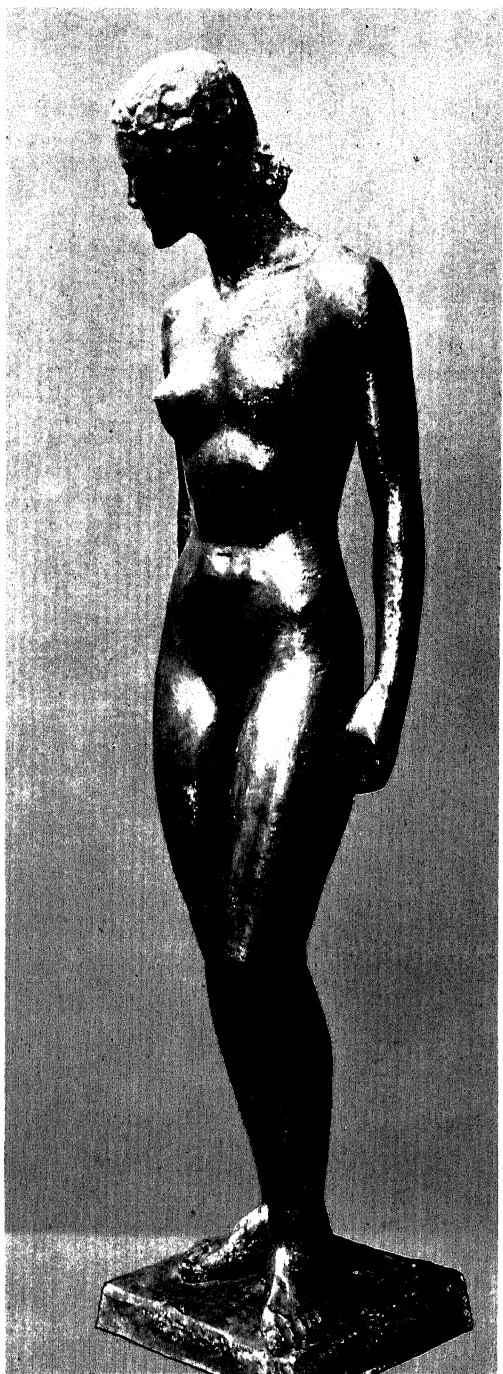
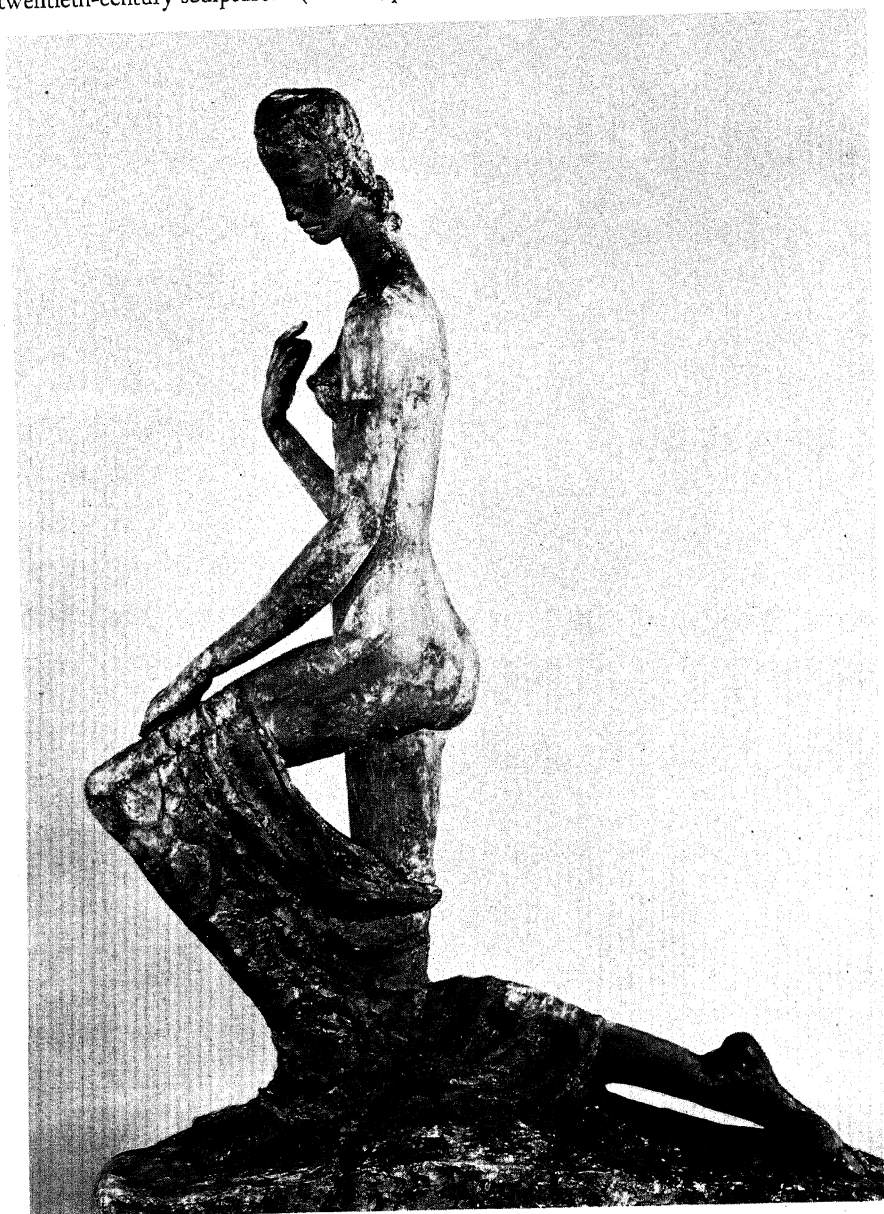


Plate 59

The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund

Wilhelm Lehmbruck's *Kneeling Woman*. Here, like El Greco, the sculptor elongates the figure to create a mood without destroying in any way his great reverence for the human form. "Elegance and lyrical tenderness are the qualities that are most appealing in his *Kneeling Woman*. The exquisite relationships of the several parts of the figure, the inevitability of its proportions, are what make this one of the masterpieces of twentieth-century sculpture." (Ritchie, p. 19)





Lehmbruck's Standing Youth is a "monumental companion figure" to the Kneeling Woman. (Ritchie, p. 19)

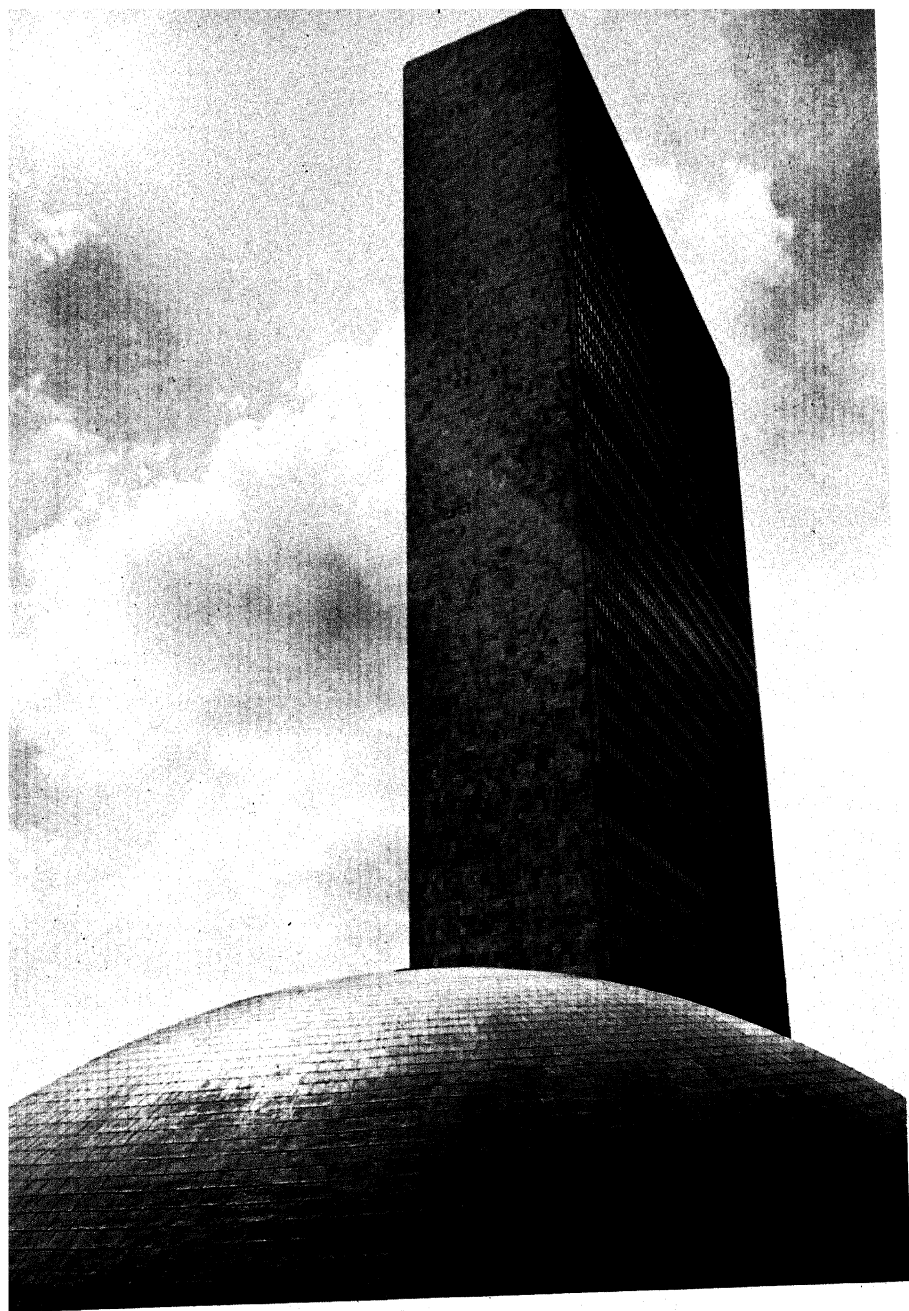
Here are examples of what happened to imitative art under the impulse of abstraction and the machine. Brancusi's *Sophisticated Young Lady*, or *Portrait of N. C. (Nancy Cunard)*, pursues what Matisse was after in his studies of the human back, and what many philosophers and scientists have been after: the reduction of reality to its simple essence with the abandonment of details to the imagination. Beyond reality he has found, as many philosophers and scientists have found, abstract form (geometry). Brancusi's earlier training as a cabinetmaker comes out here also. He once said, "Simplicity is not an end in art, but one reaches simplicity in spite of oneself by approaching the real meaning of things." When one realizes that this is the portrait of a young lady with a fancy, rakish hair-do, the abstract form becomes witty and exciting, a constant, perky joy.



The *Horse* of Duchamp-Villon might also be called *Horse-Power*. The abstraction is mechanical rather than geometrical. In an earlier version of the piece the sculptor included a rider (see Ritchie, p. 136) but removed it "in order to emphasize the fusion of a mechanical with an animal image. The marvelously interrelated formal convolutions, the coiled tension of this horse-cum-machine is another monument to a marriage of the scientific and artistic imagination." (Ritchie, p. 28)

Henry Moore, the English sculptor, looks upon himself as a humanist. "I think the humanist organic element will always be for me of fundamental importance in sculpture, giving sculpture its vitality. Each particular carving I make takes on in my mind a human, or occasionally animal, character and personality, and this personality controls its design and formal qualities, and makes me satisfied or dissatisfied with the work as it develops." (Ritchie, p. 41) In this *Family Group* (1945-1949) Moore reduces the human form to basic elements and rhythm but at the same time in tying together mother and child, and father and child, and mother and father and child, and making a unity at the same time of mother and father, he seems to emphasize, in a world that war had ruined and war was threatening, the necessity of family solidarity for survival and for giving meaning to existence.





The Secretariat Building of the United Nations, with the dome of the Assembly, the symbol of an ancient hope—universal peace.

Plate 64

United Nations

thus been the occasion for many *Guides* to Joyce and has sent off college professors on the lifetime quest of identifying each item in the mosaic of his allusions. In the early works of Aldous Huxley, reaching a kind of climax in *Point-Counter-Point* (1928), an attempt at a fugal novel, there is all the brilliant and cynical display of a modern intellectual. But Huxley has since grown tired of mere brilliance and pessimism and has turned to religion (*Ends and Means*) for a discovery of ultimate values. His *Apes and Essence* is a terrifying picture of California after World War III, fought with atomic weapons. Recently he has been concerned with the comparable effects of certain drugs and the mystical trance. Among all these it is Thomas Mann, a universal novelist in the best European manner, who remains most loyal to the dignity of human personality. *Buddenbrooks* (1903) is one of many family chronicles written by twentieth-century novelists, a picture of the life of the North German upper bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century. *The Magic Mountain* (1925) is a masterful reflection of a sick Germany and a sick Europe. Two of its characters, Settembrini and Naphta, elaborate the argument between the liberal-humanist and authoritarian-ascetic in great detail.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING

It is this same general picture that is reflected in the world of painting and sculpture. Revolution struck painting with the impressionists and postimpressionists. Because the camera could reproduce the natural world with greater exactitude the artist gradually abandoned the careful imitation of the external world and turned toward an art that sought description and expression in different styles of color, line, form, and design. Cézanne was the great pioneer who insisted upon breaking up the view of nature into its geometrical forms. The impressionist sought to present the world in a light analyzed into its component colored patches. The conservative bourgeois world was at first hostile to an unnaturalistic art, and the independent artist in turn rejected what he called a Philistine outlook.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PAINTING

The twentieth century has continued these trends and made them more complex. The bourgeoisie, especially in its wealthier reaches, has become less hostile to revolutionary, unrepresentative art and collects not only old but modern and contemporary art for quite other reasons than its value as an investment, although this it naturally does not neglect. The growth of democracy in western Europe has of course introduced an entirely new group to the world of art—the great masses of the people, and they, like the bourgeoisie at first, unschooled in the tradition and appreciation of art, are inclined to prefer an art which is directly related to the world they see with their own eyes, unless they are instructed, as all of us need to be instructed, in the values which make an unnaturalistic, unrepresentative art as beautiful and stimulating as the imitative art of past ages.

Meanwhile painting and sculpture have gone their way, refining their own tradition, reacting in a critical way to the world they find about them, exploiting new materials, and struggling to create a new world of beauty and meaning whether they are applauded by the great majority or not. They wish to be appreciated, of course, but they do not feel that they should appeal to a lower taste. Rather, those who develop an interest in art should cultivate a higher taste. Painting and sculpture now have to contend not only with a much more highly developed color photography that itself has become an art, but with such media as the movies and television, all of which precludes them from returning to any attempt to deal realistically or imitatively with the external, natural world. They have continued to follow the revolutionary way pointed out by the impressionists and postimpressionists. The result is contemporary abstract art. This denaturalization and dehumanization of art has been fostered by the growth of industrialism and the machine. The machine gets into art directly or indirectly (see the portrait by Léger, Mrs. Chester Dale, Pl. 41). The development of an abstract art, a declaration of independence, has given the artist great freedom. Yet the artists of the twentieth, like their predecessors of the nineteenth, century are personally inclined to be less conservative than liberal or radical in their political, economic, and social views. They have not hesitated to introduce their criticism of contemporary society, their horror of war, their hatred of fascism into their canvases. They have been subject to new developments in the fields of archaeology, science, and psychology. The art of primitive peoples (pre-Roman, Iberian, African, South Pacific, pre-Columbian) has seemed to them more vital and free than the conventional art of their day. Space-time was something that artists, dealing with perspective, had to concern themselves about. The whole Freudian world of the unconscious they regarded as a proper field of representation. It is possible to get lost in the great complex of revolt and liberation of modern art and to wish that it were not quite so willing to push the human being out of the way and concern itself so much with what seems to be its own private world. Modern art has often been condemned for being exclusive, snobbish, and antihumanistic. This may be the case with certain individual artists. But the general historian trying to view the revolt of modern art can scarcely brand it as antihumanistic or ascetic. In some cases an extreme abstraction may indicate a desire to escape from the real world to a private world of one's own making.²³

²³Lloyd Goodrich, in *The Contemporary Science, A Symposium* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), p. 73, in speaking of abstractionists who have "eliminated not only imagery but also traditional concepts of form, pattern, center of interest and movement," making "their art largely one of space filled with light and color," remarks that "Such art is related to ascetic mysticism; disregarding the troubled world, it searches for purification, peace, or aesthetic order transcending the world of phenomena. The prevalence of this style today seems to me a product of the disturbing state of human affairs."

But the modern artist, in enlarging upon his tradition in contemporary terms and in subjecting his art to the analysis of reason as well as the needs of emotion, is working within the humanistic tradition. Humanism has to do with the realization of the creative potential of all individuals in a social setting. In the case of the artist this is most necessary if he is to survive at all. Modern art has displayed a healthy individualism and independence and, by and large, has insisted upon being free. It has been properly disrespectful of all dogma and cant. It has sought to exploit the modern world in the interests of its notions of beauty and to chastise this world when it neglected its larger opportunities. It has not failed to produce its share of a very exciting beauty that is gladdening the hearts of an increasing body of beholders and stimulating their minds and feelings as well. There is no reason to believe that the present period of extreme experimentalism will not work itself out in a somewhat grander, calmer, and more classical form.

HENRI MATISSE

The great painting and sculpture of the twentieth century continued to be predominantly French. Of the painters, two may be mentioned: Henri Matisse (1869-1954) and the Spaniard Pablo Picasso (b. 1881), who has spent most of his life in Paris. Both artists have put down in writing their notions of art. Matisse emphasized the constant change in his manner of painting. "I do not think the way I thought yesterday. My fundamental thoughts have not changed but have evolved, and my modes of expression have followed my thoughts." To Matisse, "Composition is the art of arranging in a recreative manner the various elements at the painter's disposal for the expression of his feelings." "A work of art must be harmonious in its entirety; for superfluous details would, in the mind of the beholder, encroach upon the essential elements." For this artist the impressionists' work was too momentary. "The impressionist painters . . . had delicate, vibrating sensations; as a result their canvases are all alike. The word 'impressionism' perfectly characterizes their intentions for they register fleeting impressions. This term, however, cannot be used with reference to more recent painters who avoid the first impression and consider it deceptive. A rapid rendering of a landscape represents only one moment of its appearance. I prefer, by insisting upon its essentials, to discover its more enduring character and content, even at the risk of sacrificing some of its pleasing qualities."²⁴

The fine humanistic flavor of Matisse's art comes in part from such opinions as the following: "What interests me most is neither still life nor landscape but the human figure. It is through it that I best succeed in expressing the nearly religious feeling that I have towards life. I do not insist upon the details of the face. I do not care to repeat them with

²⁴Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse, His Art and His Public* (The Museum of Modern Art), pp. 119, 120.

anatomical exactness. Though I happen to have an Italian model whose appearance at first suggests nothing but purely animal existence, yet I succeed in picking out among the lines of his face those which suggest that deep gravity which persists in every human being. A work of art must carry in itself its complete significance and impose it upon the beholder even before he can identify the subject matter." "What I dream of is an art of balance, of purity and serenity devoid of troubling or depressing subject matter, an art which might be for every mental worker, be he businessman or writer, like an appeasing influence, like a mental soother, something like a good armchair in which to rest from physical fatigue." "The role of the artist, like that of the scholar, consists in penetrating truths as well known to him as to others but which will take on for him a new aspect and so enable him to master them—their deepest significance." "Rules have no existence outside of individuals: otherwise Racine would be no greater genius than a good professor. Any of us can repeat a fine sentence but few can also penetrate the meaning. I have no doubt that from a study of the works of Raphael or Titian a more complete set of rules can be drawn than from the works of Manet or Renoir, but the rules followed by Manet and Renoir were suited to their artistic temperaments and I happen to prefer the smallest of their paintings to all the work of those who have merely imitated the 'Venus of Urbino' or the 'Madonna of the Goldfinch.'"²⁵

THE CHAPEL AT VENCE

In the course of a long life Matisse, in the same class as such great all-around artists as Rubens and Renoir, painted many decorative canvases full of brilliant color (Pl. 46) and did some sculpture, ever seeking the more mature, the more profound, the simpler expression. (See Pls. 54-57.) At the end of his life he had occasion to participate in an artistic venture somewhat unique in its kind: the planning and execution of a chapel at Vence in southern France for a convent of Dominican nuns. Matisse was not in the conventional or dogmatic sense religious, and the Catholic Church of France was not in the habit of employing modern artists to decorate its churches. But under the stimulation and support of a local Canon Devémy of Assy in the department of Haute-Savoie and a Father M. A. Coururier of the Dominican order, a church had been built at Assy which used the talents of Rouault for stained glass, of Léger (a Communist) for a mosaic on the façade, of Lurçat (another Communist) for a tapestry for the apse, of Braque, of Bonnard, of Lipchitz (a Jew), and finally of Matisse himself. Of these, Rouault was the only practising Catholic, but Father Coururier was of the opinion that when it came to the artistic embellishment of a church, "piety is no substitute for talent." In a unique and remarkable display of Christian humanism "the Church at

²⁵Barr, *Matisse*, p. 122.

least on this occasion had not only demonstrated its tolerance and advanced taste but had struck a shrewd blow in the desperate struggle between Catholicism and Communism for the influential good will of the artists and intellectuals of France.²⁶ Matisse did a Saint Dominic for the south aisle of the church at Assy. He was already at work on his plans for the chapel at Vence. In the convent was an artistic Sister Jacques, who before her entry into the convent had nursed him back to health after serious surgery in 1941. Matisse not only worked with Sister Jacques but with Brother L. B. Rayssiquier and Father Couturier himself, who came from Paris to participate. The chapel was to be, a Dominican rejoiced, "a gay church." For Matisse it was to express "the lightness and joyousness of springtime which never lets anyone suspect the labours it has cost." The cornerstone was laid on 12 December, 1949, by the bishop of Nice, and the chapel was completed and consecrated on 25 June, 1951.

Matisse had done the architecture for the chapel, the stained-glass windows, the murals of the Virgin and Child, Saint Dominic, the Stations of the Cross, the altar, the crucifix, and the vestments. (See Pls. 42-45.) When it was all done he wrote to the bishop, "This work has taken me four years of exclusive and assiduous work and it represents the result of my entire active life. I consider it, in spite of its imperfections, to be my masterpiece." In reply, the bishop referred to Matisse as "a man of genius who, all his life, worked, searched, strained himself, in a long and bitter struggle, to draw near the truth and the light. . . ."²⁷ There were attempts made to falsify in the interests of religiosity Matisse's devotion to this task, but without success. A modern humanistic art and an ascetic way of life could meet on other grounds higher than dogma and mere piety: devotion to the discovery of truth and the meaning of life.

PABLO PICASSO

Matisse met Picasso in 1906. In the spring of 1906 at the Salon des Indépendents Matisse had exhibited a large canvas—the Joy of Life. In the following year Picasso began one of his epochal canvases, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, and a comparison of the two affords a good insight into the character of advanced art in Paris at the turn of the century. Matisse was head of a group of artists called the "Wild Beasts (*les Fauves*), and Picasso was elaborating, along with Braque, the cubist style, a complete breakdown of the human figure and the external world into geometrical forms. It was the direct outcome of Cézanne's cones and cylinders. Picasso's first important cubist canvas showed the influence of primitive Spanish and African Negro sculpture.

He displayed his creative gifts from an early age. Born in Malaga, Spain, he left for Paris in 1900 and lived there permanently after 1904. His painting between these dates belongs to the so-called "blue" period

²⁶Barr, *Matisse*, p. 280.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 287.

(see *The Old Guitarist*, Pl. 47), when he used melancholy and poverty-stricken human figures to implement his belief that art was "the child of Sadness and Pain." But Picasso has never been content with any style for long, and his artistic history has been a rapid succession of experiments in painting, ceramics, and, like Matisse, sculpture. The sad blues were succeeded by pink canvases of figures from circus and carnival life, and thereafter he turned to cubism with the extraordinary painting *The Young Ladies of Avignon*.

In the following years Picasso, as leader, exploited the possibilities of the cubist style. The movement was of great influence in and beyond the realm of painting. He was not apologetic for its difficulty. If people could not understand it, it was not his fault. He could not understand English, but "why should I blame anybody but myself if I cannot understand what I know nothing about."²⁸ It has been suggested that cubism was "strong enough, intense enough to influence, perhaps even to generate, the style of the visual arts in the modern world during the ensuing twenty years." It was responsible for the development of the pure, rectangular design-painting of the Dutchman Piet Mondrian (in Paris after 1918), who in turn had much to do with developments in architecture and typography and other fields of design. Picasso's painting of the *Three Musicians* (Pl. 48) may be said to mark the end of a cubist phase begun with *The Young Ladies of Avignon*.

Relaxing in a kind of archaic and ponderous classicism for a short period, he was soon working out further distortions of his subject matter. While it is always possible to recognize the virtuosity in these canvases (and Picasso gave plenty of evidence of his stunning talent for "ordinary" painting and drawing), it is not always easy to follow what often appears to be a studied ugliness. Picasso does not hesitate to paint all sides of a three-dimensional figure at once or to rearrange the facial features at will. Like another Spanish artist, the cellist Pablo Casals, he hated the Franco regime and in 1937 did an etching called *The Dreams and Life of Franco*, accompanied by a poem of his own. "Franco himself is transformed into a flaccid scarecrow figure with a head like a soft hairy sweet potato," or, to borrow Picasso's phrases, "an evil-omened polyp . . . his mouth full of the chinch-bug jelly of his words . . . placed upon the ice cream cone of codfish fried in the scales of his lead-ox heart. . . ."²⁹ When Hitler's planes bombed and destroyed the Basque town of Guernica for Franco on 28 April, 1937, Picasso answered with a large canvas, *Guernica* (Pl. 49), expressing his outrage at such "barbarity and evilness." He thought the Spanish Civil War was a "fight of reaction against the people, against freedom. My whole life as an artist has been nothing more than a continuous struggle against reaction and the death of art." In the *Guernica* "and

²⁸Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso, Fifty Years of His Art* (Museum of Modern Art), p. 74.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 195.

in all my recent works of art, I clearly express my abhorrence of the military caste which has sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death." During the German occupation of northern France Picasso remained in Paris and refused to kowtow to the Nazis. When France was liberated he announced his membership in the Communist Party, because he said the Communists had seemed to him most courageous of all in the resistance movement. He had painted and continues to paint revolutionary canvases and to do independent and radical work in other fields rather than conform to any Communist regulations for painting. He insists that the artist is "a political being, constantly alive to heart-rending, fiery, or happy events, to which he responds in every way. How would it be possible to feel no interest in other people and by virtue of an ivory indifference to detach yourself from the life which they so copiously bring you? No, painting is not done to decorate apartments. It is an instrument of war for attack and defense against the enemy." The dove used in recent Communist propaganda for peace is Picasso's bird.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The development of sculpture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries parallels that of painting, many of the painters, such as Renoir, Matisse, and Picasso, being sculptors as well. Rodin was the great French sculptor and teacher of the nineteenth century, and from him many of the subsequent movements stem (see Balzac and Victor Hugo, Pls. 50, 51). Indeed, while not as predominantly as in painting, the French led the world in sculpture also. Fine talents like Despiau and Maillol were either pupils of Rodin or subject to his influence, and Lehmbruck, "probably the greatest sculptor Germany has produced in this century, admired both Maillol and Rodin."³⁰ (See Plates 53-63.)

The turn from naturalistic to an experimental and abstract sculpture is marked by the work of the Rumanian Constantin Brancusi. His *Bird in Space* is so abstract that New York customs inspectors refused to identify it more than as a piece of metal when it was brought to this country, and it took a judicial decision to decide that it was a work of art and could be admitted duty-free. Matisse's studies of the human back illustrate the constant search of the great artist for an ever greater simplicity, and Picasso carried his cubism over into sculpture. The mechanization of the horse can be seen in the *Horse of Duchamp-Villon* (Pl. 62). Further developments of an experimental kind can be traced in the work of Henry Moore in England and of the Swiss Alberto Giacometti.

THE MUSIC OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The twentieth century brought further demands for freedom in music, as well as terminated certain earlier trends. The music of Maurice Ravel

³⁰A. C. Ritchie, *Sculpture of the Twentieth Century*, p. 19.

seems to do all that can be done to develop the new ideas introduced by Debussy. The operas of Giacomo Puccini seemed to bring to a stop, with their adaptation of the newer harmonies, the striking development that came with Giuseppe Verdi. The revolution in music in the nineteenth century demanded freedom to write contrary to the rules of classical harmony.

IGOR STRAVINSKY

If painting went from Cézanne to cubism and a purely abstract painting, music led from Debussy to Igor Stravinsky, one of the great moderns. Music, he thought, must be free of any emotion or expression and remain purely intellectual. In some of his works he avoided using violins because they were emotionally too tense. He wanted music to be judged for itself, in terms of its own "intrinsic value," in much the same way that the doctrinaire painters wanted painting to employ only the means and values particular to painting. It is a strange kind of artist, however, who thinks that art must or can be deprived of emotion and display only a cold rationality. Such attitudes seem to be the artistic counterpart of the inhuman machine.

Before World War I Stravinsky joined hands with Sergei Diaghilev in reviving the ballet (Ballet Russe) in Paris, a revival that has remained vital to date. It began with his *Fire Bird*, continued with *Petrouchka*, in which, in a quite thrilling manner, he transposes into music the excitement and movement of a crowd at a Russian country fair (including the dancing bear). In the last of his great ballets, *The Rite of Spring* (1913), Stravinsky turned to early pagan Russia for inspiration, much as the painters were turning to various forms of primitive art for their stimulation. The result was to neglect melody and harmony for the beat and pound of a barbaric rhythm resembling, again, that of a machine. Maurice Ravel joined this revival with his *Daphnis and Chloe* (1912). Another form of primitive rhythm to influence musical composition was the jazz of the 1920's. Related to the music of the Afro-American Negro and employing the harmonic styles of sophisticated composers, jazz was used by Stravinsky (*Piano Rag Music*), and by Ravel in the finale of one of his piano concertos, and by the French contemporary composer Darius Milhaud in *The Creation of the World* (1923).

POLYTONALITY, ATONALITY, AND POLYRHYTHMICALITY

Before music reached mechanized abstraction in Stravinsky, it spoke in terms of polytonality, atonality, and polyrhythmicality. Polytonality is simply writing in two conventional, major or minor, keys at the same time, much as Picasso painted a front and side view of a head at the same time. This engagement "in mutual murder" was often so unsatisfactory that it led to the abandonment of any attempt to write in keys at all, and for the conventional major and minor keys there was substituted a new

atonal scale consisting of the twelve tones in the chromatic scale of an octave. The best known systematization of atonal, twelve-tone-scale writing was done by the originally Viennese and later American composer Arnold Schönberg (*Three Piano Pieces*, 1910; *Pierrot Lunaire*, a song cycle). According to this system one sets out by choosing from these twelve tones whatever melody is pleasing, that is, whatever order of the twelve tones suits one's fancy. These tones may be exploited in forms according to the composer's desire, but before he may repeat a tone, the whole sequence of the twelve tones must be repeated, so that the original melody chosen is being constantly repeated and re-emphasized. The resort to this form of deterministic and quasi-automatic composition was in part the result of new demands made upon music by radio and television. Such contemporary composers as the German and later American Paul Hindemith talked in terms of a music of pure utility (*Gebrauchsmusik*). The vast audiences listening to radio and television had no particular concern for the individual and private feelings that a composer might wish to express in his music. They preferred to judge music by the way it fitted its particular need. Music had to be judged by its acceptance of this criterion, and Hindemith in his own music (*Matthias der Maler*, *Ludus Tonalis*) not only gave specific expression to this kind of objective, mathematically conceived music but wrote a learned exposition of it (*The Craft of Musical Composition*). Of course, the resort to atonal writing was a complete declaration of independence from all the music of the past. When polytonality and atonality were joined with polyrhythmicity, that is, when music was written with time signatures changing every few measures or so, or written without any time signatures at all, then something like anarchy was reached.

Art and anarchy are quite incompatible. When chaos is reached man has to begin to rearrange. After Beethoven and Brahms there was not much more that could be done to develop the symphonic form, and in the writing of so clever and brilliant a composer as Richard Strauss the symphony tended to give way to the symphonic poem (*Til Eulenspiegel*, *Don Quixote*, *Tod und Verklärung*). But the sombre and spare symphonies of Jean Sibelius, the Finnish composer, have restored vitality and character to the symphony. Atonality led to the restrictions of the twelve-tone scale in the theories and musical compositions of Schönberg, Hindemith, and others. In the opera *Wozzeck* of Alban Berg, the twelve-tone scale is used as a basic pattern, but Berg does not hesitate to free himself from it when he wishes, and the result, all are agreed, is a masterpiece in the new twelve-tone-scale practice which makes clear that, when used not as dogma (as in the case of Schönberg) but as an enlargement of the diatonic scales of classical harmony, the new twelve-tone atonality can produce great music. This same feeling of enlargement comes from constant listening to the music of the Hungarian composer Bela Bartok. Bartok was, to begin with, one of the nationalists, interested in the whole

body of folk music of his people and not simply in the gypsy melodies used by Liszt and Brahms. In listening to some of his music one has the feeling that, like Picasso, he was trying to see just how far discordant ugliness could go. But the later music gets beyond this; one is forced to recognize a fine, original talent. The hopeful character of twentieth-century music is fortified by the work of a striking succession of English composers reviving the glories of the seventeenth century (Vaughan Williams, Frederick Delius, Gustav Holst, William Walton, Benjamin Britten) and by the American composers who joined the international company of musical artists (Gershwin, Piston, Barber, Copland, Harris, Hansen, and Virgil Thomson).

In the face of world war, revolution, and rebellion in the arts, some historians ventured to be very positive in predicting the decline of western civilization, and others, while pessimistic enough, joined some poets in feeling that to prevent a decline a religious revival was needed. Oswald Spengler, the German author of *The Decline of the West*, was a fascist-minded prophet of democratic doom. Arnold Toynbee, the English author of *Civilization on Trial* and the huge, stimulating, often brilliant *Study of History*, is inclined to think that decline is likely without a vital Christianity and a modern church with an ecumenical outlook. Jean Paul Sartre, the leader of French existentialism, thinks only in terms of the awful responsibility of man for the redemption and renovation of a prostrate world.

OSWALD SPENGLER

Spengler wanted individual cultures to be understood as organisms, as plants and animals. A culture is a "bounded and mortal thing. . . . It blooms on the soil of an exactly-definable landscape, to which plant-wise, it remains bound." "It dies when it has actualized the full sum of its possibilities in the shape of peoples, languages, dogmas, arts, states and sciences." Like an organism, every culture goes through a unique youth, growth, maturity, and decay. Decay comes when the life of the culture degenerates into a collection of empty forms, "the appeal of mere size," and mechanical efficiency. The old gives way to a new culture, which then goes through the same cycle. To Spengler the West was in decline. This could be seen in the spread of socialism, the decay of religion, the degeneration of philosophy, the emptiness of modern art, domination of society by money and technology, the concentration of creativity in the big urban centers, falling birthrates, growing poverty, reliance upon the state for security and for maintaining a healthy economic order. "Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is *cowardice*."

For Spengler "man is a beast of prey. I shall say it again and again. All the would-be moralists and social-ethics people who claim or hope to be 'beyond all that' are only beasts of prey with their teeth broken. . . . If I call a man a beast of prey which do I insult, man or beast? For

remember the larger beasts of prey are noble creatures, perfect of their kind, and without the hypocrisy of human morals due to weakness." "Life has no aim." "Mankind has no aim." "Life is the beginning and the end, and life has no system, no program, no reason, it exists for itself and by itself . . . it cannot be dissected according to good or bad, right or wrong, useful and desirable." This meek age was to be followed by a hard (fascist) age, and fascism by a still-harder one. "The Fascist formations of this decade will pass into unforeseeable forms, and even present-day nationalism will disappear." "Caesar's legions are returning to consciousness." They are to struggle for world mastery. "He whose sword compels victory will be the lord of the world. The dice are there ready for this stupendous game. Who dares to throw them?" "In the last resort, only the active man, the man of history, lives in the actual world, the world of political, military, and economic decisions, in which concepts and systems do not figure and count. Here a shrewd blow is more than a shrewd conclusion, and there is sense in the contempt with which statesmen and soldiers of all times have regarded the 'ink-slinger' and the 'bookworm' who thinks that the world history exists for the sake of the intellect or science or even art. Let us say frankly and without ambiguity: the understanding divorced from sensation, is only one, and not the decisive side of life. A history of western thought may not contain the name of Napoleon, but in the history of actuality Archimedes, for all his scientific discoveries, was possibly less effective than that soldier who killed him at the storming of Syracuse." To get ready for the iron age that is to come young men should "devote themselves to technics instead of lyrics, the sea instead of the paint-brush, and politics instead of epistemology."³¹

ARNOLD TOYNBEE

Toynbee deplores the study of little national histories in a day when what is needed is an understanding of the world. He sets himself the task, in the *Study of History*, of identifying the various civilizations that have flourished at one time or another and of tracing what it is that has caused their rise and their decline and death. For him this world of civilizations is not composed of isolated organisms, but each great civilization has many related, affiliated, or apparented civilizations. The growth of civilized life is explained in terms of "challenge and response," the succession of difficult problems a people successfully meets. His theory of decline, based primarily on the decline of the Roman Empire,³² deals with a "time of troubles," when a people begins to fail to meet the demands put upon it. A creative minority, hitherto able to solve the difficult problems of an age, becomes a mere "dominant minority," holding to its power

³¹From Spengler, *Decline of the West* and *The Hour of Decision* (Knopf, 1928 and 1934), quoted in Rader, *No Compromise*, pp. 306, 308, 304, 300-301.

³²See Vol. I, pp. 311-312.

without earning it. In the course of time it provokes the revolt of an "internal proletariat" whom it has oppressed and who no longer have any confidence in the state and its rulers. The revolt of the "internal proletariat" is joined by the "external proletariat" (the barbarian enemy on the frontier), who march in and destroy the state. Meanwhile, the internal proletariat has given its allegiance to a new church that has arisen to fill the spiritual vacuum, and it is this new religion and new church that carries on the declining and falling civilization until a new civilization can begin to develop. It is in this way that Toynbee lays great stress upon a live religion and a live church. He is a kind of lay Saint Augustine preaching the need for a strong church to carry the Kingdom of God to victory. In the chapter of *Civilization on Trial* called "Christianity and Civilization," Toynbee begins by rejecting the notion of Edward Gibbon that Christianity was a cause of the decline of the Roman Empire, and looks forward to the day when Christianity will sweep the globe as its universal religion, the religion of a world state, incorporating into itself, as once the Christianity of the Roman Empire had done, the best features of the higher religions of the world. Chinese philosophy may be incorporated into Christianity in some city of the Far East, as Greek philosophy was incorporated into it at Alexandria. Indian religions and Buddhism will make their contributions. "What may happen when Caesar's empire decays, as it always does, is that Christianity may be left as the spiritual heir of all the other higher religions . . . down to those that in A.D. 1998 (e.g.) are still living separate lives, side by side with Christianity, and of all the philosophies from Ikhnaton's to Hegel's, while the Christian church as an institution may be left as the social heir of all other churches and all the civilizations." At the end of the *Study of History* he talks about the necessity of avoiding self-destruction in an atomic war and of using "religion as the mark on which they [western souls] were once more to set their course." But this religion must be neither "a Christian heresy in which the stone of Communism had been substituted for the Creed of the Gospel" nor a "Christian orthodoxy that had been petrified . . . by a backward-looking ecclesiastical tradition." Toynbee has no use for militarism, always a chief cause in the downfall of civilizations, nor for nationalism, "the pagan worship of a parochial community."³³

JEAN PAUL SARTRE

Sartre puts himself in the class of "atheistic existentialists." Since there is no God, man exists before he can be defined by any concept. "First of all man exists, turns up, appears on the scene, and only afterwards defines himself. . . . Thus there is no human nature, since there is no God to conceive it. Not only is man what he conceives himself to be, but he is also only what he wills himself to be after his thrust toward existence.

³³Vol. IX, 643-644.

Man is nothing else but what he makes of himself." "When we say that a man is responsible for himself, we do not only mean that he is responsible for all his own individuality, but that he is responsible for all men." "In creating the man that we want to be, there is not a single one of our acts which does not at the same time create an image of man as we think he ought to be." "If I want to marry, to have children . . . I am involving all humanity in monogamy, not merely myself. . . . I am responsible for myself and for everyone else. I am creating a certain image of man of my own choosing."⁸⁴

"If God does not exist we find no values or commands to turn to which legitimize any conduct. So, in the bright realms of values, we have no excuse behind us, nor justification before us. We are alone with no excuses." "The existentialist does not believe in the power of passion. He will never agree that a sweeping passion is a ravaging torrent which fatally leads a man to certain acts and is therefore an excuse. He thinks that man is responsible for his passion." "Things will be as man will have decided they are to be . . . there is no reality except action." "Man is nothing else than his plan; he exists only to the extent that he fulfills himself; he is therefore nothing else than the ensemble of his acts, nothing else than his life." "There is no universe other than a human universe, the universe of human subjectivity. This is humanism, because we remind man that there is no law-maker other than himself, and that in his forlornness he will decide by himself; because we point out that man will fulfill himself as man, not in turning toward himself, but in seeking outside of himself a goal which is just this liberation, just this particular fulfillment."

POSTWAR WEAKNESS OF THE LIBERAL-HUMANISTIC TRADITION

Thus the western Europe that faced the Communist East after World War II was a much shaken, impoverished, and insecure West depending for help upon the United States of America. Its liberal-democratic political institutions had been challenged by the Russian Communist Revolution of 1917 and the growth of the Communist Party (especially in France and Italy). It had also been challenged by the fascist revolutions in Italy and Germany and by the growth of fascist and semifascist parties elsewhere (notably in Spain and Portugal). Western capitalistic economies had been strained by the two world wars and the great depression of 1929, and the socialistic attacks upon them had been strengthened by the events in Russia. Western empires throughout the world were being dissolved by nationalistic movements and the example of Russia, which seemed to prove that revolutions could be successful in countries that were not industrialized. At the same time the stability of western science was being undermined by principles of indeterminism and relativity, and scientists were producing awful weapons of destruction. Western litera-

⁸⁴The quotations are from Sartre's essay on existentialism.

ture, art, and music displayed similar signs of insecurity and revolution, and western thinkers were making periodic predictions of doom. What we have called the liberal-democratic-humanistic faith was sick, overcome by the revival of various asceticisms in the twentieth century. The authoritarianisms of the right (fascism) and of the left (communism) were the resurrections of cruel, dogmatic theocracies of the past, quite ready to sacrifice the individual upon the altar of the single political party controlling the state. In the name of future secular Utopias (the Third Reich, the classless society) men were subjected to deterministic philosophies and rigid disciplines. Under these circumstances it was easy to say that man was evil in nature and needed the forgiveness of God to be saved.

The Development of Russian Communism

THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONS

The nineteenth century can be interpreted as the spread of the French Revolution throughout Europe and the world. Historians of the twenty-first century may interpret the twentieth as the spread of the Russian Revolution throughout Europe and the world. The West and East conflict of the present moment may be seen as a clash between these two revolutions. If there could have been a "French" Revolution in Russia in the nineteenth century, it is unlikely that there would have been a Russian Revolution in the twentieth. The French Revolution is explained by the inability of the Bourbons to reform an anachronistic society. The Russian Revolution is to be explained by the inability of the Romanovs to reform a society so much the more anachronistic by the fact that it had been little touched by the great transformations that constitute modern western history.

RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Russia emerged from the Middle Ages with a theocratic government patterned upon the caesaropapism of the Byzantine state.³⁵ The autocracy of the tsars was sanctioned by a subservient Orthodox (Greek) Church. The despotic and oriental character of the Russian state had been strengthened by the Tartar conquest. At a time when western peasants were being emancipated, the Russian peasant was being reduced to serfdom. There was nothing in medieval Russian history to correspond to the western urban revolution or, before the end of the nineteenth century, to the western development of industrial capitalism. Eastern Europe knew no classical Renaissance, the Russian church no Reformation, and the Russian mind no scientific movement of the seventeenth century. Peter the Great tried to impose a speedy westernization upon the Russian upper classes,

³⁵See Vol. I, pp. 468, 516-517.

and the aristocracy was to a limited extent civilized by French culture of the Enlightenment. But Catherine was horrified to find that Enlightenment meant Revolution,³⁶ and the Russian experience with Napoleon, the son of that Revolution, led to the blackest kind of autocratic government in the nineteenth century. Russia had become an unrelieved despotism, exalted by an unreformed mystical church, and resting upon an agricultural society whose aristocracy, with a smattering of foreign culture, owned land cultivated by illiterate and much beaten serfs.

THE PROBLEM OF WESTERNIZATION

The privileged and backward character of this society was revered by certain elements of the ruling classes (Slavophiles) in the name of certain mystical Slavic characteristics and peasant institutions (the village community, the *mir*) which seemed to them sacred and eternal, justifying the spread of the Russian language and culture by force if necessary to other Slavs and non-Slavs within and without the Russian state (Pan-Slavism). This glaring contrast between eastern and western Europe was relieved somewhat by the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II (1855-1881) in 1861, at a moment when the Americans were about to fight a civil war over the question of slavery. The personal liberation was accompanied by the transfer of some land to the peasant through the peasant community. The state advanced money to the peasant to repay the nobility, and he received land from the *mir* to cultivate. There was not enough land transferred to create a contented, prosperous peasantry, and the repayment to the state of the advanced sums became a means of exploitation (the peasantry paid for it three times over). This was resented and the practice finally called off in the course of the Revolution of 1905. The split between native Russian nationalists (Slavophiles), who wished to isolate Russia from the West, and the "westernizers," who sought to relieve the autocracy and modernize a backward society, can be traced in the history of Russian literature and music in the nineteenth century. Dostoyevsky (1821-1881) is representative of the Slavophile writer who distrusted western industry and democracy; Tchaikovsky (1840-1893) of the westernizing artist who, in this case, learned all that the great western symphonists and other composers had to teach him.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF NORMAL, PEACEFUL REFORM

The incapacity of the French Bourbons of the eighteenth century opened the way for the revolutionary programs of the Enlightenment and the action of the French bourgeoisie in 1789. The incapacity of such stupid autocrats as Alexander III (1881-1894) and Nicholas II (1894-1917) opened the way for the revolutionary program of western Marxism and the action of the Russian peasant, worker, soldier, and sailor in 1917,

³⁶See p. 323.

directed by middle-class intellectuals such as Lenin. It is difficult to understand the dismal, cruel, and obscurantist character of the repression of anything resembling liberal thought or action by the Russian tsarist police. It had the effect of transforming any opposition to the political autocracy into a secret, violent, revolutionary conspiracy. To be sure, western liberal democracy had a following in Russia, but since the strength of this outlook depended upon a large middle class, which Russia did not have, there was little opportunity for the normal democratic sentiments of the West to take root. Many of those anxious to introduce democratic reforms felt that there was nothing to do but to organize into secret societies of nihilists or anarchists or terrorists. Those who wanted to break up the large estates of the nobles and establish a land-owning peasantry, or in other words create a rural democracy, called themselves Social Revolutionaries. There seemed to be no possibility of a normal, legal agitation for the modification of the Russian old regime.

MARXIAN SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA

The anomalous thing about the development of the Russian revolutionary program is that it got into the hands of Marxian socialists. It was thus an importation from the West. This is anomalous, because Marxian socialism was a critique of western industrial capitalism, and the remedies which Marx prescribed for the evils of this system were obviously not possible until the system was well developed. The proletariat which Marx thought of was an industrial proletariat, and before 1917 the industrial proletariat of Russia was not large. To be sure, the reigns of Alexander III and Nicholas II brought industrialism to Russia, an industrialism built up by foreign (largely French) capital. But the Russian proletariat was essentially rural and peasant and not industrial and worker. The success of the Marxist program in Russia thus depended upon whether it could be made applicable to the Russian peasantry. Such adaptation was the theoretical and practical work of the extraordinary leader of the Russian Marxists, Nicolai Lenin (1870-1924). A Marxian Socialist Party had been founded in Russia as early as 1895. The first congress of a Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party met in 1898. But the party soon split into moderate and radical wings. The moderate, or *Menshevik* ("minority"), wing was composed of socialists who wanted a normal, evolutionary, and democratic development of socialism; who were willing to co-operate with the middle classes to get it. The radical, or *Bolshevik* ("majority"), wing, led by Lenin, had no patience with democratic procedure, hated the whole revision of Marxism that western socialists had made,³⁷ and wished to organize for a forceful overthrow of the tsarist regime. They did not have tempers patient

³⁷See pp. 583 f.

enough to wait for the democratic introduction of socialism in a land where there was not even a parliament. Under the circumstances such impatience is at least comprehensible.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 AND THE DUMA

Like most active opponents of the tsarist autocracy, Lenin spent some time in prison in Siberia (1897-1900). He was then obliged to leave Russia and spent the next seventeen years in exile, mostly in Switzerland. During these years he undertook to organize the Bolshevik forces in Russia for the moment they were to seize control of the state. Through personal contact he kept in close touch with the situation in Russia, and through a newspaper (*Iskra*) kept the underground party informed, instructed, and inspired. At the same time, Lenin was busy revising the Marxian point of view in a way to make it applicable to an essentially feudal agricultural society. His opportunity to direct the revolutionary forces in person and on the spot did not come until April, 1917, when, as a result of a revolution that had already broken out in March, political exiles were permitted to return home. The German enemy of Russia, anxious to promote revolution and get Russia out of the war, furnished the transportation at this moment. But March, 1917, was the 1793, or Jacobin, phase³⁸ of the Russian Revolution. Its 1789, or National Constituent Assembly, phase had begun with the Revolution of 1905. The events of 1905 led the tsar to promise (30 October, 1905) that he would establish a limited or constitutional monarchy by creating a parliament (*duma*) elected by a fairly popular franchise, and that laws would be issued only with the consent of the *duma*. But the history of this *duma* from 1906 to 1917 made it very clear to all intelligent Russians that the monarchy had no intention whatsoever of establishing a parliamentary regime. When the first *duma* showed signs of wanting to establish a liberal monarchy and diminishing the size of the noble estates, it was dismissed. The second *duma* was treated in a similar fashion and dissolved (16 June, 1907). After the law regulating elections had been changed, a more docile third *duma* was obtained, content to remain a mere consultative body. The repression of political opponents of the autocracy in the succeeding years was unmerciful.

THE MARCH REVOLUTION OF 1917

The foreign policy of this tsarist autocracy was quite willing to risk a European war.³⁹ The inability of the government of Nicholas II to wage this war brought revolution in 1917, in much the same way as defeat in the Russo-Japanese War produced revolution in 1905. The inefficiency of the autocracy and the resulting cost in human life among Russian soldiers were almost incredible. When the people could take it

³⁸See pp. 363 ff.

³⁹See p. 664.

no longer, revolution broke out in March, organized by the spontaneous formation of revolutionary councils and committees (*Soviets*) among soldiers, sailors, workingmen, and peasants. On 12 March a soviet of soldiers and workingmen of Petrograd took over the local government and inspired a similar movement in the army and the provinces. Three days later the tsar abdicated, and the monarchy of the Romanovs, in existence since 1613, was a thing of the past. As a result of an agreement between the duma and the Petrograd soviet a provisional government was set up under the leadership of Prince George Lvov consisting mostly of men who wanted to make Russia a constitutional monarchy, but with one representative of the Social Revolutionary Party (Kerensky) who spoke also for the Petrograd soviet. The new government summoned a constitutional assembly and took steps to make Russian participation in the war more efficient. Lenin returned in the following month (April, 1917).

THE PREPARATIONS FOR FURTHER REVOLUTION

In the same month the first national congress of soviets of soldiers, sailors, workingmen, and peasants from all Russia met in Moscow and made demands for radical reforms on the land and in the factories. Peasants soon began to take over the land of the nobles, and soldiers to abandon the army to participate in this seizure. Lenin, after his return, bent all his efforts as the leader of the Bolsheviks to discredit the middle-class provisional government and to precipitate the chaos which would enable the radical socialists, the Communists, to take over. By August, 1917, the leadership of the provisional government had changed from Lvov to Kerensky. A meeting of the Bolsheviks in October decided upon a seizure of power in November. They had been meanwhile organizing a private army, the Red Guards, under the direction of Leon Trotsky, the new leader of the Petrograd soviet.

THE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION

Controlling the Petrograd soviet and a newly summoned National Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks struck on 6 November, 1917. They occupied the strategic buildings of the city, and on the seventh placed the Kerensky government under arrest. By the tenth their coup d'état had been approved by the National Congress of Soviets, and for the first time in the history of the world a Marxian "dictatorship of the proletariat" had been established. On the morning of 6 November, Lenin got on a tram in Petrograd for the center of the city to take the leadership of the Revolution. He talked with the conductress, and she asked him, "What sort of a worker are you, if you don't know there's going to be a revolution? We're going to kick the bosses out."⁴⁰

⁴⁰C. Hill, *Lenin and the Russian Revolution*, p. 121.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

The new government won immediate approval by refusing to continue the war, by signing a truce with the Central Powers in December, 1917, and by ratifying the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918. It sanctioned the local seizures of power by the soviets everywhere and encouraged the peasants in their assumption of ownership of land from the nobles and the *mir*s. When the Constituent Assembly summoned by the provisional government met, it was dissolved, and for it was substituted the National Congress of Soviets purged of its non-Bolshevik elements. By July, 1918, Russia had a new constitution for a socialist state.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NEW RUSSIA

Russia was to be called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. She and the autonomous republics of which she was composed were to be governed by the soviets, the revolutionary representative bodies that had sprung into being in the course of the Revolution. Supreme authority was to rest in the National Congress of Soviets elected by citizens, among whom clergy, nobility, and large sections of the middle class were not included. This body was to elect a Central Executive Committee to make the laws, and was to appoint a cabinet known as the Council of People's Commissars. When the Central Executive Committee was not in session a Presidium which it elected was to be the final source of authority with supervisory powers over the cabinet of Commissars. Each autonomous member of the Union was to possess a similar organization. This political organization was paralleled and dominated by the organization of the Bolshevik, or Communist, Party. Composed of a small minority of the Russian people, it was controlled by a Central Committee of some seventy members. Its chief officer was the Secretary General of the Central Committee, and the controlling nucleus of the Central Committee was what came to be called the Politburo, composed of the actual governors of the state. Since there was only one party tolerated—the Bolshevik, or Communist, Party—its members controlled the political, official organization of the state. The local soviets, the provincial soviets, the national soviets, the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars were all controlled by their Communist party members. No one who was not a party member rose to important political office. The dictatorship of the proletariat was the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LENIN

With Trotsky as the head of the Red army, Lenin governed this state until his death in 1924. The normal difficulties of establishing a socialist, industrial state in place of an autocratic, agricultural one were increased both by the intervention of the Allies, who wished to crush the revolu-

tion, and by a civil war in which hostile generals (Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and others) failed to destroy the new Bolshevik dictatorship. The appropriation of the land by the peasantry was further encouraged by the new government, and industry, trade, commerce, credit, and transport were nationalized—private property, except for land, being destroyed in the name of Marxian socialism. Such revolutionary economic changes could be carried out only by the ultimate use of force, the force of an army and a secret police. To the government they required the “liquidation,” a horrible word masking untold brutality, of the royal family, the aristocracy, and the middle classes. Before his death Lenin realized that the socialist state could not under all the circumstances be introduced so rapidly, and in 1921 he introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), permitting a small role to be played by the private capitalistic producer and trader. By his death, the Revolution seemed to be secure. It had lasted seven years, far longer than its French prototype.

STALIN

Lenin’s successor as Russia’s proletarian dictator was Stalin (Joseph V. Dzhugashvili, 1879–1953), a Georgian peasant and the son of a shoemaker, who had been a prominent figure in Bolshevik politics as early as the Revolution of 1905. He got rid of the opposition of Trotsky and his supporters in 1927 and of other old Bolshevik opponents in the purges of 1937–1939. He relied less upon the support of communism as an international movement to be promoted through the Third International than upon strengthening the Soviet Union as the leading socialist state of the world (“socialism in a single country”). He thus instituted a series of Five Year plans, the first one from 1928 to 1933, calculated to transform Russia with extraordinary speed from an agricultural to an industrial state for spawning a proletariat of workers upon which a proper dictatorship could be based. Stalin thus recognized that a prosperous state and society, in the twentieth century, could be built only upon the foundation of a large-scale industry. He demanded and received from the Russian people a support that required the sacrifice of an immediate improvement in the standard of living for the creation of a vast system of state capitalism, furnishing the new Russia with power to make herself felt in the world. Huge hydroelectric plants at Dneprostroi and huge steel plants at Magnitogorsk in the Urals were symbols of the new industrialization.

THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

The industrialization was accompanied by the bold and essentially cruel collectivization of agriculture. The Russian peasant, when once freed from serfdom in 1861, had been encouraged in his hope to own land by being permitted to pay for its use through the intermediary of the village community, the *mir*. This he had fully taken advantage of.

The payments to the government for the use of this land had ceased in 1905. Because Lenin had encouraged the seizure of the land during the Revolution of 1917 the peasants supported the Bolsheviks. They had been the means of expropriating land from the aristocracy and turning it over to the peasants. This was a recapitulation of the French Revolution, when peasants supported revolution because it increased the amount of land they owned.⁴¹ But now Stalin was demanding the industrialization of agriculture, the formation of huge estates by co-operative effort, the pooling of individual holdings into vast agglomerations which could be cultivated by the tractor and harvested by the combine. Such a program was resisted by the important class of rich, land-owning peasants (the *kulaks*) who cultivated their estates by hiring poor, landless peasants. Stalin merely used force. They were "liquidated." That is, they were arrested, sent to concentration camps, starved, and murdered. Thus a dictatorship of the proletariat could now be built upon the large group of workers created by the speedy industrialization of the Russian economy and the large group of peasants working on the mechanized collectives and state farms. This program, carried through with utter ruthlessness, furnished the power which, with great Allied aid, enabled the Red army to repel the German power and push forward into Central Europe, where it remains to this day. Victory in World War II brought Stalin's Russia as the leader of eastern Europe face to face with a western Europe supported by the U.S.A.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST THEORY

This transformation can be traced in the realm of theory as well as fact. The basic tenets of Russian communism are those of Marx's and Engels's socialism⁴² completely divorced from any willingness to trust in the democratic process and hostile to the liberal individualism of the West. Marxism, of course, based upon an analysis of early industrial England, had to be made applicable to agricultural Russia. In his book on imperialism (1916) Lenin also fitted Marxism more neatly into the age of imperialism. From 1789 to 1871, he thought, the bourgeoisie triumphed in western Europe, and feudalism was destroyed. But from 1871 to 1914 the inner contradictions which Marx had pointed to in fully developed capitalism were bringing about the decline of the bourgeoisie and causing, beginning with 1914, a period of "imperialist convulsions" that was to bring capitalism to an end. The imperialist age was marked by the growth of monopoly. International finance brought together the giant corporations and banks under essentially the same management. Excess capital was now exported and the world was divided among the capitalists. "Imperialism is the progressive oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers. It is an epoch

⁴¹See p. 352.

⁴²See pp. 573 ff.

of wars among them for the widening and strengthening of national oppression.”⁴³ The proletariat now included the “toiling masses of the backward countries.” World War I was a “consequence of the development of international capitalism.” Just as “competition among individual enterprises makes it inevitable for entrepreneurs either to become ruined or to ruin others, so competition between individual countries places before each of them the alternative of either remaining behind . . . or ruining and conquering other countries.” Imperialism is dialectically determined. The proletariat must oppose these imperialist wars—made by the capitalists for their own gain. They must endeavor to turn them into civil wars that will result in a proletarian victory. In time of war the task of the Communist is “to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism” and to “turn the period of imperialist war into the beginning of a period of civil wars.” “Imperialism will inevitably explode.”

STATE AND PARTY

Marx had talked about the dictatorship of the proletariat that was to introduce a Utopian age when there would be no classes and no state. After the Revolution of 1917 Lenin was not so sure when the state would wither away. “To proclaim in advance the dying away of the state” would be “a violation of historical perspective.” In August and September of 1917, while waiting for the right moment to carry out his coup d’état, Lenin wrote his *State and Revolution*. Here he points out that the Revolution cannot bring the state to an end. It will have to continue as the dictatorship of the proletariat, “a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie.” The power acquired by the proletariat in the Revolution will be “power which is unrestricted by any laws.” To exercise this power there must be an “iron party.” “Not a single organizational question is decided by any state institution without the guiding instructions of the Central Committee of the Party.” But the Party need not always be too consistent or dogmatic. “To reject compromise on principle is childish.” To gain power the Communist Party must know “how to combine the strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism with an ability to make all the practical compromises—to talk, make agreements, zig-zag retreats and so on.”

Stalin adapted Marxism to the ancient tradition of Byzantine autocracy maintained by the tsars. He abandoned the notion that the success of the Revolution in Russia depended upon its international success. He preferred to build up socialism first in Russia (“Socialism in One Country”) in order that Russia could help it to prevail elsewhere. Lenin had said in 1920, “As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully—the one or the other will be the victor in the end.” Trotsky favored the speedy promotion of revolution in Europe.

⁴³T. B. Brameld, *A Philosophic Approach to Communism*, Chap. vi.

But Stalin's insistence upon building first at home carried the Party with him. The rapid industrialization which he then promoted increased the power of the state. This made it less likely than ever, as he well realized, that it would wither away.

COMMUNISM, THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY, AND NATIONALISM

Rapid growth of industry, Stalin felt, had to be accompanied by the collectivization of agriculture because the new large proletariat had to be fed, and this was the way to feed it most efficiently. The rich peasants who resisted were really a capitalistic opposition that would have to go. Stalin found socialist ideas of the classless society unworkable. The idea of equality in wages was given up in 1931, and the very idea of equality itself pronounced a heresy of the middle class. Ranks subsequently began to appear in the party and state bureaucracy. As the international character of communism was less emphasized, so pride in the accomplishment of rapid reform, especially the feat of industrialization, awakened a Communist nationalism which World War II has enhanced. "The Russian people has created the most abundant culture: it has given the world a whole constellation of great scholars, writers, composers, artists, thinkers, and inventors. Russia became the home of Leninism, that peak of the world's science and civilization. The Russian people gave mankind that thinker of highest genius, Lenin. . . . The Russian working class has played an eminent rôle in the history of all mankind. It was the first in the world to carry through a soviet revolution, and thereby to institute a new era. . . . The great Soviet Union is today on the march as the advance guard of the whole of progressive humanity." "Latin was the language of antiquity and of the early Middle Ages. French was the language of feudalism. English became the language of imperialism. And if we look into the future, we see the Russian language emerging as the world language of Socialism."⁴⁴

ENDS AND MEANS IN EAST AND WEST

Marxian socialism, when adapted to liberal western industrial capitalistic society, produced a theory of democratic socialism and helped to transform the middle-class liberal state into the democratic welfare state. When adapted to autocratic eastern (Russian) agricultural and essentially noncapitalistic society, it produced the theory of revolutionary communism and destroyed the autocratic state of the tsars for the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the state. The West sought to create a society in which all individuals might have the opportunity to realize their capacities for a good and happy life. As a means to this end it used the machinery of the democratic state: representative government, a multiple-party system, and government by persuasion, compromise, and

⁴⁴Quoted in K. Mehnert, *Stalin versus Marx*, pp. 31-32, 64.

consent. Russian Communists talked less in terms of the free and autonomous, developing, and expanding individual and more in terms of the proletariat as a whole. In promoting the interests of the proletariat they used the machinery of soviet representation, directed by the single, autocratically organized party, resulting in the dictatorship of the Party over state machinery and a government based ultimately on force, the ruthless implementation of programs decided by the highest authority, and the liquidation of opposition, whether individual, group, or class, at whatever human cost. The western state was held to uphold civil liberties, the freedom of the individual to believe what he thought best, to speak out his belief in word or in print, and to gather together with others for this purpose. Truth was thought to come from this constant exchange and argument of opinion. To the artist was left the freedom to express himself as he saw fit, without any necessary adherence to official doctrine.

The Communist theory recognizes no freedom of the individual, only the freedom of the highest authority in the Party to come to what conclusions it thinks best and to use the machinery of state, Party, and police to impose these decisions. There are no civil liberties. The autocracy of the Party dictator has supplanted the autocracy of the tsar, and truth is thought of first as a kind of dogma or theology based upon the Marxian bible as interpreted by the Party Fathers (Lenin, Stalin) or applied by the Politburo to the needs of the moment. Truth is a matter for those who have become high priests of the Party ultimately to decide. For the ordinary mortal or believer it is necessary only to accept on faith or suffer the horrors of an inquisitorial secret police. Communist theory and practice can tolerate no freedom for the artist, scholar, and scientist to think and experiment as they please. There is no art for art's sake, no free literature. The talents of artists must be used to maintain and make illustrious the dictatorship, celebrate its accomplishments, and promote enthusiasm for its aims. A revolution based on the dictatorship of worker and peasant cannot permit its musicians, painters, and poets to write music, paint pictures, and write poems which the people cannot understand, no matter how brilliant and original an art they may be creating for themselves and their fellow artists. Composers and writers must use the materials of the music and literature of the people, folk song, folk dance, and folk tale, in writing their symphonies, operas, and novels. They must emphasize melody the masses can sing and whistle, set in a harmony that is pleasing, and not cultivate the latest incomprehensible outrage in harmonic extreme. The painter must deal realistically with real people, real events, and moving human situations, and not escape into the world of abstraction. The Communist dictators of the arts speak in terms of the necessity for a "socialist realism" to take the place of the western, capitalistic, bourgeois "formalism." And if biologists say that acquired characteristics are not inherited and that therefore the new man created by Soviet society cannot pass on his newly acquired virtues to his chil-

dren, they are simply wrong, no matter what the laboratory may establish—at least until politically corrected.

The Eastern Response to Imperialism

EAST AND WEST A GLOBAL ISSUE

The issue between West and East in the twentieth century is first of all whether the liberal-humanistic-democratic tradition or the revolutionary-communistic-ascetic tradition is to prevail. The outcome of this issue depends upon whether large-scale capitalistic industry or large-scale socialistic industry can best supply the means of the good life for the majority of Europeans. It depends also on the extent to which Europeans are willing to defend the various liberties, political, economic, social, and intellectual, that they have won in bitter struggles over the course of the centuries. The West and East issue has become, however, global as well as European. In its extra-European aspects much more is involved than the form of large-scale industry or democratic liberties. The whole question of the welfare of the peoples of the globe is raised.

IMPERIALISM AND THE VITALITY OF CIVILIZATION

In the course of its growth western European civilization had developed two unlovely movements, imperialism and exaggerated patriotism or nationalism. The West had almost acquired the habit of developing democracy internally without being able to export it to its colonies or dependencies, thus destroying the very essence of the democratic idea. Athens had also developed a democratic polity for the city-state, but it was unable to preserve the democratic character of the Delian League, which became its empire.⁴⁵ The failure was in part responsible for the defeat of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War and the decline in vigor of Athenian culture in the fourth century. Rome's early development as a city-state took a democratic form, but as Rome acquired a Mediterranean empire she failed to extend her local democracy abroad. The final result was that her local internal democracy was ruined, and Roman civilization went to pieces. Western civilization has been from its very start expansive. Beginning with the voyages of discovery and exploration, that expansiveness went beyond Europe. As the western European nations acquired democracy at home they also failed to extend it to their overseas empires. The United States is, in part, the result of such a failure. The nineteenth century was a great imperialistic age, drawing Africa and Asia into the European orbit, but as the western nations became more and more democratic the contrast between their internal and their imperialistic policies became glaring. Would undemocratic imperial-

⁴⁵See Vol. I, Chap. vi.

ism do to western civilization what it had done to Roman and Athenian civilization?

THE TWO KINDS OF NATIONALISM

Western nationalism assumed two forms. There was the early nationalism of Italy and Germany, demanding freedom for the nation from an alien domination. There was also the kind of nationalism which assumed the superiority of one's own nation and the inferiority of all others, a superiority that gave the right to govern others, and to suppress, if necessary, their national desires to be free. This was the kind of feeling that Aristotle used to justify the enslavement by superior Greeks of inferior barbarians. The failure of western nations to extend their internal democracy to their empires was justified in terms of this second kind of nationalism. Superior nations were the natural rulers of inferior nations, and the desire of inferior nations to govern themselves (the first form of western nationalism) did not need be taken seriously until there was actual revolt. The colonial revolt came in the twentieth century. It was made in the name of nationalism against the white man's imperialism, itself the expression of the snobbish kind of western nationalism. But in a real sense this was a revolt of the West's better self (the desire for national liberty spread to the world) against the West's worse self (the superior, nationalistic denial of liberty to others).

THE TWO KINDS OF NATIONALISM

The Russian Communists made a great point of denouncing western imperialism in theory, and after 1917 in fact, by granting cultural autonomy to the subject nationalities in their state (as long as they were willing to be a part of Communist Russia) and by offering support to revolting colonials everywhere when fighting to be rid of controls, limitations, and governments of western nations. The western nations have not been so enthusiastic in welcoming the prospective dissolution of their own empires. They have tended to wait until there was nothing else they could do but grant freedom to colonials and have thus opened themselves to the criticism that western democracy, unlike western goods in general, was a theory for local consumption and not for export. This was a matter of sensitivity not only for primitive peoples, who felt themselves exploited by a colonial capitalism whose profits went to absentee owners far across the seas, but to old, rich civilizations, such as those of India and China, that did not feel called upon to apologize for what they had wrought and, in fact, were inclined in many respects to feel superior to the West. The Russian Communists and native Communists in the revolting countries thus acquired a special following in supporting native nationalism against western imperialism. What the West had to offer that the Communists did not have to offer was a science, technology, and industry—and capital to put them into practice—that alone could assist overpopulated, poverty-stricken

peasant societies such as India and China to raise their standards of living. The global issue of West and East thus went beyond the questions of the character of large-scale industry and of human freedoms. It asked whether the West could support democracy in its empires and in the world as enthusiastically as it did at home, and whether it could abandon its egoistic nationalism for a generous support of the nationalisms of colonial and other peoples of the world. The undemocratic character of communism seemed to be justified in the eyes of the exploited peoples of the world, not only by its destruction of such an autocratic and imperialistic state as tsarist Russia, but by its condemnation of imperialism of any kind and its support of rebellious nationalisms anywhere. The democratic character of the West seemed to be undermined in the eyes of the exploited peoples of the world by its willingness at times to support fascism, its reluctance to give up its colonial rule, and its apparent inability to sympathize with those peoples who were only trying to do what it had tried to do: live the decent life of free men. Nationalism in Asia was thus often associated with revolution, whether Communist or not.

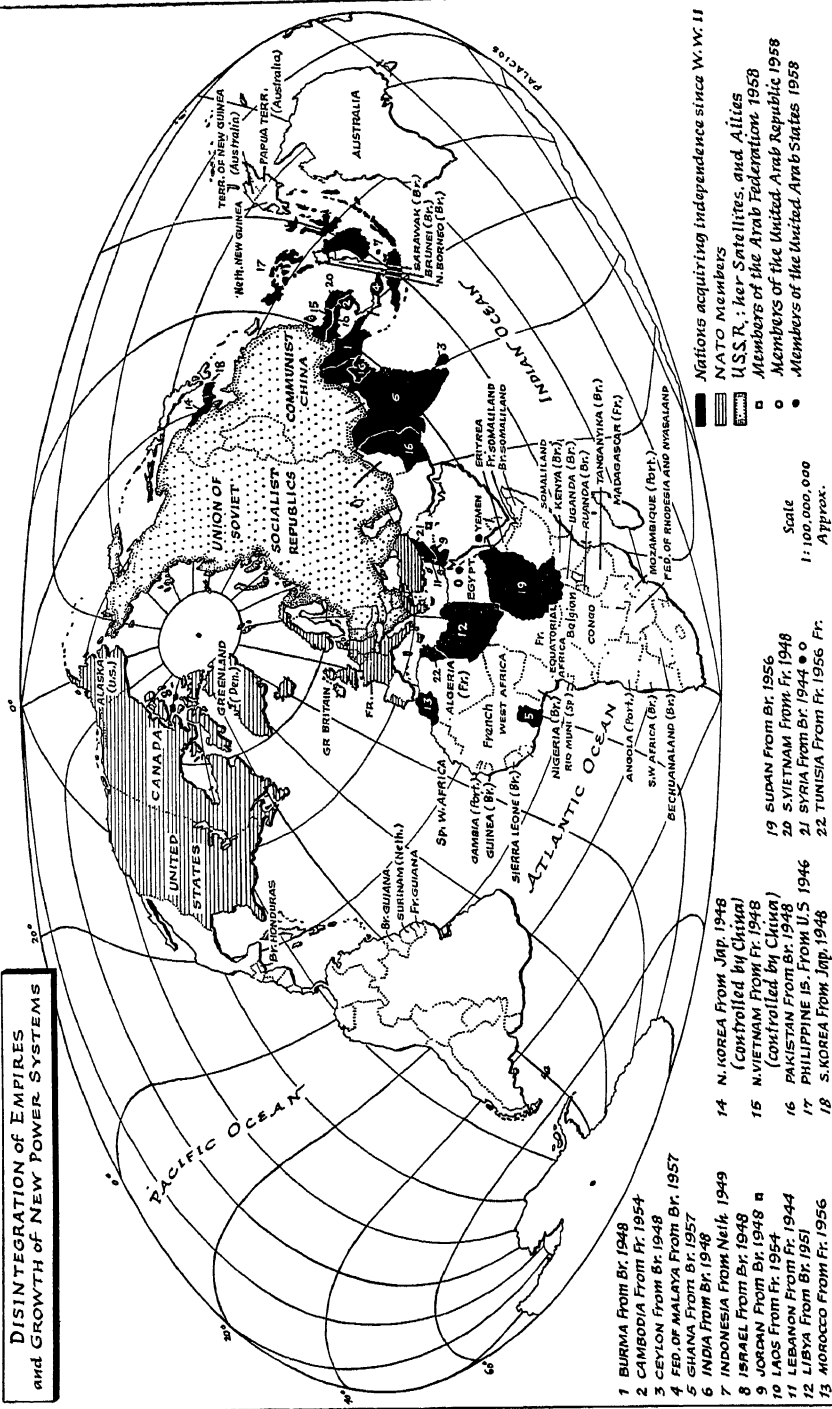
THE WESTERNIZATION OF TURKEY

Young Turks tried to stop the imperialistic dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in 1908 by a revolution in Constantinople aiming to establish a national state upon a parliamentary basis. This dissolution became all the more threatening after World War I (in which the Turks joined Germany) when Greeks, Italians, French, and British together pounced upon the enemy. Turkey was saved through the efforts of Mustapha Kemal, who, with help from Communist Russia, preserved the national boundaries of Turkey, drove off the attackers, and sought to westernize and modernize his people by establishing a democratic republic (1923) with its capital at Ankara. He abolished the caliphate, moreover, and other Mohammedan practices emphasizing the isolation of his people. The result is that Turkey became a strong member of the western alliance and the recipient of United States aid both in military equipment and in the founding of institutions, such as universities, upon the western model.

ARAB NATIONALISM

The Arab and Mohammedan world of the Middle East and North Africa, breaking its slim connections with the Ottoman Empire, has been stimulated by nationalisms hostile to the western powers and to a striking settlement of western civilization in its midst, the nationalist Jewish state of Israel. Arab, Berber, and Egyptian nationalism in Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, and Egypt is forcing the French and English empires to make concessions granting a larger measure of self-government, and in the case of Egypt abandoning British military occupation and the guarding of the Suez Canal. The Egyptian nationalization of the canal (1956) met with the support of the whole Arab world. The new state of Israel (1948), to

**DISINTEGRATION OF EMPIRES
and GROWTH OF NEW POWER SYSTEMS**



many the denial of the universalism of the Jewish prophets, is the product of eastern and western persecution of the Jew. Richly supported by the surplus wealth of western, especially American, Jewry, it has settled in the midst of a feudal Arab society, many of whose members it expropriated, a modern, highly civilized western state, which has set out to turn the desert into a garden and redeem man's inhumanity to man with hope and security. The rich cultural life of Israel has already begun to filter back into the West.

PERSIAN NATIONALISM

As early as 1906 the Persians had won a parliament from their shah, and in subsequent years they succeeded in undoing the partition of their country into spheres of influence by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.⁴⁶ For Persian nationalists the important problem was to secure a larger share of the profits from oil refineries that had been turned over to foreign (largely British) companies to exploit. As a symbol of the new Persia, the state was called Iran after 1935. Elsewhere in the Middle East, oil resources, as for example in Saudi Arabia, were in the hands of foreign (chiefly American) oil companies, which paid to the feudal dignitaries of these states rich royalties, used conspicuously in the purchase of expensive automobiles and other western gadgets. The large problem associated with these Arabian principalities is whether the profits from oil cannot be distributed a little more widely than to the households of Arab princes.

INDIAN NATIONALISM

The mighty British Empire of the early modern period was transformed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into the British Commonwealth, consisting of Britain and formerly dependent, but now independent, colonies: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. The establishment of empire in India had been at the cost of the French in the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ A private trading company, The British East India Company, was then made an instrument of imperial government. India is a land of ancient cultures—Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic. It has developed a literature and an art of a quality it considers as high as that developed by any people. Its general outlook is essentially religious, and its conception of society organic. For the Hindu the business of life is so to escape its imperfections and miseries that, as the result of higher and higher reincarnations, one may achieve the desireless and blessed mystical state of nirvana. Indian society was based upon the extraordinary notion of caste—a hereditary status guaranteeing the divine perfection of society in accordance with the position to which the gods have assigned mankind. The great leader of Indian nationalism against the British was Mohandas Gandhi, the "Holy One," or Mahatma.

⁴⁶See pp. 656-657.

⁴⁷See pp. 324-326.

Gandhi, who from his residence in South Africa as a lawyer understood well the white man's snobbery against the colored man, was influenced by Christianity and such writers as Tolstoy and Thoreau but would have nothing of western industrialism or government. Its industrialism would destroy the native crafts upon which Indian civilization was built, and its government was an indignity no civilized Indian could tolerate. Gandhi was not an activist. He promoted revolution without actually organizing it, preferring the methods of the pacifist, the refusal to go along, civil disobedience, and the use of the boycott. He was willing to dramatize the inequity of British rule by prolonged personal fasts. In the end, a martyr of Indian nationalism, he was murdered (1948) by a fanatic who opposed his policy toward the Moslems. Gandhi provoked and stimulated a resistance which the British could not cope with. They who had, as a matter of fact, done much for India were confronted with the prospective revolt of Indian troops at the end of World War II. To win the support of these troops they promised dominion status at the end of the year, and it came in 1947. But the Hindus and Moslems of India were not able to work out an arrangement which would permit their sharing a common dominion status. The result was a Hindu Republic of India, a Moslem Dominion of Pakistan, and a third Dominion of Ceylon. The leader of the new Republic of India, a devout follower of Gandhi, was the socialist Jawaharlal Nehru. A man of exceptional intelligence and sensitivity, he did not pretend either to follow the Communist or the western policy, but, as a neutralist, preferred to work out a course of action which under all the circumstances seemed right for India. This meant an abandonment of the caste system and a compromise with native Indian capitalists. It is difficult for a westerner to see how a civilization that has produced such degrading poverty and such outrageous superstition can ennoble itself while still retaining a religious outlook that preaches the ascetic escape from an evil world and the withdrawal into an inner mystical world of contemplation. The westerner may derive some hope from similar experiences in the past of his own civilization. There was a time when the western world learned from its Christian theologians that the world was so evil a dwelling place that the only hope for the human being was an escape to the realm beyond. But such ascetic abandonment of the hard problems of this earth he has learned to reject. He has become impatient with the evils in this world, if not with those in himself.

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN

The problem of West and East in the Far East in the twentieth century was complicated by the fact that Japan, in order to protect herself from the imperialism of western nations, adopted their own methods of becoming strong, and in so doing became one of the great powers of the globe, imperialistic and nationalistic⁴⁸ to the extreme. The Japanese had been

⁴⁸See E. O. Reischauer, *Japan, Past and Present*.

first civilized by the Chinese and preferred, in the early modern centuries, to keep themselves relatively isolated from the outside world. With a display of naval force, the American Commodore Perry demanded in July, 1853, that this isolation be abandoned, and returned in the following year to make treaties opening up Japan to western trade. Subsequent and similar treaties with England, Russia, and Holland widened this crack in the wall and subjected Japan's tariff policy to foreign control. These were not methods calculated to create among the Japanese love for western ways. In 1862 England, France, Holland, and the United States used military force to support demands upon offending Japanese lords of Satsuma and Choshu that the central government of Japan was unable to secure. These events made an impression upon the Japanese ruling classes, who then decided that if they were to protect themselves from further western encroachments and to build up their strength as a nation they would have to reform their feudal system of government and society and modernize their country with western science, technology, industry, government, and other institutions adaptable to the Japanese outlook. Within a decade feudalism was destroyed in Japan. A system of universal military service was instituted in 1872-1873 and the Japanese army built upon the German model. A new constitution of 1889 retained the divine right of the emperors and set up a Diet of two houses, one a house of lords and the other a parliament chosen by an electorate that gradually increased until the adoption of universal manhood suffrage after World War I and woman suffrage after World War II. The new government introduced a system of universal education calculated to drill into its students the proper political attitudes. It supported a speedy industrialization, which in turn made possible a rapid rise in population. After World War I politics assumed a liberal cast, and it looked as if Japan might develop into the first Far Eastern democracy.

JAPANESE FASCISM

The political picture changed rapidly in the 1930's in a way similar to the development of fascism in central and western Europe. Japan was taken over by her militarists, who were supported by an indoctrinated peasantry, and by nationalist, and ultimately by business, groups. Liberal party government was destroyed, the Diet "reduced to little more than an impotent and very timorous debating society," and, if necessary, political opponents simply assassinated, while criticism was silenced. It was this ruthless military kind of fascism that took Japan into the series of imperialistic ventures that eventually led to her fall in 1945.

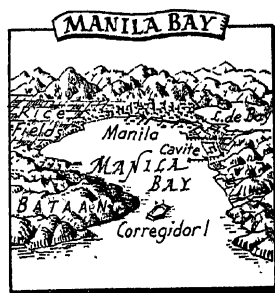
JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

Japan, having in the nineteenth century become the strongest and best educated nation of the Far East, with a growing industry and population and enjoying a high standard of living, had early decided upon an im-

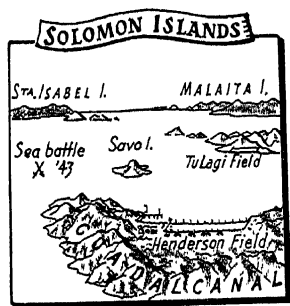


JAPAN'S CONQUESTS

1905-1942



Ratze



JAPAN'S DEFEAT

1942-1945

perialist career in eastern Asia. She opened up Korea to her trade in much the same way as she had been opened up by the United States. In 1894 she fought China over the control of Korea and won. The treaty of peace (Shimonoseki) brought the Japanese a large indemnity, abandoned Korea to them, and yielded Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula, (the southern tip of Manchuria). But protests of Russia, Germany, and France obliged the Japanese to return, all unwillingly, the Liaotung Peninsula to China. When three years later (1898) Russia joined with Germany, France, and England in a further appropriation of Chinese territory, and secured a lease on this very Liaotung Peninsula the Japanese had been forced to disgorge, it became clear to Japanese imperialists who was blocking their country's expansion in Manchuria.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR AND WORLD WAR I

In 1899 Japan managed to get rid of the rights of European nations to extraterritoriality, that is, their insistence upon having their nationals and territory abroad subject only to their own law. In 1902, in a great diplomatic departure for the West, came the Anglo-Japanese alliance directed against Russia, and in 1904-1905 the Russo-Japanese War. As they were to do subsequently at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese attacked Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula without a declaration of war. They defeated the Russians at Mukden and destroyed the Russian fleet when it arrived in the Tsushima Strait, after sailing all the way around Africa from the Baltic to get there. In the peace signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, upon the mediation of Theodore Roosevelt, Japan received once again the Liaotung Peninsula with Port Arthur, railways Russia had been allowed by the Chinese to build in southern Manchuria, a recognition of her position in Korea, and the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. For the first time a westernized Far Eastern nation had defeated a great European power, and the subjects of European empires took note. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea. In 1911 she got rid of all limitations Europeans had put upon her tariffs. In 1914 Japan entered World War I on the side of the Allies against Germany, and in the course of it took over German holdings in China and in the North Pacific: Tsingtao and the Marianas, Carolines, and Marshalls. These gains were recognized by the peace conference at Versailles, where Japan sat as a great power. At the Washington Conference (1921-1922) a liberal Japan gave her consent to the principle of the territorial integrity of China and returned to China Tsingtao and the territory around Kiaochow Bay that had once belonged to Germany.

The militarists who were taking over Japan in the 1930's began a formidable imperialist march in 1931 with the conquest of Manchuria, which they then set up as the Japanese satellite kingdom of Manchukuo. If, at this time, the great powers of the world had intervened to stop this brutal aggression, Japanese imperialism might have been stopped in

its tracks in the same way that an intervention of the powers might well have stopped Hitler in the 1930's when he first violated the Treaty of Versailles by marching into the Rhineland. But the powers only went so far as to refuse to recognize Manchukuo, whereupon the Japanese withdrew from the League of Nations. In the following year they prepared to take over northern China before the Chinese Nationalist movement could consolidate its hold upon the north. In 1936-1937 fascist Japan allied with fascist Germany and Italy. In 1937 war broke out between Japan and a China torn by a civil war between the Nationalist government (Kuomintang) and the Chinese Communists. Before the outbreak of World War II Japan had occupied northern China from the frontier of Outer Mongolia to the Yangtze River, including such cities as Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao, Shanghai, Nanking, and Hankow. In 1940, after the fall of France, she went into French Indo-China. When confronted with economic blockade by the western allies, the Japanese militarists decided to take the big chance with their desperate and successful air attack on the American navy at Pearl Harbor (7 December, 1941). While the Americans were recovering, the Japanese took over the Philippines, Burma, Malaya, and the Netherlands Indies (1942). In 1943 the American navy was able to take the offensive in a reconquest of the Pacific Islands. The seizure of Okinawa and Iwo Jima made possible the bombing of Japan, and with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima (6 August, 1945) and Nagasaki (9 August, 1945) and the Russian declaration of war upon Japan, the Japanese surrendered (14 August, 1945). Japan was occupied by American troops under General MacArthur. The big imperialistic gamble of Japanese militarists had failed, and what was to come of this nation no one could yet tell. The beneficent reforms of American military government and the continuing Russian threat have brought about for the time being an attitude that is pro-American.

CHINESE NATIONALISM

If western imperialism aroused Japanese opposition, together with the imperialism of Japan, it aroused Chinese nationalism by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. China, at the moment when western powers began to exert pressure for territorial and commercial privileges, was governed by a hated and decaying Manchu dynasty. It was the policy of the West to maintain this dynasty on the throne in order to have a government capable of legalizing in treaty form the concessions demanded by the West after petty imperialistic wars. Two such wars, the Opium War of 1841 and a war of England and France with China in 1857, combined to saddle upon the Chinese nation a group of special concessions to foreigners. Not only were new ports opened to western trade (previously Canton alone had been open) but foreign nations were permitted to own and govern settlements of

their own in treaty ports, and as in Japan and elsewhere foreigners were subject to the jurisdiction only of their own law (extraterritoriality). The Manchu dynasty was supplied with income to pay foreign indemnities and maintain itself by means of a 5 per cent tariff that was in the control of foreigners. It thus had no control over its commercial policy. A British treaty of 1843 established the "most-favored-nation clause," guaranteeing to any country the privileges secured by another. "Thus, China, instead of being conquered and made a colony by one nation, became virtually the international colony of all nations which had merchant ships to send to China and gunboats to accompany them."⁴⁹ While the Russians were establishing their Maritime Province behind Vladivostok, the English annexing Burma, and the French building up an empire in Indo-China, the Japanese, as we have seen, established priorities in Korea and annexed Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula, but they were obliged to disgorge the latter. When the Chinese began to prepare for a westernization like the Japanese in order to ward off further losses of territory and rights, western powers made another assault upon China in 1898. The Germans got a long lease on Kiachow Bay and established their priority in the Shantung Peninsula, the French secured Kwangchow, the British Weihaiwei (they already had Hong Kong), and the Russians demanded a lease on the Liaotung Peninsula (Port Arthur) and railroad concessions in Manchuria. At the same time, in order to stave off a final partition of China into foreign colonies and spheres of interest, the United States proposed the policy of "open door" in 1899. This was to demand the preservation of China's independence and boundaries and to permit no nation to establish exclusive privileges for itself. Every nation in China must keep its doors open to the trade and commerce of all nations.

THE BOXER REBELLION

In 1900 the dynasty managed to turn the rebellion of a secret Boxer Society from itself against the foreigners, resulting in the murders of missionaries and Chinese Christians and attacks upon foreigners and legations in Peking. An international army, European, American, and Japanese, intervened to put down the rebellion. The result was a still-tighter control upon Chinese finances and the assessment of a \$330,000,000 indemnity upon the Chinese, the balance of which was subsequently remitted by most of the powers concerned to be used by China to send students abroad.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF 1911

The Chinese national, anti-Manchu, and anti-western revolution came in 1911 under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang Party.

⁴⁹Owen and Eleanor Lattimore, *China, A Short History*.

It led to the fall of the dynasty, the establishment of a Chinese Republic, and the attempt to establish a modern national state, if not on the basis of western political democracy, then on a popular and social-welfare basis. Many of the revolutionary leaders were in close touch with Russia after 1917, and when the western powers refused to abandon their treaty privileges at the Versailles peace conference, the relations between revolutionary China and revolutionary Russia became especially close. Russian advisers and military aid went to China, the Russians gave up their extraterritorial privileges, and a Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1921. Communists entered the Kuomintang, and non-Communists like Chiang Kai-shek went to Russia to study.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

It was Chiang who became the revolutionary leader after the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925. He broke with the Chinese Communists and Russia, and civil war began in 1927. For the next ten years Chiang made desperate attempts to unify and modernize the country with western industry, technology, medicine, and a program to diminish illiteracy. He convinced the Americans and the British that they should abandon their extraterritoriality and other privileges limiting Chinese sovereignty. When the Japanese began their attack on China in 1931 with the annexation of Manchuria and northeastern China, it was Chiang who became the symbol of the national resistance. An end was made to civil war in 1936, and, as the Chinese-Japanese war merged into World War II, the Japanese were stalled in their conquest of China.

THE SUCCESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS UNDER MAO TSE-TUNG

After World War II the civil war was resumed. The Kuomintang, originally a combination of national revolutionaries of varying views, tended to become a right-wing party of landlords, army officers, and substantial business interests exercising authoritarian control and wanting no radical, social, or economic revolution. Under these circumstances the Chinese Communists, under the direction of Mao Tse-tung, were enabled, by appeals to the peasantry (and China was 80 per cent peasant), by a redivision of the land, and by tending to compromise their Marxism with forward-looking business interests, to win a mounting popular support sufficient to defeat the Kuomintang armies and force Chiang to withdraw to Formosa. That Chinese communism could take over nationalism in an anti-imperialistic and anticapitalistic movement was no less extraordinary than the original Russian revolution.

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The defeat of Japan in World War II brought new demands upon the former colonies of European nations. They had now to make sure that these former rulers would not return and resume their old ways.

The British managed to keep their hold on Malaya, but they were obliged to recognize the full independence of Burma, which they had annexed in 1886. In the course of World War I the Dutch had set up an advisory assembly, composed half of natives, to help the governor general of the Netherlands Indies. The French had formed a similar assembly in Indo-China in 1922, and the United States in the Philippines in 1916. The Dutch assembly in 1937 requested dominion status within ten years, and the Dutch finally consented in 1949. Holland recognized an independent republic, the United States of Indonesia, under the loose sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. But since this time the United States of Indonesia has become the completely independent Republic of Indonesia (1954). The Communists under Ho Chi-minh (Viet Minh) seized North Indo-China from the French in 1954 and left South Indo-China (Viet Nam), Laos, and Cambodia in a precarious independence. The United States granted Philippine independence on 4 July, 1946.

The fortunes of the West in the colonial world beyond Europe depend upon the speed with which it can redeem its imperialist and nationalist past by a generous support of the new nationalisms of former colonial peoples. When with their help the desperate problems of overpopulation, extreme poverty, disease, and ignorance are overcome, grateful peoples will be able and willing to consider and evaluate for themselves the nobler aspects of the history of the liberal-humanistic tradition and compare their future prospects for the good life under its inspiration with those under Communist direction. If the love of human freedom remains deep, there is no reason for westerners to fear the outcome.

The United Nations

HOPES FOR PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The western world has always yearned for the restoration of the Roman Peace (*Pax Romana*), and that yearning has been strengthened by Christianity's doctrine of human brotherhood. Christianity's hopes for peace, however, the Christian Peace (*Pax Christiana*), have always been centered in a heavenly future. Western man's constant resort to war, with its attendant slaughter and devastation, had led to periodic revulsions of shame and guilt finding expression in a renewed determination to realize hopes for a universal peace. The calamity of World War I helped to produce the League of Nations. Its chances of becoming an effective instrument of peace were foiled by the refusal of the United States to join and by subsequent failure to deal with Italian aggression in Ethiopia and Japanese aggression in Manchuria. The human costs of World War II, wider in its global extent and more horrible in its weapons, seemed to be justified only if the failure of the League could be made good by a stronger institution of the same sort.

THE UNITED NATIONS

A conference of fifty nations gathered in San Francisco in April, 1945, to organize the United Nations. They declared in the Preamble of its charter that they were "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." They wanted "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." For these ends they proposed "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples."

THE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCILS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The new institution, establishing itself in buildings of stark and efficient beauty in a former slum area of New York City, set out on the heroic task of bringing peace and hope to a war-torn world. This time the United States was a member, together with all the major powers whose co-operation was necessary. The increase in membership was so rapid that the time could be seen when all the nations of the globe would belong. The chief organ of the United Nations is the Assembly, representing all the member nations. It is a kind of parliament of mankind. It cannot pass legislation to govern the members of a federal world state, for the United Nations is no such government, but it can take action in the form of resolutions on the events of the world that endanger the peace. These resolutions have the moral force of world public opinion, whose hostility no nation, however powerful, wishes to incur. The Assembly controls the activities of the three leading councils of the United Nations. The Security Council deals with immediate and current threats to peace and is controlled by the great powers, each of whom can keep it from acting by the use of a veto. There are, in addition, an Economic and Social Council to deal with these phases of the world's unhappiness and a Trusteeship Council to supervise the administration of colonial peoples and support their advance to full independence.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE UN

The United Nations works through its own Assembly and councils to be sure, but it attacks the fundamental causes for world unrest through a number of specialized agencies which, while possessing their own

organizations, are affiliated with the UN. The number and character of these reveal how large and complex the problem of peace is, and how far the nations have to go before even the basic necessities and decencies of civilized existence can be given to the great majority of the earth's peoples. Such an agency as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has to contend with the fact that a majority of mankind is still undernourished. The World Health Organization (WHO) has to deal with such obstacles to world peace as that three hundred million people annually suffer from malaria and about three million die from it. This is but one of the many very serious diseases afflicting the human race, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, and yaws, the last a crippling disease of tropical climates that can easily be cured with one treatment of penicillin. The World Health Organization wants to give "all people" the highest possible level of health, and what it means by health is a "state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." This health is "one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social conditions."

In a world where there is still slavery and forced labor, such an agency as the International Labor Organization (ILO) has much to do before it can promote the high standards of living sought by the most efficient trade-union organizations of the world. In a world where illiteracy still prevails and "less than half the world's children go to school," it is impossible to promote ideals of peace, progress, and human rights without teaching a great deal of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognizes in the preamble to its constitution that without a huge transformation in these respects, peace in the world rests upon weak foundations. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war." "The great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races." "The wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern." "Peace must . . . be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."⁵⁰ The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), after

⁵⁰D. C. Coyle, *The United Nations and How It Works* (New American Library), p. 34.

devoting itself first to the children whom the war had victimized, has now turned to help those living in countries with an especially low standard of living.

An International Court of Justice takes the place of the former Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, and handles cases brought before it by nations observing its Statute, itself a part of the charter of the UN. The large body of international agencies associated with the UN is further increased by such organizations as the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and the International Trade Organization (ITO).

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations has thus not only tried to develop the methods and create the machinery for solving the problems and correcting the conditions that lead to war. It has sought to establish the principles in accordance with which these problems are to be solved. It has even dared, in a document called the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to set before mankind the goal it has to reach before it can rest content. This document, a continuation of those Declarations of the Rights of Man which preceded the American state and federal and the French national constitutions,⁵¹ is also a noble summary of the accomplishments and aspirations of peoples who have remained loyal to the liberal-humanistic-democratic tradition of the West. The document speaks of the "inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family." "The advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want" is called "the highest aspiration of the common people." The Declaration wants to set up its articles as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." Among these are:

Article I: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article III: Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and the security of person.

Article IV: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article V: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article VII: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.

⁵¹See pp. 327 ff., 346-347.

Article IX: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.

Article X: Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article XII: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article XIII: Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article XVIII: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article XIX: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article XXI: Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. . . . The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government: this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article XXII: Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization . . . of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article XXIII: Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article XXV: Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability,

widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. . . .

Article XXVI: Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Article XXVII: Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Article XXVIII: Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article XXIX: Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

In the exercise of his rights and freedoms everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of security, due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society.

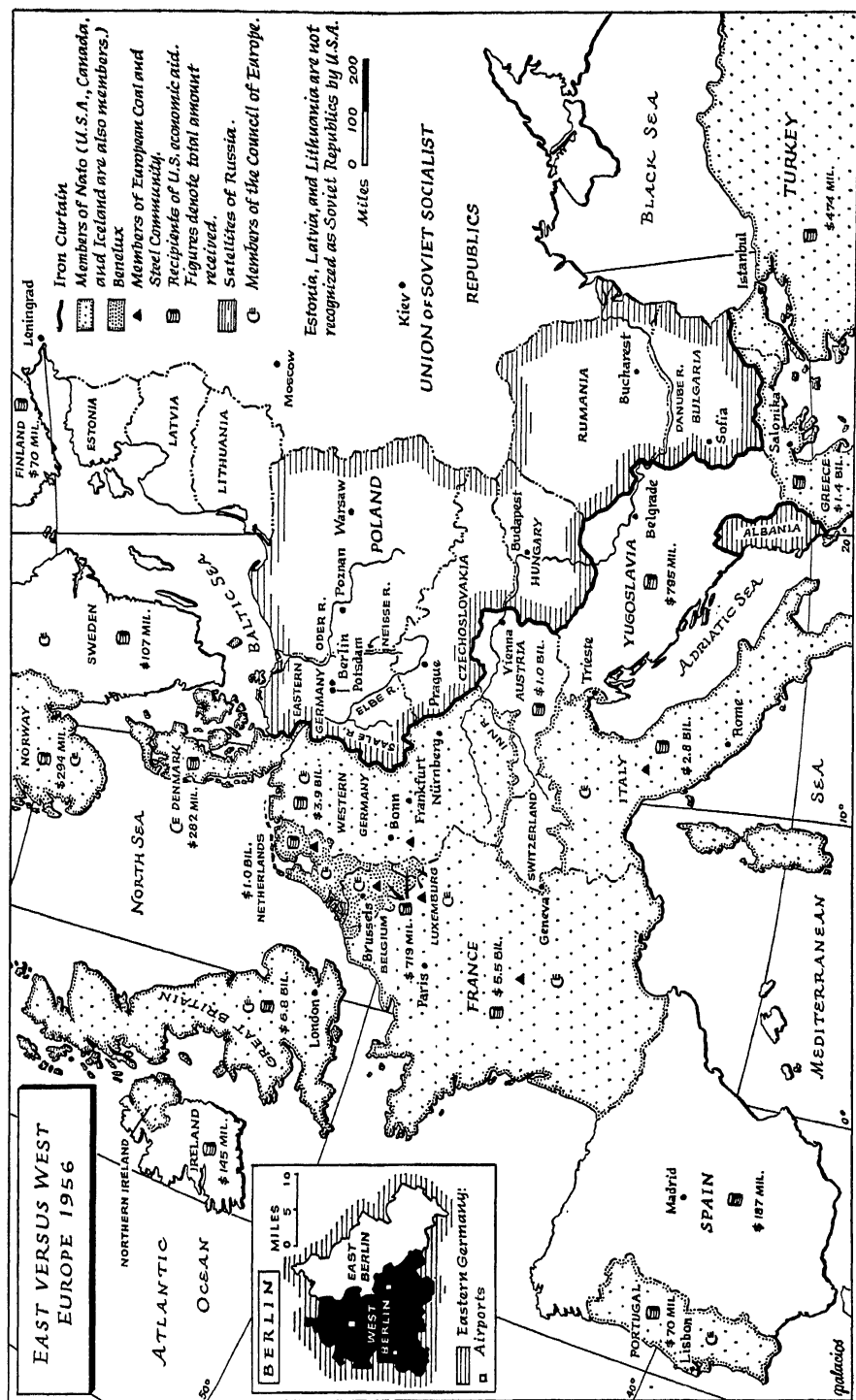
NATO AND OTHER REGIONAL ALLIANCES

The United Nations works not only through its own institutions and the specialized agencies affiliated with it, but it recognizes that its members may form regional alliances to maintain peace and security, provided these activities are "consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations."⁵² It thus recognizes that in promoting an international outlook organizations expressing more than merely national and less than completely global common interests and needs are necessary and helpful. It took the West a long time to develop the nation from the locality, and often the region or subnationality was a step in this direction. It will take the world a long time to realize the full potentialities of the United Nations and to substitute a universal human for a national point of view. It may take so long that the world will have meanwhile destroyed itself by its own weapons. Thus the co-operation of nations on a regional basis is a valuable agency in creating the world outlook. Among the important regional organizations developed since World War II are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Benelux,

⁵²Coyle, p. 117.

the European Coal and Steel Community, the Council of Europe, the Southeast Asia Defense Organization, and the Organization of American States. NATO was the result of the efforts in 1949 of twelve nations (eight western European, plus Great Britain, Iceland, Canada, and the United States) to protect themselves against possible aggression from the Soviet Union and the countries behind the Iron Curtain. The members pledge themselves to regard an attack on one of them as an attack on all of them, and, in case of war, to subordinate themselves to the Security Council of the United Nations in case the UN is able itself to meet the aggression. The Alliance maintains military and naval forces in Europe, the Atlantic, and Mediterranean, and the original body of nations has been expanded to include Greece, Turkey, and West Germany.

Benelux, the Coal and Steel Community, and the Council of Europe may all be looked upon as early steps in the formation of a United States of Europe. Benelux began in 1944, when the governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, in exile in London, agreed to form a customs union, abolishing customs between them for a common tariff against the outside world. The tariffs were abolished 1 January, 1948, and subsequent agreements look forward to a complete economic union among the three countries. The Coal and Steel Community was built in April, 1951, by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg upon plans of Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister. It aims to establish a more efficient coal-and-steel industry within a larger market area by removing tariff barriers between the members and abolishing monopolistic practices. In order to enforce regulations against monopoly, the Community has, in addition to an executive council (the High Authority), an Assembly and a Court, which has the power to review the decisions of other organs of the Authority. The Community is thus a supranational government for all matters having to do with the production and sale of coal and steel within the boundaries of its members. In May, 1949, ten countries of western and northern Europe formed a Council of Europe, joined subsequently by five others in an effort to promote European unity. This Council has the strongest support of the European Coal and Steel Community, and together they may mark an important break in the national divisions of Europe. Communist aggression in Korea and Indo-China led to the summoning of a conference at Manila in September, 1954, attended by the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan, and Australia, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Conference adopted the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, pledging, like NATO, mutual support in case of aggression against any one member. The charter forming the Organization of American States, and incorporating the older Pan-American Union, was drawn up in Bogotá in 1948 and utilizes the services of many dependent agencies and institutes to help to raise the general



standard of living in the Americas. Russia has grouped the satellite nations of eastern Europe around her in similar organizations.

SUMMARY

Thus the new international machinery set up since World War II to deal with the direct and indirect threats to peace is imposing in its amount. It has not, to be sure, succeeded in solving such a fundamental problem as disarmament, upon which ultimately the peace of the world rests. Disarmament involves also the question of atomic weapons, and these too still remain a threat to the existence of civilized life, however important a beginning has been made with the international control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. But the United Nations and its affiliated specialized agencies have done much to preserve peace in the world, and if it has not yet actually forestalled our atomic doom it has postponed it to the point where, with the necessary support of its members and the growing moral authority of its decisions, a peaceful solution of all international disputes is not beyond hope or possibility.

THE KOREAN WAR

In Korea, at least, it has known how to act against aggression and, thus, to save itself from the fate of the League of Nations when this body let aggression take its course. The Korean problem, like the German problem, resulted from the determination of the Soviet Union to use military occupation to impose a Communist regime upon the conquered. After the defeat of Japan, Korea was occupied by Soviet and American troops with the thirty-eighth parallel as the boundary line. When efforts to set up a "provisional Korean democratic government" failed, the Assembly of the United Nations on 14 December, 1947, voted to establish a Temporary Commission to supervise elections in Korea for a government of North and of South Korea. The Soviet government did not permit this commission to enter North Korea, and the result was that only a government of the South was set up (1948), while in the North a Communist Peoples' Republic was organized. Meanwhile, the Assembly of the United Nations recommended the withdrawal of the troops of both powers, and by 29 June, 1949, the troops of the United States, at least, were withdrawn. On 25 June, 1950, the North Korean army moved across the thirty-eighth parallel in an attempt to establish by force a unified Communist Korea. The attack was reported by United States observers, and the United States, in relating the matter to the United Nations, requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council to consider means of halting the aggression. When the Security Council met on the same day (25 June), the Soviet delegate was not present, having previously walked out because the Security Council had refused to give the Chinese seat to Communist China. The Council passed a resolution of the United States calling the invasion "a breach of the peace and demanding the withdrawal

of forces to the 38th parallel." After the Security Council had passed another resolution of the United States asking all members of the UN to support the government of South Korea in repelling the aggression, the United States ordered its military to give this support. The Council then provided that all troops sent to Korea by its members should come under the command of the United States and authorized the use of the UN flag together with the respective national flags. Thus began a war under the auspices of the United Nations in support of a country resisting the aggression of North Korea supported by Communist China and the Soviet Union. The war did not come to an end until 1953, when an armistice agreement fixed the line between North and South Korea close to the thirty-eighth parallel. The absence of a Russian delegate with his veto at the Security Council together with the courage and determination of most of its remaining members and the immediate readiness of United States troops made possible the repulsion of an aggressive invasion. Such aggression has not been repeated, and the UN has taken steps to make possible the action of the Assembly against an aggressor in case the Security Council is tied up with a veto.

THE UN AND THE MIDDLE EAST

The United Nations has taken effective action to stop war in the Middle East on two occasions. After the termination of the British mandate over Palestine (15 May, 1948) war broke out between Israel and the surrounding Arab states, anxious to destroy the new Jewish state. Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden was made a UN mediator in the area, and after his assassination (17 September) was succeeded by the American Ralph Bunche, who managed to bring Israel and the Arab states at least to agree to an armistice. No final peace settlement has been made. When war broke out again between Israel and Egypt (1956) and between Great Britain, France, and Egypt after the seizure by the Egyptian government of the internationally owned and administered Suez Canal, the intervention of the UN Assembly brought the withdrawal of British, French, and finally Israeli troops from Egyptian territory and the co-operation of a UN military force in the administration of the Gaza Strip and the maintenance of peace on the Israeli-Egyptian border. But whether the UN will be a final match for the nationalist antagonisms in this area remains to be seen.

CONCLUSION

THE WESTERN TRADITION. This book has tried to interpret the history of Europe in the light of a tradition, the western tradition, that has been compromised, attacked, and desperately defended in two world wars of the twentieth century. Any talk of West or East with reference to the globe implies a starting point. That point is Europe. It is the nations on the western coast of Europe that have spread their ideas and their institutions around the world. These nations, with America, have created the western tradition. There has been no single, self-conscious "eastern tradition" to oppose their advance. But there has indeed been an East of many cultures, and this East has had to contend with the West for a long time.

THE EARLY EASTERN-WESTERN CONFLICT

The notion of an eastern-western conflict is as old as the sources of the western tradition in the ancient world. In the minds of their historians, the western Greeks had to defend themselves against eastern barbarians (Persia), and under the leadership of Alexander they brought the higher civilization of the Greek western world to the oriental peoples of the Ancient Near East. Rome rose as a western power, set off by her rugged practicality from the more decadent East which she absorbed while establishing a universal Mediterranean state. As this Roman Empire went to pieces, it split into western and eastern halves, a western Roman Empire and an eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire, each confirmed by its own Christian Church, the western Latin and the eastern Greek (Orthodox) Church. This opposition was intensified in the Middle Ages by the barbar-

ian occupation of these respective halves: Germans and Scandinavians in the West; Slavs, Arabs, and Mongolians in the East. It is thus possible to speak of an East and West conflict during the Middle Ages.

MORE RECENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

The differences between West and East tended to grow in the early modern period. A slow process of urbanization, national consolidation, and capitalism changed the West. It was stimulated by the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment. In the European East, comprising the Ottoman and Russian empires, these movements had scant if any influence, but they increased and made more serious the differences between West and East. These were augmented by the western Industrial and French revolutions, which led to the liberal movement of the nineteenth century. By then, the rapid growth of industrial capitalism enabled the West to set up as its ideal the realization of a democratic way of life. It centered upon the hope that under systems of government based upon the consent of the governed the individual might enjoy the free opportunity of expanding to that limit of his capacity consonant with the good society. The slow realization of this ideal led to the elaboration of different socialistic programs.

IMPERIALISM AND WESTERNIZATION

In the course of its European development, the West expanded and became imperialistic. It settled its peoples in various parts of the globe (especially in the American continents), and under the pressure of its commercial and industrial capitalism it began to absorb the world into its colonial empires, dependencies, and spheres of influence. The achievements of western peoples in Europe and overseas, when accompanied by the promise of health, comfort, prosperity, and freedom contained in their science, industry, politics, economics, and societies, were attractive to the other peoples of the world. They came to look upon their futures in terms of westernization. By this, of course, they always meant the adaptation of western institutions to those aspects of their own ways of life that they found good. Nations in full control of their futures could regulate westernization in accordance with their desires and capacities. Nations within the orbits of western empires, dependencies, and spheres of influence saw their futures limited by the policies of their western lords. The western ideal did not seem to be meant for all peoples.

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE WEST

The slow realization of the democratic ideal in the nineteenth century created dissatisfaction and various revolutionary programs, for the most part socialist. This was in accordance with western experience, which had, many times in the past, resorted to revolutionary violence. A part of this socialist program was absorbed by the liberal-democratic movement of

the West, which was thus speeded up and took the form of developing the welfare state and the open society. The remainder of the socialist program, violent and revolutionary, known as communism, was now passed on to Russia, where radical reformers did not feel that they could wait until the slow and gradual adaptation of western institutions and ideals to their own societies ultimately brought about the transformation that would reduce the discrepancies between western and eastern Europe. Russia was taken over by Communist revolutionaries in 1917. The speed with which reform was accomplished in Russia made communism very attractive to other peoples of the world too impatient to wait until the normal processes of western democratic reform and industrial development brought to them the advantages of the West. At the same time communism in the Russian form made itself more attractive to the non-western peoples of the globe by attacking western imperialism, saying that the benefits of western civilization were meant for the West only and could be enjoyed there, in their capitalistic form, only at the cost of the exploitation of other peoples. In the name of an ideal essentially western, communism, like all revolutionary upheavals aiming at a quick renovation of society, has, whatever else it has brought to the people accepting it, in practice meant tyranny, brutality, and the denial of freedoms. It is thus a denial and rejection of much of the western tradition and helps to emphasize and complicate the cultural division between West and East. The West is therefore faced with the problem of how to convince the world that what it has to offer can be realized fairly soon, in accordance with local national aspirations, and without tyranny, brutality, and the denial of fundamental freedoms.

HUMANISM, ASCETICISM, AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM

This book has tried also to interpret the development of the western tradition in the light of a continuous conflict between two points of view it has associated with the words humanism and asceticism. The western sources of these views it has sought in the history of the ancient world, humanism in the outlook of the Greeks as adapted by the Romans, asceticism in the outlook of the Hebrews as adapted by Christianity. The essence of the former it has taken to be the possibility of realizing the good life upon this earth, or, in other terms, the possibility of realizing the noble and creative potentialities of man as an active citizen of a democratic state; the essence of the latter, the impossibility of realizing the good life upon this earth. In this view, man with his imperfections must be reconstructed by God before he can hope to enjoy felicity in an afterworld. He must assist God in this reconstruction by various kinds of ascetic practices involving a denial of the flesh and a withdrawal from the world. His citizenship in the heavenly city of God is made possible by his membership in a church and obedience to a clergy. The history of the western tradition has been an attempt to reconcile these points of view after the victory

of Christianity in the Roman Empire. The reconciliations have taken the form of Christian humanism. Christian humanism is an outlook characterized by the willingness to utilize the humanism of the ancient world to help make effective the Christian gospel of love. This has involved transferring the city of God from heaven to earth in the spirit of humility and charity: a Christian society.

EARLY CHRISTIAN HUMANISM AND THE RENAISSANCE

Insofar as the adaptation of a classical humanism was concerned, Christianity had produced a Christian humanism before the end of the ancient period. But for the most part the early Middle Ages were dominated by a narrow ascetic view. This was challenged when, along with a developing urbanization and national consolidation, a classical revival, the Renaissance, took place and persisted until the ancient humanistic outlook was reabsorbed in the West, producing such Christian humanists as Erasmus, Montaigne, and Milton.

EARLY MODERN HUMANISM AND LIBERALISM

The Protestant Reformation was an ascetic revival aiming to return to a spiritual condition antedating this compromise. It was offset by the scientific revolution of the West, which, with its emphasis upon what science could do to relieve man's earthly estate, reinforced the revival of classical humanism. Together, classical and scientific humanism, stimulated by a humanitarianism born of Christian love, worked out the program of the Enlightenment, which stupid and recalcitrant French Bourbons forced into a revolutionary movement that fought for liberty, equality, and fraternity. Under these circumstances the humanistic tradition of the West became fused with its liberal tradition, aiming to free the individual from an absolute monarchy and its confining mercantilistic economic policy.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HUMANISM AND ASCETICISM

The liberal-humanistic ideal in the nineteenth century shifted in the West from a middle-class to a democratic foundation and sought to realize the noble and creative potentialities of the individual through the institutions of the democratic state. It even absorbed the ideals of democratic socialism. Under these circumstances the ascetic tradition, when not defending an anachronistic church hesitant to make its peace with the modern world, tended to become secular rather than religious, adapting itself to blatant nationalisms, postwar fascisms, and the revolutionary communist dream. Christian humanism as a reasonable means between extremes identified itself with the liberal-democratic and democratic-socialistic forces of the West in the support of a social gospel or a Christian socialism, hoping to infuse secular hopes and accomplishments with the spirit of brotherly love. The wars of the twentieth century have interrupted

the further development of the liberal-humanistic ideal in both its secular and Christian forms. The western world has had to spend much of its energy and wealth preparing for a possible future atomic war with the East.

If the problem of the West is to convince the world that what it has to offer can be realized fairly soon, in accordance with local national and cultural aspirations and without tyranny, brutality, and the denial of fundamental freedoms, this may be another way of saying that it has to make its tradition of humanism vital by tempering it with a genuine spirit of altruistic love, by consciously trying to establish the identity and solidarity of all mankind in the endeavor to realize the good life upon this globe.

ASCETICISM, HUMANISM, AND THE DEMOCRATIC DREAM

In its earliest Christian form, exemplified in the life of the hermit or monk, asceticism has appeared to many a rather selfish ideal calculated to win immortality in an afterworld by a vigorous bout with the devil in this one. But however narrow it may have been, this ideal, in the minds of its earliest devotees, involved sacrificing an immediate for a higher good, the transitory pleasures of this world for the eternal blessedness of the next. The Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount preached a doctrine of neighborly and brotherly love. To take on more force than merely vague feeling gave, this doctrine required action, a willingness to sacrifice if need be for the sake of the beloved, the neighbor, the brother. This kind of love is ascetic, the sacrifice of an immediate for a higher good, the higher good being someone else's rather than one's own advantage. Classical humanism was without the support of this kind of love. The conflict with Christianity brought it this support. Christian humanism is thus the classical confidence in the nobility and creativeness of man heightened by a love, ascetic in character, that realizes and forgives man's weakness and is willing to make sacrifices in his behalf. In this sense the conflict between humanism and asceticism is limited to the extremes of a very short-sighted and worldly humanism and an asceticism of the narrow, selfish, and otherworldly kind. Between humanism and asceticism of a broad, tolerant, and far-seeing kind devoted to the welfare of mankind there is no conflict. This kind of asceticism is the equivalent of a modern Christian humanism. The liberal-humanistic tradition has needed its support to become and to remain vital. Under normal circumstances the larger good cannot be had without some sacrifice of the immediate.

The democratic dream cannot be realized in the West without great sacrifice on the part of those whom this West has most favored; it cannot be realized in the world without the sacrifice of the pleasures of peace and the profits of war and a correspondingly great sacrifice on the part of those whom the economies of the world have most favored. This sacrifice must be made in the name of, and with love for, the individual members of the whole human race.

A Note on Bibliography

The bibliographical resources for the student of modern history are so rich that this note will not pretend to be more than merely introductory. The footnotes in the text contain references to books the author is actually quoting or is using for his facts. These books are recommended for further reading. The Study Guides to be used with this text (prepared by Orville Zabel) list for the individual chapters the important secondary and source materials in paper-back editions.

Most textbooks on modern history are supplied with bibliographies. For Professor R. R. Palmer's *A History of the Modern World*, Second Edition, Revised with the collaboration of Joel Colton (New York, 1956), Mr. Frederick Aandahl Jr. has compiled, with some comment, truly formidable "reading lists comprising almost two thousand titles" (pp. 899-945). These, however, are broken down, after an early section on *Works of a General Coverage*, according to the chapters of this book. Chapter II, for example, "The Revolution in the Christian Church, 1300-1560," contains sections on the *Decline of the Church*, *The Renaissance in Italy*, and *The Renaissance outside Italy*. The bibliography for the chapter (pp. 904-906) is divided into corresponding sections. Chapter VII is titled "The Scientific View of the World" and the bibliography for this chapter (pp. 914-916) contains such sections as *Theoretical Foundations of Science*; *General Histories of Science*; *Medicine*; *Science in the Seventeenth Century*; *Biographies*; *Historical and Geographical Sciences in the Seventeenth Century*; and a section *Law, Political Theory, and Natural Law*. The bibliography for Chapter XIV (European Civilization: 1870-1914) contains a paragraph on the *New Movement in Science* (pp. 930-933), listing books that go well beyond 1914, and includes biographies of Einstein and Freud.

Eugene N. Anderson treats the matter of bibliography differently in his recent textbook *Modern Europe in World Perspective: 1914 to the Present* (New York, 1958). At the end of each chapter he lists, with brief comment, the few titles he thinks are especially important. For example, at the end of Chapter 27 (*Art, Literature, and Music*) he lists only ten titles (pp. 820-821), including A. H. Barr's *Masters of Modern Art* (New York, 1954. "Excellent illustrations. Useful brief text"); a volume on existentialism (Yale French Studies, No. 1. "Essays by several scholars. Emphasis on Sartre"); and Serge Moreux's *Bela Bartok* (London, 1953. "The most interesting biography of this composer").

If the student does not find the foregoing references adequate he can go to a series of little books published as the *Berkshire Studies in European History* (Eds. R. A. Newhall, L. B. Packard, and S. R. Packard). For the most part excellent in themselves, these contain bibliographies of their titles. In Bernadotte E. Schmitt's *Triple Alliance and Triple Entente* the bibliography (pp. 121-127) is broken down into *Standard Works*, *Biographies and Autobiographies* (especially useful), and *Documents*. The modern titles now available in this series include: Buffinton: *The Second Hundred Years' War, 1689-1815*;

Ferguson: *The Renaissance*; Frye: *Iran*; Gershoy: *The French Revolution, 1789-1799*; Karpovich: *Imperial Russia, 1801-1917*; Knapton: *France since Versailles*; May: *The Age of Metternich: 1818-1848*; Mosse: *The Reformation*; Packard: *The Age of Louis XIV*; Salvadori: *The Rise of Modern Communism*; Smith: *The United States as a Factor in World History*; Trotter: *The British Empire-Commonwealth*; Wallbank: *India*.

A similar series called *Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition* (Ed. Edward Fox) contains brief bibliographies. The bibliography in Frank E. Manuel's *The Age of Reason* (pp. 139-141) includes works in French and German. The modern titles in this series are: Friedrich and Blitzer: *The Age of Power*; Harbison: *The Age of Reformation*; Manuel: *The Age of Reason*; Nowell: *The Great Discoveries and the First Colonial Empires*.

Professor A. L. Rowse of All Souls College, Oxford, has edited a series titled *Teach Yourself History*. Its "key idea," he says, "and what distinguishes it from any other that has appeared, is the intention, by way of biography of a great man, to open up a significant historical theme; for example, Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution, or Lenin and the Russian Revolution." Each of these small biographies has a short bibliography. In her *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance* (New York, 1950), Margaret M. Phillips lists (p. 228) the chief works of Erasmus, including the F. M. Nichols translation of his letters. Among additional biographies she includes those of J. Huizinga (London, 1924) and Preserved Smith (*Erasmus: A Study of His Life, Ideals and Place in History*. New York, 1923). The modern volumes published in this series are: Ady: *Lorenzo de' Medici and Renaissance Italy*; Ashley: *Louis XIV and the Greatness of France*; Hammond and Foot: *Gladstone and Liberalism*; Hill: *Lenin and the Russian Revolution*; Hugh-Jones: *Woodrow Wilson and American Liberalism*; Hutchinson: *Cranmer and the English Reformation*; Hutchinson: *Milton and the English Mind*; Jackson: *Clemenceau and the Third Republic*; Markham: *Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe*; Moon: *Warren Hastings and British India*; Phillips: *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance*; Quinn: *Raleigh and the British Empire*; Robertson: *Chatham and the British Empire*; Simmons: *Livingstone and Africa*; Sumner: *Peter the Great and the Emergence of Russia*; Thompson: *Robespierre and the French Revolution*; Thomson: *Catherine the Great and the Expansion of Russia*; Wedgwood: *Richelieu and the French Monarchy*; Williams: *Botha, Smuts and South Africa*; Williamson: *Cook and the Opening of the Pacific*; Brook: *Whitgift and the English Church*; Jackson: *Marx, Proudhon and European Socialism*; Ashley: *Cromwell and the Puritan Revolution*; Mosse: *Alexander II and the Modernization of Russia*.

The student will want to consult also the volumes in the *Rise of Modern Europe* series (Ed. W. L. Langer). These include: Gilmore, *The World of Humanism: 1453-1517*; Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque: 1610-1660*; Nussbaum, *The Triumph of Science and Reason: 1660-1685*; Wolf, *Emergence of the Great Powers: 1685-1715*; Roberts, *The Quest for Security: 1715-1740*; Dorn, *Competition for Empire: 1740-1763*; Gershoy, *From Despotism to Revolution: 1763-1789*; Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution: 1789-1799*; Bruun, *Europe and the French Imperium: 1799-1814*; Artz, *Reaction and Revolution: 1814-1832*; Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism: 1852-1871*; Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism: 1871-1900*.

Each volume in this series is supplied with an exhaustive critical bibliography containing works in foreign languages as well as English. In Myron P. Gilmore's *The World of Humanism: 1453-1517*, for example, the bibliography runs to forty-six pages (pp. 271-317). It begins with a section on *Bibliographies* (pp. 271-274), and includes such other sections as: *The Progress of European*

Discovery (pp. 275-278), *Comparative Institutional Development* (pp. 283-285) and the *Theory and Practice of Government—the National States* (pp. 285-293). The final sections are on *Christian Humanism and Erasmus* (pp. 306-309) and *Arts and Sciences* (pp. 309-317). The section on *The Progress of European Discovery* speaks of S. E. Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (2 vols., Boston, 1942) as "outstanding and among the best individual studies," and contains a reference to C. E. Nowell's article "The Columbus Question. A Survey of Recent Literature and Present Opinion," in the *American Historical Review*, XLIV (1939). Under the section on *Arts and Sciences* Professor Gilmore lists the following as "the most stimulating works on Leonardo da Vinci": Sir Kenneth M. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci: an Account of his Development as an Artist* (Cambridge, England, 1939); Edward McCurdy, *The Mind of Leonardo da Vinci* (New York, 1928); and Jean Paul Richter, *Leonardo* (London and New York, 1880). For "one of the best studies of the Renaissance in Northern Europe," he lists Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe: Its Relation to the Contemporary Spiritual and Intellectual Movements* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945).

It is possible that the student may be interested in or have need for a bibliographical or review article on some specialized subject in modern history. The *Journal of Modern History* frequently publishes such articles. Among those that may be useful are: Roland H. Bainton, "The Present State of Servetus Studies," IV, March, 1932. Louis Gottschalk, "Studies since 1920 of French Thought in the Period of the Enlightenment," IV, June, 1932. G. M. Dutcher, "Napoleon and the Napoleonic Period," IV, Sept., 1932. W. T. Laprade, "The Present State of the History of England in the Eighteenth Century," IV, Dec., 1932. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, "The Origins of the War," VI, June, 1934. Kent R. Greenfield, "The Historiography of the Risorgimento since 1921," VII, March, 1935. Eugene N. Anderson, "Recent Works on German Unification," VII, June, 1935. Raymond O. Rockwood, "Voltaire," IX, Dec., 1937. R. A. Winnacker, "The Third French-Republic, 1870-1914," X, Sept., 1938. F. L. Nussbaum, "The Economic History of Renaissance Europe," XIII, Dec., 1941. Friedrich C. Sell, "Intellectual Liberalism in Germany about 1900," XV, Sept., 1943. D. F. Hyslop, "Historical Publication since 1939 on the French Revolution," XX, Sept., 1948. Arthur L. Dunham, "The Economic History of France, 1815-1870," XXI, June, 1949. C. L. Mowat, "The History of the Labour Party: The Coles, the Webbs, and Some Others," XXIII, June, 1951.

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